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অষ্টাদশপর্ব্ব মহাভারত

ব্যাসদেব কৃত মহাভারত পুরাণ-ইতিহাসের অন্তর্গত হইলেও, কাব্য হিসাবে ইহা মধুরতম। বস্তুতঃ মহাভারতের মত বিরাট গ্রন্থ আর দ্বিতীয় নাই। একসঙ্গে সহস্রাধিক চরিত্রের যথাযোগ্য মর্য্যাদা দান কম কৃতিত্বের কথা নয়। অপূর্ব্ব ইহার আখ্যানভাগ। তেমনি অপূর্ব্ব চরিত্র-বিশ্লেষণ। রাজনীতি সমাজনীতির গূঢ়তত্ত্ব ও তাহার অনুশীলনী ইহাকে আরও গুরুত্ব দান করিয়াছে। বস্তুতঃ, ব্যাসদেব শাস্ত্র-সাগর মন্থন করিয়া অমৃত পরিবেশন করিয়াছেন। 'যা নাই ভারতে, তা নাই ভারতে' এই প্রবাদবাক্যটিই মহাভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ পরিচয়।

সংস্কৃত-কাব্যের এই অপূর্ব্ব রসাস্বাদনে সাধারণ লোক দীর্ঘদিন বঞ্চিতই ছিল। কাশীরামদাস তাঁহার সুললিত পয়ার ছন্দে সেই অভাব দূর করিলেন। এজন্য বাঙালীমাত্রই তাঁর নিকট কৃতজ্ঞ।

আজ মুখে মুখে এই মহাভারত সর্ব্বত্র প্রচারিত। ইহার ফল একদিকে যেমন ভাল হইয়াছে তেমনি মন্দও হইয়াছে শতগুণ। মূল কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত আজ নানা কারণে বিকৃত—যিনি যতটুকু পারিয়াছেন, তিনি ততটুকু আপন মনোমত রচনা ইহাতে সংযোজন করিয়া দিয়াছেন। এই প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি ও ভুল পাঠের পুনরুদ্ধার করিতে আজ পর্য্যন্ত কেহই সাহসী হন নাই। তাই রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত এই মহাভারতের এত সুনাম।

পূর্ব্ব সংস্করণ শেষ হইয়া যাওয়ায় পাঠকের আগ্রহাতিশয্যে বহু অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া এই অমূল্য গ্রন্থের পুনর্মুদ্রণে সাহসী হইতেছি। শীঘ্রই আপনাদের হাতে দিতে পারিব বলিয়া আশা রাখি।

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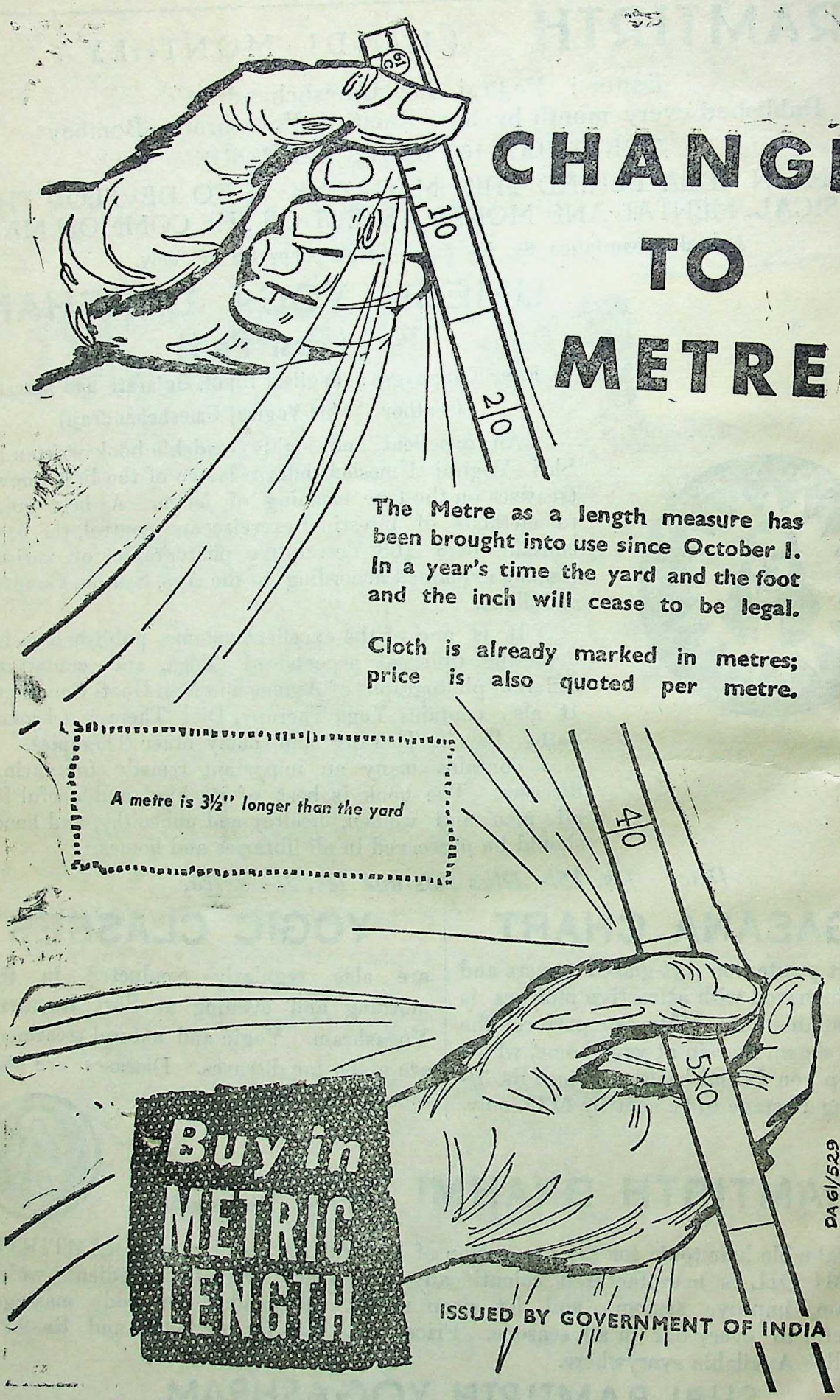

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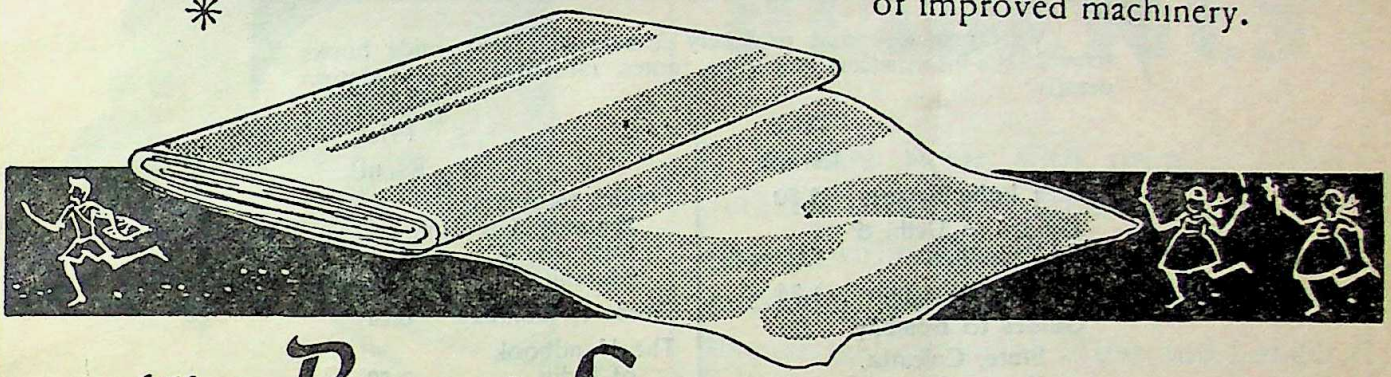

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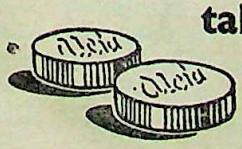

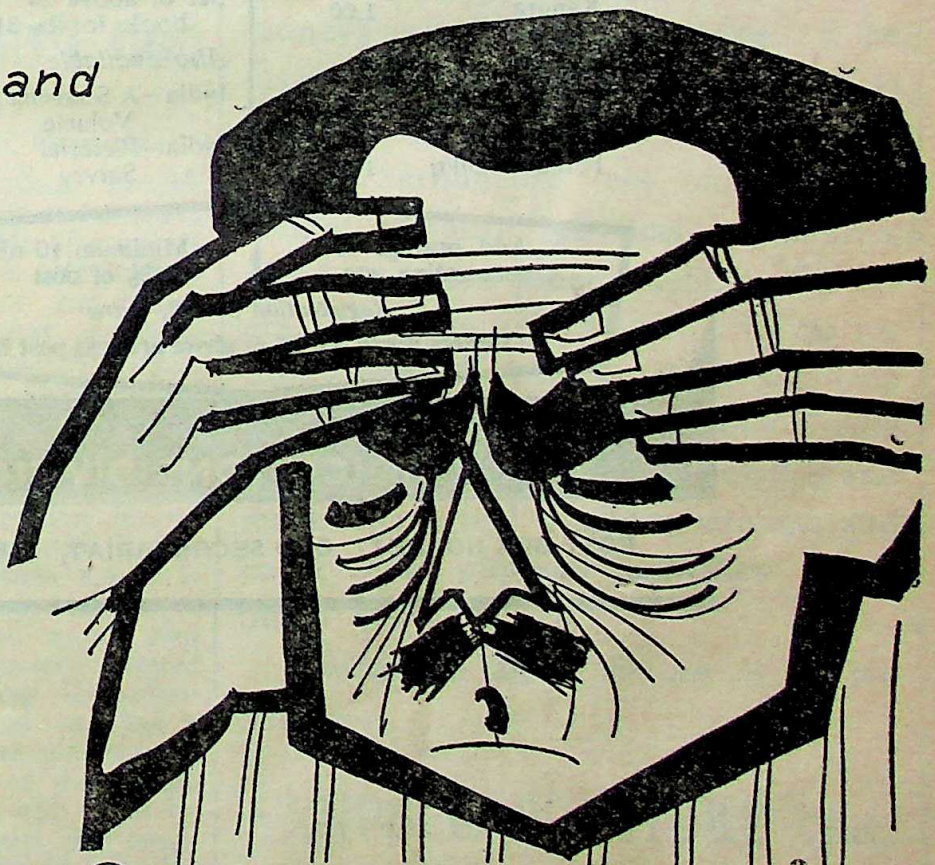

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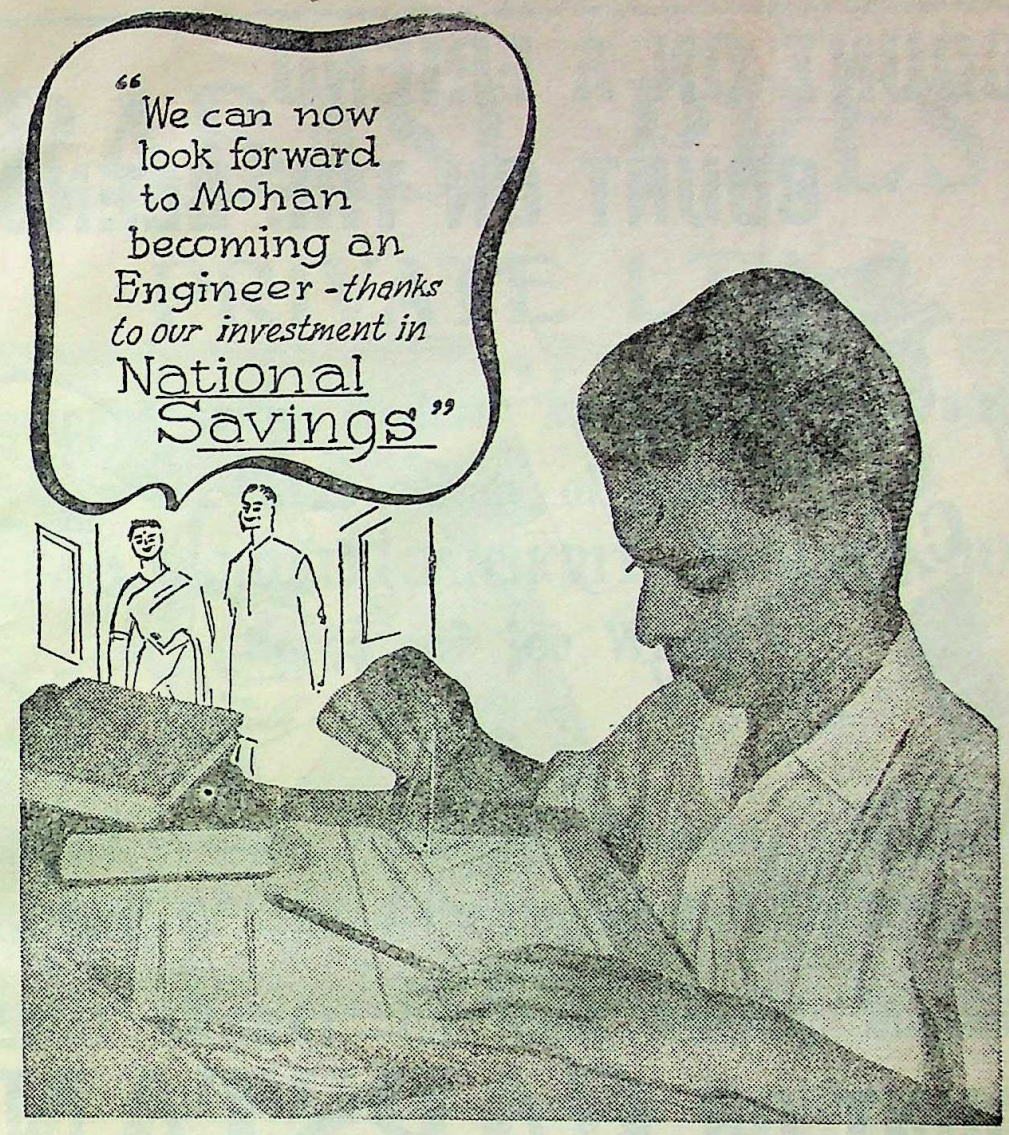

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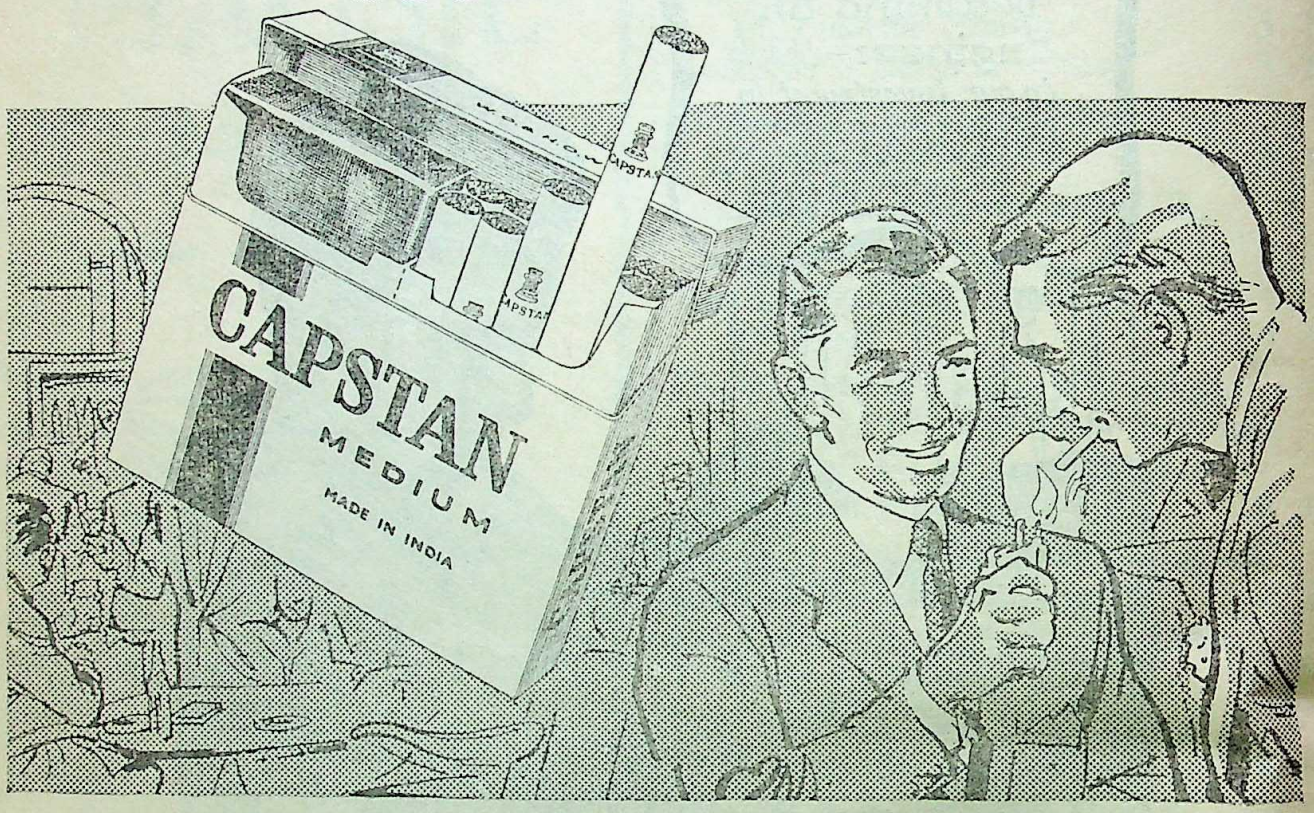

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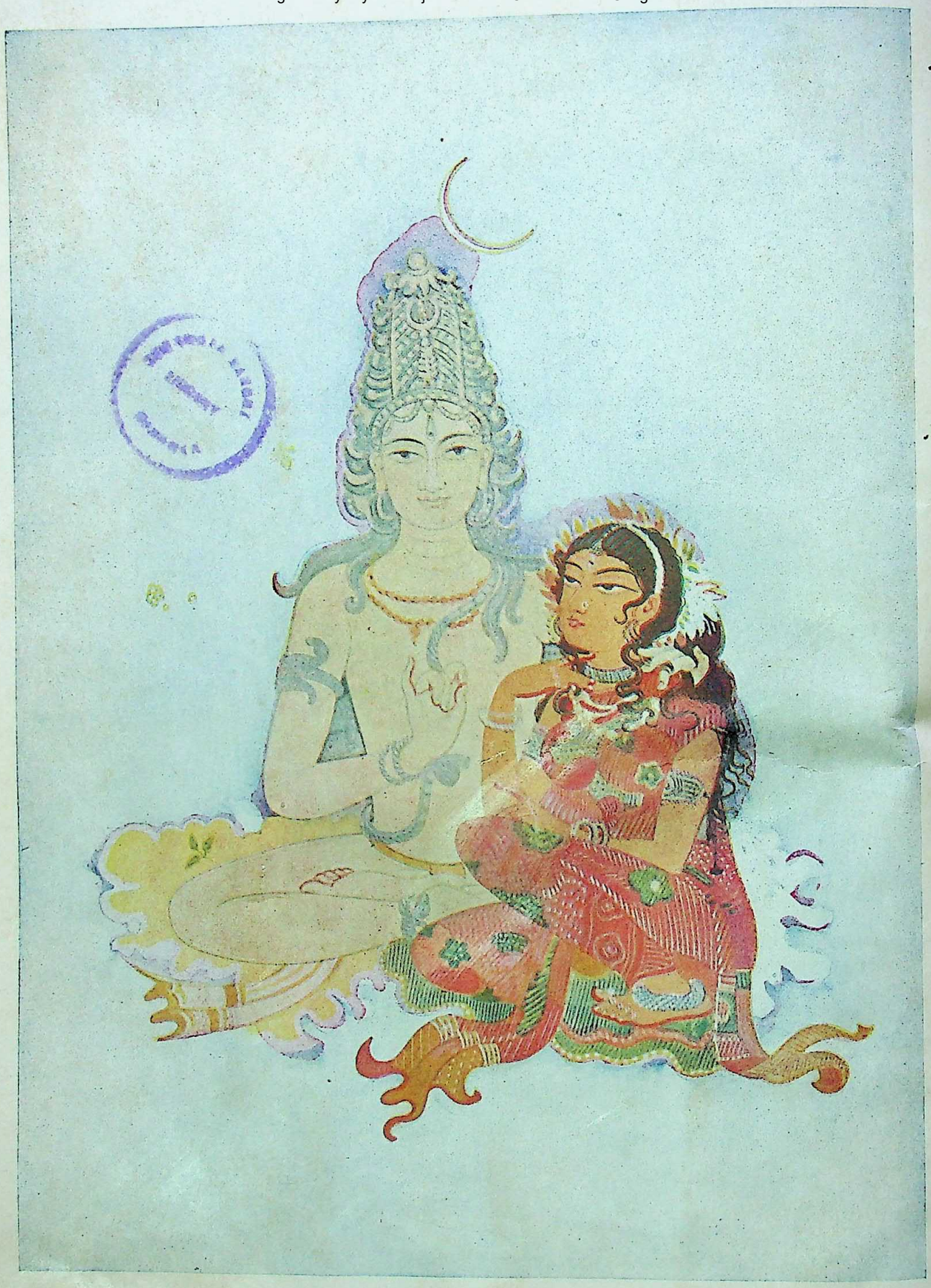

FORECASTING THE YEAR'S HAPPENINGS

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Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1962

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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year with its trials, frustrations and disappointments, will have passed out by the time these appear in print. But it gave the people of India some bright hours of joy, as its last gift. The joy came with the liberation of our kith and kin in Goa, and let us hope it will bring in its train the rich fruits of liberty, which the Goanese have earned with their prolonged struggle against the tyrannies of a foreign regime. This liberation has also indicated to the World that there is such a thing as the people's will is our country too and that a higher value is put here, as in all democratic countries, on Freedom than on any abstract metaphysical consideration that shows no results over a long stretch of time. It has also shown us, in the clearest possible light, how and where we stand, together with all Asiatics and Africans, in the estimation of the peoples of the West. Indeed, it may be said, that the closing days of the Old Year, has given us the gift of revelation, in the matter of true and false human values, as it obtains in the West.

What of the New Year ? Somehow the prospect does not seem so bleak as it did when 1960 passed out. It may be that nerves have hardened with prolonged exposure to stresses and strains, both at home and abroad. Or again it might be that the gradual toning down of the insistent demands of the mighty, in response to the worldwide desire for peace has awakened some hopes about the survival of humanity in this world afflicted with the tensions of Cold War.

At home there does not seem much hope for the easing of stresses of want and insufficiency. There is an Election in the offing, but there is little hope for any change for the better, as the same merry old game of Party Politics is being played by the same old players in every team.

We can only pray and hope for the dawn of good-will and a sense of responsibility amongst all leaders of men, all over the world, for the alternative is truly grim.

The World

The end of the year saw the U.N. in a rather precarious position, over the question of colonialism. On the anti-colonial side, there was the demand, insistently pressed by the Soviets—not purely as a Cold War move, as pronounced by the Western Allies —that 1962 should be marked for the total elimination of colonialism from the world, which move was qualified by Nigeria's proposal that a nine-year deadline should be set from now, for the complete liberation of Africa.

On the other side, there were various shades of opinion, starting from the proud attitudes of the ex-Imperialists like Britain and France, who believe that the liberation of the colonial subject-nations and countries should be regarded as ex-gratia acts, liberty to be given as and when the overlords deign to do so, to the flagrant denial of the

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rights of the subject-peoples by the miserable descendants of the adventurous sailors who founded colonies as a sequel to their careers as pirates and robbers preying on innocent and friendly peoples who did not possess fire-arms.

World opinion, particularly in the West, is hesitant in taking a positive stand in this dilemma. The position of the United States, as clearly shown over the Goa liberation aftermath, is particularly delicate. She cannot openly denounce the attitude of the stalwarts amongst her cold war allies, i.e., Britain and France, and yet on the basic question of colonialism she stands firm on the principle of self-determination and liberty for all humanity, as predicated by the Founding Fathers and by Abraham Lincoln, in their concept of human birth-rights.

The whole position is complicated because of a basic misconception. The idea, that is current all over the world, that India—and Pakistan—was given the gift of liberty, on silver plates so to say, as graceful and benign acts on the part of the British, **is a myth.** This myth has been given the reinforcement of world credence, because of the not-so-quixotic attitude of the Congress group now in power. The Congress fosters this belief as it maintains their claim—which is only partially true—that India obtained her freedom solely by the non-violent efforts of the Congress. We have gone into this question in more detail in a previous issue of this journal and it is unnecessary, therefore, to go into it any further. It will suffice to say that the liberation of India was the inevitable sequel to a long series of liberation attempts, each stronger than the previous one, under different leaders and in different forms, over a period of four decades, which culminated in the mass upsurge in 1942, while all the Congress leaders—who are now capitalising on the resultant gains—were in jail. This linked with the formation of the I. N. A., which definitely showed that the millions of trained Indians of the armed forces were likely to be the most formidable source of reaction to British repression in the liberation movement that was certain to come after war, was the decisive factor.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Government of Britain, under the guidance of Pethwick Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, and Alexander, acted in a most statesmanlike fashion in bowing before the "Winds of Change," as any deviation from the path chosen would have had disastrous consequences, not only for Britain and India but to the entire democratic world, as is definitely proved by what has happened in the former French Indo-China and what was prevented from happening in Malaya by the British taking a wise step after long years of futile attempts at "crushing" the spirit of revolt by force.

The British have the faculty of learning by experience. And their long experience in colonial affairs has given them, to some extent, the power to read the "writing on the wall," where Asia and Africa are concerned. But all the same there is that veiled resentment in some quarters at the enforced loss of "Imperial" possessions, however ill-gotten or unjustifiably held they might have been, that has been so much in evidence over the Goa liberation. For the Portuguese hold on Goa was maintained in reality—as is plainly apparent at the outburst of temper and petulance in the British Press—by the tacit support of the British, and its liberation meant the setting at nought of British influences in this part of the world by India.

The British had brought in the question of a plebiscite in Kashmir, although Pakistan was declared an aggressor by those who came to pronounce judgement, on behalf of the U.N., on the case. And the British group in the U.N. were—and still are—trying to force a plebiscite on India without the aggression being vacated by Pakistan. The reason being that Pakistan came into existence not as a fruit of a fight or struggle for liberty but as **Bakshish** to those who helped the British Imperialists in their forty-year long programme of "Divide et Impera" which culminated into savage repression. It should be noted that the same plebiscite formula was mooted by the British in the case of Goa.

The record of the French in India, in contrast to what has transpired in Indo-China and North Africa is fairly good, in-

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deed better than that of the British in many respects and far, far superior to that of the Portuguese allies of the British. It is perhaps significant that there has been little of an outburst in the French press, comparable to that in the British and the American press.

The U.S.A., is in a delicate position, as has been remarked at the beginning of these notes, due to her links with the colonialist powers of the N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., etc. Added to that is a naive ignorance about the Asiatic and African peoples, which has left her higher executives in Foreign Affairs, still prone and eager for Anglo-French tutelage in complex situations that are continuously arising in these areas. This is the only explanation of the most incongruous statement that "Goa does not belong to India," coming as it did from a man of the status and stature of Adlai Stevenson. Does Mr. Stevenson know that the Portuguese themselves termed the vast majority of the peoples inhabiting Goa as "Indians" uptil 1951 ?

This ignorance about India and Indians is the indirect result of the wonderful selection of personnel by our department of External Affairs—which is as yet subject to the impulses and vagaries of a person whose choice of advisors in matters relating to foreign relations is anything but admirable, and as a consequence, Indian interests and opinions are as a rule, either misrepresented or overlooked abroad, the only thing that is done, by the men chosen by Pandit Nehru to represent India abroad, is to advertise Pandit Nehru and air his views, everywhere and on all occasions.

The howl of rage and frustration raised by the British press has been echoed all over the Western World—that is, the world dominated by the Western Bloc—because they had no idea that Nehru's opinion was not by any means the opinion of India and the Indians. In the matter of Goa, India's patience was at an end, and there was no further question of allowing "Perfidious Albion," or those who dance to the tune played by the old hypocrite, to enforce the continuance of the agony of those who are Indians by race and blood. It should be noted that no sympathy or concern for those unfortunates who are being subjected to slaughter, rape and arson by the Portuguese in Angola, is discernible in the columns of those papers that are supposed to represent the "Free World." Free World forsooth ! If it were left to these representatives of what was once the "Fourth Estate," the rape of Egypt would have been completed by Britain and France, and not an inch of Africa or Asia would have been liberated, if that "glorious adventure" had succeeded.

The liberation of Goa has received wide support in Asia and Africa and that should be sufficient for us. The reaction in the Western World to the liberation have brought to the surface certain aspects of Western mentality which has been dealt with by Pandit Nehru in a Press Conference at New Delhi on December 28. It would be interesting to keep them in mind, whenever any particular item of foreign opinion is studied in respect of Goa. We append extracts from the **Statesman's** report below to put them on record.

In analysing the Western reaction to the Goa liberation move, Pandit Nehru said :

"The most distressing aspect of the Western reaction, he declared, was what is connoted: a division of opinion in the world between the black and the white nations. Every section of the Indian people had been thrilled by the intervention and the step had been welcomed in Asia and Africa, he added.

"Answering the criticism that India had failed by the yardstick of non-violence, Mr. Nehru said, it was good to know that India and he himself were at one time placed high on a pedestal. He described non-violence as an 'almost metaphysical approach' of Mahatma Gandhi, asserting that the Congress Party and the Government had never committed themselves to abjuring force in all circumstances.

"But the Prime Minister declared that India adhered firmly and fully to her policy of encouraging the forces of peace, of seeking peaceful settlement of problems and of non-alignment.

"While expressing appreciation of U.S. efforts to help a peaceful settlement of the Goa issue, Mr. Nehru, in an apparent reference to Mr. Stevenson's speech in the Security Council debate, said it was strange that while the U.N. was being obstructed in the field in Katanga, no

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one should have feared the end of the world organization."

We shall expand the reference in Pandit Nehru's remarks, regarding the obstruction in Congo of U. N. moves, later. Meanwhile the reply given to the suggestion in some Western papers that Goa should be restored to Portugal, is put on record below as being of very great import where the U. N. is concerned.

"The Prime Minister denied that there had been consultations between India and the Soviet Union prior to the Indian action. The only two Governments approached, he said, were those of Britain and the U.S.A. while some Asian States were kept informed of development at a later stage.

"Referring to suggestions in the Western Press that Goa should be restored to Portugal, Mr. Nehru declared with some passion and vehemence : 'If any such attempt is made there will be hell in the world.'

"The Prime Minister said that the report in a section of the Press that the UAR had stopped a Portuguese ship from coming with arms to Goa had no foundation in fact. There was no request by Portugal to the UAR to allow its ship to pass through the Suez Canal and consequently there was no refusal."

Pandit Nehru dealt at length on the events that led to the "police action" in Goa. It was apparent from that, that the only trend of intervention by the U. S. or the U. N. was to postpone the liberation indefinitely. There was no hope, not even a suggestion that a period would be put to Portugal's intransigence in this matter.

The affairs in the Congo are still in an extremely critical stage, thanks to the double-faced action of the British authorities, of which we had a taste in the B.B.C. reporter's propaganda report of the fighting, sometime back, in Elizabethville by the Indian troops of the U. N. We shall start by giving pieces of news extracts, of U.S. origin to show how British and Belgian financial interests are trying to defeat the U.N. moves, purely in their own interest. The first news-item, appended below is of official origin :

"Washington, Dec. 27.—A State Department official today denounced a 'clever, big-money campaign' to win American public support for the Katanga regime, says Reuter.

"Mr. Carl Rowan, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, described as 'cynical and dishonest' the argument that Mr. Tshombe should get support because he was anti-Communist. In a speech prepared for delivery to a college fraternity conference in Philadelphia, he said a propagandist for Katanga in the U.S.A., had spent at least $140,000 this year in publicity for Mr. Tshombe.

"Mr. Rowan said : 'Some of the Americans, crying loudest about what the U.N. is doing to Mr. Tshombe, wouldn't be caught dead having lunch with the Katangan leader'."

The second set of extracts is from the **New York Times** of December 17. We reproduce it **in extenso** because it gives not only the why and wherefore of the Katanga complications but also shows that the press in U. S. is well aware of the causitive factors.

"The political jungle that is the Congo, still seemed last week, to be full of heavy thickets but there were signs of possible break-through

"The internal problem was whether secessionist Katanga province could be brought under the authority of the national Congo government. The international problem was whether the United States and its Western allies could agree on a policy for the United Nations in the Congo.

"Yesterday, blue-helmeted U.N. soldiers scored a major victory in Katanga, driving the secessionist regime out of its capital. The military triumph appeared likely to diminish the Allied criticisms of the U.S. and U.N. which had come to the fore during the week.

"Three large issues were at stake : the future of the Congo, the future of the U.N., and the future of the cold war. Resolution of the Katanga problem would help stabilize the Congo, strengthen the authority of the U.N., and perhaps neutralize a strategic African republic against cold war pressures. Failure in Katanga might mean a Congolese civil war, the end of the U.N. effort, and perhaps great-power intervention in an African 'Korea.'

"The Congo problem has four main aspects: (1) internal political rivalries; (2) United Nations policies and resolution; (3) differences

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among the Western Allies; and (4) the threat of Russian intervention.

"*Internal rivalries* have torn the Congo ever since its first fortnight of independence seventeen months ago. The most important has been the secession of Katanga, the largest and richest province.

"Moise Tshombe's regime in Elisabethville, backed by white political advisers and army officers, has sought virtual independence for Katanga. All factions of the national Congo government in Leopoldville—now headed by moderate Premier Cyrille Adoula—are agreed that the nation is not viable without Katanga's mineral wealth. (A single firm, the British-Belgian Union Miniere de Haut-Katanga, has paid the Tshombe regime $52 million in taxes and dividends this year.) Mr. Adoula's government, however, is under pressure from extreme nationalists, led by leftist Antoine Gizenga from a quasi-separate domain in Eastern Province.

"The basic *U.N. policy* has been to maintain 'law and order' and restore the Congo's 'territorial integrity.' Disagreements have arisen over whether, to achieve these aims, force should be used against the Tshombe regime. A majority of the 104 nations in the General Assembly, for differing reasons, now favours doing so. That majority is led by the Afro-Asian bloc, now fifty nations strong.

"The U.N. began applying military pressure in Katanga three months ago, after a half-year of fruitless negotiations with Mr. Tshombe. Specifically, it attempted (in pursuit of a February Security Council resolution) to remove the foreign 'mercenaries' from Katanga. Mr. Tshombe resisted, and in September—with some aid from British diplomacy—the Katangese Army emerged victorious from an eight-day battle with U.N. troops.

"Three weeks ago, the Security Council voted (9-0, with Britain and France abstaining) a new, somewhat ambiguous mandate for the U.N. forces. The resolution demanded that 'all secessionist activities . . . . in Katanga shall cease forthwith.' It authorized 'vigorous action, including the requisite measure of force, if necessary' to oust the 'mercenaries' and bar outside aid to the secession.

"As for the *Allied differences*, the U.S. supports the Adoula Government and the U.N. operation in Katanga. It considers that a united Congo aided by the U.N. offers the best hope of thwarting Communist penetration of Central Africa. The U.S. believes that Mr. Tshombe has shown bad faith in previous dealings with Leopoldville and the U.N. The U.S. view is supported by many, but by no means all of its allies.

"Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and other states which oppose action against Katanga are partly influenced by political and economic commitments in the area. The Congo's neighbour states include Britain's Rhodesian Federation, the former French Congo, Belgian Ruanda-Urundi and Portuguese Angola—all of which fear a strong, united Congo. In addition, there is fear of a precedent for U.N. military intervention in colonial and former colonial areas.

"*Russia's role* has been to support Mr. Gizenga and denounce Mr. Tshombe as an 'imperialist stooge.' Moscow has in the past offered to provide military aid to reconquer Katanga. In recent months, both the Leopoldville Government and the U.N. have made it clear that they wish no Soviet interference. But Russia's attacks on British-French policy indicate that the Communists would move swiftly to exploit a U. N. failure."

The situation in Congo is slightly more hopeful just at present, not because of the U. N. troops clearing up the haunts of the arch-enemies of united Congo in Elizabethville, but because of the signs of officialdom in the U. S. A. awaking to the fact that the "Old Gang" has been at its favourite game of playing the "Gullible Yankee" for a fool.

In any case, the world of Afro-Asiatics seems to be well aware by now that the forces of reaction are now actively working now to stop the movements for the liberation and unification of peoples who have long been the victims of European predatory races. And if this awareness turns to bitterness then the Western Bloc will have to face disaster in those areas, despite N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and all other assorted alphabetical permutations. It is all very well to talk about the "Free World" and "captive peoples" but what really counts is even justice for all humanity, when it

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comes to a test. And in this test even the U.S.A., has failed the Afro-Asiatic peoples, through crass ignorance about basic facts about Asiatic and African countries and peoples and the consequent inability to distinguish between truth and falsehood, right and wrong in any clash of interests in which any Asiatic or African nation is involved where the other party or parties are highly skilled fabricators of "artificial truths," "white lies," and other varieties of false propaganda, and are her own allies in the cold war as well.

The situation in Berlin remains the same at the close of the year, though somewhat less tense, due to the somewhat relaxed attitude of Mr. Khrushchev.

In Laos, the same endless chain of meetings between the three Laotian Princes continues. No stable solution of the problem seems to aimed at, as the Princes themselves are seemingly being played as pawns by their backers, who in their turn have yet to make up their minds as to how far each will allow the other side to proceed. There is no give and take apparent in the negotiations and as a result a stalemate till the next outbreak of hostilities is all that can be expected at the turn of the year.

The Food Situation

The Food prospect for this country seems to be viewed differently by different authorities. Shri S. K. Patil, the Minister for Food and Agriculture, at the Centre, made a public confession of pessimism and despondency at the way some basic problems that beset our country's agricultural system are being tackled. He said this while delivering the Convocation address at Pusa Agricultural Institute. The Minister said that glaring gaps and deficiencies met the eye, whichever way he looked at it and they betrayed undoubted neglect and indifference to agriculture during the last half-century.

The Minister told the agricultural scientists and students assembled that an answer will have to be found to explain why India was still backward in spite of a record of 50 years of agricultural research. One reason was, he felt, that what was achieved in the laboratories was not carried out to the fields. There was also the "ivory tower" existence of many of our scientists who were too attracted by the glamour of fundamental research to put their energies in harness for considerations of practical utility. Without decrying the quality of the work of such scientists, Shri Patil said the deficiencies were too glaring to be ignored and the problems which science had to conquer in the field of agriculture in this country were enormous. He mentioned India's inadequate knowledge of the soil which had made the drive for the use of fertilizers an empirical business.

He said the distribution of high quality seeds "is more statistical than real" and that traditional cropping methods being prevalent, large economic wastes were inevitable. In conclusion he said that in the final analysis, success or failure depended on what the farmer was able to do. It was essential, therefore, that the scientist placed in the farmers hand all that he needed in way of capital's know-how and scientific aids and facilities.

As opposed to the grim picture drawn by Shri Patil we have the highly optimistic pronouncements of a spokesman of the Food and Agricultural Ministry at Centre. He held out bright prospects of another good **Kharif** crop, the main cereal being rice in 1962. He further said that agricultural production as a whole was likely to maintain, or even outstrip in some cases, the level of 1961, which had a "record" foodgrain production of nearly 80 million tons. This progress, said the spokesman, has been made despite devastating floods and other handicaps.

This optimistic statement does not in any way qualify Shri Patil's statements. The trouble about statistical statements is that they give an idea of immense production without indicating as to how they measure in the terms of per acre production or food-grains allocation, quantitatively measured in proportion to the population.

Emotional Integration Committee

The twelve-man committee headed by Dr. Sampurnanand, the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, has submitted a preliminary report, containing some recommendations which are at the end of this note. We

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do not know how far these recommendations would be taken up by the authorities of the various States for there has developed a custom, both at the Centre and in the States of setting up commissions, when uncomfortable situations or problems arise that exercise the public mind, and then pigeon-holing the findings or the reports, hoping that the public would forget the matter and thereby save the authorities from dealing with troublesome issues. This "laissez faire" policy has allowed the forces of disruption and factional tendencies to develop into a major disintegration movement, which is acting along fission lines caused by parochialism, linguism, communalism, and other forces tending to disrupt the Indian Union.

Emotional Integration is the obvious remedy and, therefore, a committee was formed and the former Chief Executive of a major State was put at its Head. But setting up a commission is one thing and putting its recommendations to actual working condition by forming a compulsory administrative code out of it, is quite another thing. Indeed, very few commissions of this type even get the due consideration at the executive level, unless pressure is brought to bear on the matter either by the press or by parliamentary groups.

There is the General Election, imminent, and after that the formation of governments at the Centre and at the State levels. So, there is hardly any point in going into details of the recommendations with a critical pen. But they are worthy of record as it is evident that the commission has devoted ample time and due consideration to the very complex problem set before them for devising methods of solution. The salient points of the recommendations are appended below and they are worthy of earnest consideration :

1. (a) The Third Five-Year Plan envisages the provision of universal primary education. Such an extension of educational facilities would go some distance towards removing traditional disabilities of large sections of our people. The situation as it is emerging requires a review of the existing policies of assisting the socially handicapped.

(b) There are also other sections of people who suffer from social disabilities. It is not only necessary to provide wider educational facilities for students from these sections but to devote special attention to them. Measures must be taken to attract them to schools and improve the level of their education so that they can compete on less unequal terms with the advanced members of our society.

For such students it is essential to have a better teacher-pupil ratio, and for such teachers, better training and remuneration should be provided. The extra expenditure incurred in this connection, in the opinion of the committee, is perfectly justified.

(c) In regard to admissions to educational institutions and the award of scholarships and fellowships, national integration will be furthered if these are decided on the basis of means and merit. In considering means not only the income, but the educational and social background of the parents' need to be taken into account.

Such criteria which are essentially social and economic will be far more relevant to our secular, democratic State than any based on caste and religion. The committee is firmly of the opinion that together with determined efforts to assist in an effective manner the socially handicapped, we should move towards the adoption of criteria that are free from the age-old divisive characteristics of our society.

(d) Hostels should not be set aside for any one community or group. They should be open to all and mixing should be encouraged. It is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution and national unity to encourage separatism in academic institutions.

Recognition should not be given to institutions where divisive tendencies are encouraged. However, in those cases where institutions are maintained by trusts or donors every effort should be made to persuade trustees and donors to open them to all communities. They should also be advised to get the trust deeds or gift deeds suitably changed through the appropriate court.

(e) Application forms for admissions to schools and colleges, other educational institutions and hostels, for recruitment to the various services and for scholarships should not contain

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any column seeking information regarding an applicant's caste or religion.

(f) Domiciliary restrictions in regard to migration of students at school and college level should be removed and every State should freely admit to its educational institutions students from other States, particularly at the university level.

2. (a) The committee is in agreement with the importance assigned to education by the National Integration Conference recently and it further broadly endorses the recommendation made by the conference in this behalf.

(b) The committee agrees with the Chief Ministers' conference that the linguistic minorities are entitled to get instruction in their mother-tongue at the primary stage of education. Effective steps should be taken to implement this principle not only in the letter but also in the spirit.

(c) At the secondary stage the medium of instruction will generally be the regional language or where certain circumstances prevail, another language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, or English.

(d) The committee endorses the three-language formula recommended by the Chief Ministers' conference. The committee regrets to note that the three-language formula has been misapplied in various ways by certain States. The variations result in either the three-language formula in practice operating as a two-language formula or in ignoring the need to study the two link languages, Hindi and English.

The formula should be clearly understood to mean that all students beyond the primary stage must learn both Hindi and English. Primary education will be in the mother-tongue, secondary education will be in the regional language or in the mother-tongue in the case of linguistic minorities provided (i) the mother-tongue is one of the languages of the Eighth Schedule, and (ii) students in sufficient number are available who desire education in such a language.

A further variation that will have to be allowed is the use of English or Hindi as the medium of instruction in selected secondary schools provided that the other language Hindi or English as the case may be, and the regional language are also added.

At the university level, if the medium of instruction is the regional language, Hindi and English will be added as separate languages for study. It urges that not only should the formula be implemented forthwith but the opportunity be availed of in the Hindi-speaking regions to teach one of the South Indian languages as a reciprocal gesture to the need for learning Hindi in South India.

(e) The committee recognises the need for strengthening the link for inter-State communication as also for developing another link for contact with the international world and with advances in sciences and technology. To this end the committee recommends that the study of Hindi and English should commence in the school at an early stage.

(f) As regards the medium for university education, the committee feels that the regional languages are bound to replace English as the medium of instruction over a period of time. The committee is strongly of the view that such a change-over must be accompanied by the strengthening of the link of inter-State communication and for this purpose Hindi must continue to be taught as a second language as in the secondary stage of education where necessary and, further that English will continue to be studied not only as an important language but as the medium of communication with the world and a source of enrichment for all our languages.

(g) The committee is of the opinion that where schools and colleges using minority languages cannot be affiliated to Universities or Boards within the State they may be affiliated to Universities or Boards outside the State. Existing affiliations may continue.

(h) The committee recommends that research should be undertaken on graded and basic vocabularies in the various Indian languages, to facilitate the implementation of the three-language formula and in view also of the fact that it is likely that the regional languages will ultimately be used for university education. The common Indian language which will ultimately take the place of English as a means of inter-State communication should also have its vocabulary enriched and strengthened, and its alphabet simplified.

For this purpose the vocabulary should be drawn from all the living languages of India and "from the forms, style and expressions used in

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Hindustani and in other languages of India", as laid down in Article 351 of the Constitution. The need, therefore, for an All-India Research Centre in Indian languages, is in the opinion of the committee, imperative.

3. The committee does not propose in this preliminary report to take up the question of text books and the many problems that they present, as they will be dealt with more fully in the main report. It, however, makes the following recommendations for immediate implementation:

(a) Scholarships and fellowships: Scholarships and fellowships for specialised training abroad in text-book writing, production and illustration should be instituted on a priority basis in view of the urgent need for trained personnel in these two fields. Assistance from UNESCO may be obtained, where necessary, in getting the Trainees|Fellows suitably placed.

(b) World Seminar on text books : To ensure that the country's problems in regard to text-book publication are not studied in isolation the committee recommends the convening of a World Seminar on school text-books and supplementary readers, with India as the venue, in October 1962, as part of the U.N. Day programme. Such a seminar would help teachers and educationists, text-book writers and publishers in India to profit from the experience of other countries.

4. The committee feels that there are certain measures of a more or less ceremonial nature which have a great influence on the moulding of character in young children. They help to create a group consciousness sensitive to stimuli. With this end in view the following are suggested :

(a) The school uniform: The committee considers it necessary to have a common uniform in schools. It is possible that a large number of students may find it difficult to meet the cost, particularly where climatic conditions necessitate the use of two sets. However, the necessary money for these uniforms would have to be provided by the Government even though the whole cost need not fall on the exchequer. A substantial subsidy should be enough.

(b) Daily assembly: It would be advisable to begin classes everyday with a gathering of all the students in the open air or the school hall depending on the season: After roll call there should be a 10-minute talk by the Head of the institution or a senior teacher. The talk need not be extempore but a striking excerpt from the lives and speeches of well-known personalities—ancient or modern—could easily form an occasional feature of this morning assembly.

Much depends, of course, on the standard of the talk and on a uniform excellence being maintained. A series of talks, either collections from great writers or speeches by distinguished Indians, could be made available on gramaphone records or in print.

Some schools perhaps already follow a similar method. It would be useful to extend it to schools all over the country and to see that a suitable collection of talks is put into a volume and made available to all schools. Audio-visual aids should also be used to help the teachers to equip themselves for these talks.

After the talks and before the children disperse, there should be a mass singing of the National Anthem. Children should not only know how to sing the National Anthem but they should also know all the verses of the Anthem and their meaning.

Competent translations of the Anthem should be made in all the regional languages for this purpose. The story of the National Flag and the Anthem should be familiar to every child.

(c) The Head of the institution should make it a point to have a gathering of students, teachers and parents twice a year at the beginning of each term where in addition to the brief resume of important events connected with the institution in the previous term and of activities which are planned for the current term, he should impress upon all students of their responsibility to the school and to the country. At this gathering students should repeat standing a pledge dedicating themselves to the service of their country and their countrymen.

(d) Students exchange and tours: Conducted tours of students from one State to another should be undertaken in increasing numbers and it is equally important to have conducted tours for teachers. These inter-State visits, if properly organised, should do much to acquaint both teachers and children with different parts of our country.

In this connection the committee would like to emphasise that the Youth Hostel Movement needs to be taken up more seriously. A network

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of youth hostels should be set up by all the States in selected places.

(e) School improvement: The committee is of the opinion that when so much needs to be done to improve the quality and standard of our school buildings and campus it would be very useful if every school and every institution could carry out a plan, however small it might be, in this regard.

Activities not necessarily in the curriculum could be taken up so that children could contribute in their own small way to the growth of the school. This would not only increase their pride in and loyalty to the school but would also help in improving the school for future students. All encouragement should be given to them to undertake campus activities in their own areas.

5. (a) The committee does not propose at this stage to go into detailed recommendations regarding the curriculum but would recommend that the study of history and geography needs to be made compulsory in every school, having regard to the importance of these subjects as fields of study where emotional integration can be fostered. Equally important is the need to teach children about India's developmental projects not on a regional but on an All-India basis.

(b) The committee is of the view that the keystone of any educational structure is the teacher and the training colleges have a vital role to play in preparing teachers for the task of teaching subjects in such a way that the essential unity of the country is woven into the very fabric of the child's personality.

Immediate steps should, therefore, be taken to have hand-books prepared for the teaching of Social Studies and Languages, with a view to fostering national unity. The teacher should always bear in mind that education should enable a child not only to develop his abilities and individual judgment but also his sense of moral and social responsibility.

It should provide for the harmonious development of his personality by providing for his intellectual, moral, social and aesthetic needs. It should prepare him for good citizenship, for loyalty and service to the country and its traditions and culture.

Handbooks should be prepared for the use of every primary and secondary school teacher with these objectives in view containing suggestions for organising in all schools on a planned basis, for fostering national unity. These handbooks should form an essential part of the equipment of every teacher who should apply and adapt these suggestions to suit the special conditions of the school in which he works.

6. The institution of an All-India Award for the best general essay in each State from high school and college students, on any other State in India, its climate, the characteristics of its people, social customs, plan projects and so on, is desirable.

The essay need not be erudite but should show adequate knowledge well-presented. The winner of each award may be given a free All-India tour. (Perhaps the Ministry of Transport and the Railways can help in this connection by providing free travel and free accommodation.)

In conclusion the committee would like to emphasise that programmes undertaken for the promotion of emotional integration in schools and colleges would have at best a limited effect unless they have the full co-operation of the community for their implementation.

Accidents on Railways

Railway administration having degenerated very rapidly during the last decade, major accidents causing grievous damage to life and property has become frequent. Loss of goods in transit and damage in various ways has also increased to the extent of 30 to 50 per cent above what it was in the pre-independence days. Added to that, the question of theft from passengers in running trains has also become a constant risk in railway travel, more particularly in the State of Bihar.

In the case of major accidents the railway authorities have adopted the subterfuge of declaring that the disaster was caused by an act of sabotage. The investigations being limited to railway accident inspection personnel, the inevitable declaration comes forth that the accident was caused by saboteurs. Judicial enquiries on the evidence of sufferers are ruled out by the highest authorities, evidently to avoid troublesome or damaging verdicts on Railway Administration, right from the Ministerial level. How loosely these enquiries are made

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and on what concocted evidence, has been made clear by a recent report by the Forensic laboratories of the Indian Police department, at Calcutta. The evidence materiel put forward by the railway authorities, in support of their report that the rail accident near Siliguri was caused by sabotage, was subjected to an intensive examination by the specially-trained staff of the Forensic laboratories. A report appeared in Calcutta newspapers to the effect that the evidence, in the form of damaged or criminally displaced permanent way material, showing the activities of saboteurs, was found to be clumsily fabricated. If that report was true then the railway authorities have fraudulently pronounced the accident to be caused by sabotage. The motive for such an act of deception is not far to seek. "Sabotage" means that the charges of criminal neglect of duty on the part of the railway staff and personnel cannot be put forward and further, in accidents caused by sabotage **the railway has no liability to pay compensation to the sufferers, unless they be railwaymen.** And, therefore, excepting in extremely glaring cases of neglect or rashness, the inevitable pronouncement is made that it is another case of sabotage, by the railway authorities.

In the case of loss or damage of goods in transit, the railway authorities have become increasingly unwilling and obdurate in compensating the sufferer. Long lawsuits, which involve both time and large sums of money is becoming more and more common, where claims are made. Recently a news-item appeared in Calcutta papers, where a Civil Court had given an order to a judgement creditor of the Eastern Railways, to realize his dues by attachment and sale of furniture and equipment of a railway station not twenty miles from Calcutta! The railways had refused to listen to the court's decree for compensation after having subjected the claimant to every possible legal harassment over a period of five years and more, and in the last resort the court had issued an order for attachment and sale.

The prime-sufferers, the members of the public, are helpless in the face of Ministerial obduracy and neglect, which has encouraged the slacker and the criminally negligent among the staff of the railways and discouraged the really dutiful amongst the responsible officers, who find that Ministerial ignorance linked with nepotism and parochial and party considerations are increasingly putting a discount on honesty and dutifulness. The result has been a disastrous and lamentable degeneration in railway efficiency in maintainance, running and general administration. The cause of it all stems from the top.

The Elections are near and some little care must be taken not to wound public feelings over much at this stage. There have been debates in the Lok Sabha about the recent chain of accidents. So some palliative measure to soothe the fretful public mind for the time being must be found. Of course, once the elections are over and the irresponsible and inefficient incumbents are back in saddle for a term of five care-free years, Shri and Shrimati common citizen might well go and cry in the wilderness.

What is, or rather what are the palliatives, the soothing syrup, or the gold-brick, as you mav like to call it ?

Regarding accidents on railways, we learn from the **Hindu** that an Enquiry Committee has been set up, as was hinted in Parliament by the Union Minister for Railways. The details of the proposed committee as given by the **Hindu** are appended below :

"The committee, it is learnt from reliable sources, will consist of five members from Parliament and two technical personnel. Dr. H. N. Kunzru, M.P., Mr. Satyacharan Shastri, M.P., Mr. T. B. Vittal Rao, M.P., Mr. N. R. M. Swamy, M.P., Mr. Jaipal Singh, M.P., Mr. K. L. Ganguli and Mr. J. N. Nanda are expected to serve on the committee.

"Dr. Kunzru, whose vast knowledge of railway working in India is well-known, will be the chairman of the committee.

"Mr. K. L. Ganguli, a former Chief Government Inspector of Railways, has long experience in the investigation of accidents. The other technical member of the committee, Mr. J. N. Nanda, is a civil engineer and was the General Manager, Nizam State Railway, before its integration with the Indian Railway system.

"Mr. P. C. Shukla, a Deputy Director in the Railway Board, will, it is understood, act as Secretary to the committee.

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"The committee, as stated by the Railway Minister in Parliament, will not only consider the question of train accidents in all its relevant aspects but will also suggest ways for further minimising the incidence of such railway mishaps."

Regarding the question of loss or damage in transit of goods entrusted to the Railways for carriage . We find another report in a different paper, the **Hindusthan Standard.** The report goes to say :

"With the introduction of what is known as 'common carrier's responsibility' from the new year, the Indian railways will have to take added responsibility for the goods carried by the railway system in the country.

"Except in the case of damage owing to natural calamities, war and activities of public enemies, the railways will have to pay full compensation for the goods damaged during the custody of the railways. The railways will have to prove that they have taken all possible steps against the loss and damage of the goods carried by them.

"The Indian Railways Act has already been amended in this connection and an additional sum of Rs. 2 crores have been sanctioned for this purpose in the current year's railway budget. This will mean the introduction of a new and stringent packing system and extra responsibility for the railway staff.

"After independence, pilferage in railway godowns and wagon-breaking have increased by about 30 to 50 per cent than what these were in the pre-independence days. In the last financial year, the railways paid a sum of Rs. 4 crores as compensation for the goods damaged or lost during transit by the railways, the Eastern Railway alone paying a sum nearly Rs. 70 lakhs.

"It is felt that if the Government does not take effective steps to prevent wagon-breaking and pilferage of goods from the possession of the railways, the amount of compensation the railways will have to pay under the new system will tremendously go up.

"The new system is being introduced on the lines of that existing in the railways in the United Kingdom. At present, the Indian railways have limited responsibility for the goods carried by it under the Indian Contracts Act."

These two reports, about the setting up of an Enquiry Committee and the extension of the liabilities of the Railways to the "Common Carriers Responsibility" limits, from the new year, carry good news undoubtedly, but within very narrow limits. We know by bitter experience that the findings of Enquiry Committees—or even Commissions—are set at nought by our Ministers, if they are not to the liking of these great men or their bureaucratic advisors, and we have not the slightest doubt that the same treatment will be meted out to the findings and recommendations of this Enquiry Committee, unless of course the findings whitewash the shortcomings of the Ministry and its Staff and the recommendations enlarge the scope of shady appointments, unjust superceding of dutiful officers and the other sins of omission and commission that are rampant in the present day railway administration, which is getting more and more corrupt, thanks to the men at the top.

Major accidents on Railways would diminish only if there be full and complete judicial enquiry and the findings thereof be established as a basis for the bringing to book those who have, directly or indirectly, brought it about. If criminal neglect is the cause of loss of life and property then in all justice the men responsible for the act should face a civil and criminal charge. Mere whitewashing of a dastardly crime and sheltering the irresponsible officers and men by putting the label of "sabotage" on all accidents, has gone too far. And the voluntary act of resignation, as performed by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, should become an unwritten law if such accidents become too frequent.

We do not know the terms of reference in the case of the Kunzru Enquiry Committee, nor do we know whether it will at all function, but we would like to ask for an enquiry into the causes of progressive deterioration of efficiency and integrity in the conducting of the railway administration.

Then come the questions of crime on Railways, leading to loss or damage to life and property on the railways. We have previously stated that Bihar has the unenviable record of leading in major crimes of robbery and violence, where passenger

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trains are concerned. At the time of closing these notes the news of a particularly horrible crime has appeared in the **Hindusthan Standard** of December 31. We append it below:

"Four upper class passengers, two of them women, were murdered by unknown persons in the running Bombay Mail between Kodarma and Hazaribagh Road stations during the early hours on Saturday, according to information received from our correspondent at Saraiya (Hazaribagh).

"The bodies were later picked up from the railway embankment, at different points, suggesting thereby that the victims of the crime were thrown out from the moving train by the assailants before they escaped. A 55-year old gentleman, identified as Mr. Gopesh Chandra Das of Nabadwipdham, was picked up from the track in an unconscious state.

"The four bodies have been kept at Kodarma railway station. The injured gentleman has been admitted to railway hospital at Hazaribagh Road.

"Details of the incident are still unknow; but according to information received by our correspondent, the assailants were believed to have boarded a First Class compartment of the Bombay Mail at Gaya; and then as the train was moving fast between Kodarma and Hazaribagh Road station, they attacked the passengers with daggers carried by them.

"The assailants took away cash and ornament from the killed and wounded passengers, threw them out of the moving train and left quietly at a station where the train stopped.

"Railway gangmen working in the morning on the track saw the gentleman lying unconscious. They stopped the down Sealdah-Pathankote Express by showing red flag and sent the gentleman to Hazaribagh Road station.

"Simultaneously, bodies of a young man and a woman were found some half a mile away from the place. Two other bodies, of a man and a woman, were recovered from the track side near Pareshnath station."

We do not want to jump to conclusions on the basis of a newspaper report. But even if the report be substantially true—, i.e., to the extent that the criminals entered a first class compartment at a wayside station in the dead of night—then the fact stands out a mile high that some person or persons attached to that station, either as railway personnel or as police staff, are implicated.

It is known to every person who has had the experience of trying to get in at a way-side station into an upper class compartment at night, that the passengers who are already in there do not open the door unless the station staff or the police insist on it, and even on their insistence the door is not opened excepting on prolonged negotiations. Four assailants could not have just slipped in, without the passengers raising a hue and cry at that act.

Large-scale pilferage also indicates the complicity of Railway and Police Staff. The mere extension of the Railways Act, or the amendment thereof will not ameliorate the conditions. It might, of course, make it possible for the sufferers, if they have enough money and tenacity, to obtain fuller compensation after the lapse of three to seven years of litigation.

What is needed is to prevent the further deterioration of the conditions of railway travelling and transport in all aspects. The prime necessity is to make the corrupt or inefficient fully liable, in civil and criminal sections for the damage to life and prosperity caused by acts of omission or commission by them. THE EDITOR

Portugal's Imperial Rights

Portugal, like most other European countries, began its existence as a nationally-organised political entity, in the form of a kingdom. The last king of Portugal was King Manuel II whose kingdom was proclaimed a Republic by his white subjects in 1910. Thereafter, the Portuguese had a series of Presidents of their Republic, three among whom resigned, one was deposed and one assassinated. On the 19th of March, 1933, Portugal formed a "unitary and corporative republic"* (whatever it meant) and later on in 1959, made another amendment to her constitution by which it became, according to the declared feelings of the Portuguese people, an even more perfect Republic of which Doctor Antonio de Oliveira Salazar was the Prime Minister. The religion of Portugal is Roman Catholicism but there is freedom of worship, both in private and public, excepting for "creeds

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incompatible with morals and the life and physical integrity of the people."* For religious purposes "Portuguese territory is divided into six ecclesiastical provinces, with their seats respectively at Lisbon, Braga, Enora, Luanda (Angola). Lourenscо Marques (Mosambique) and Goa (Portuguese India)"* The Archbishop of Goa is also the Patriarch of Eastern India and from the point of view of religion, Goa is viewed as a part of the entire territory of Eastern India. In the matter of defence the Portuguese are largely a part of the N.A.T.O. and the purposes for which the N.A.T.O. has been set up do not include the maintenance of an Empire. In fact, Portugal does not have any Empire; but only overseas territories which are autonomous, at least on paper. And being autonomous one would assume that the people of these territories were free to determine what loyalties they would or would not have. The Salazar Government is in reality a dictatorship with a very transparent camouflage of constitutionality. The overseas territories of Portugal have always remained what they had been politically since the days of Portugal's kings who had been despots and had to be uprooted and deposed by the people of Portugal from the soil of continental Portugal. But the Portuguese had a double standard of political ethics and, though they wanted freedom and liberty for themselves they thought the "natives" of Asia, Africa and even South America were not entitled to have the same political rights as the whites or the semi-whites. This attitude of superiority to those, who due to circumstances, came to be governed by them had lost them in the past their great colonies in South America; but that did not make them any wiser. The British, after losing their great American colonies became wiser; and the more of freedom and liberty the people of Great Britain snatched from their royal overlords; the more of autonomy they granted to their colonies in Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand. They did not treat the whites and the non-whites as equals in point of political rights, but the British had nowhere in their colonies, dependencies and dominions any system of autocratic government and despotic rule which could compare with the vile tyranny the Portuguese practised over the non-whites of their territories in Africa and India. At heart the Portuguese remained the same barbarians that they had been during the days when their ships went to America and Asia on voyages of discovery and piracy; and treated the native peoples with a savagery that had no parallel in history with, perhaps, the exception of the barbarities committed by Spanish conquistadores. Treacherous, heartless, wanton and rapacious, the Portuguese had subjected entire communities to a fate, compared to which the galley slaves had a really happy time. In India, in the past, they had razed hundreds of temples to the ground, took away property by force, abducted women and, generally speaking, conducted themselves in a most obnoxious and uncivilised manner. It was, therefore, the Portuguese character that had alienated them from their subjects and nowhere had the people under Portuguese domination remained satisfied with their subjection to the worst of the European races. The South Americans broke away first and they were more Portuguese in language and culture than the people under Portuguese rule in Africa and Asia.

In Goa, as in Angola and Mosambique, there have been strong popular movements to shake off Portuguese rule, and even now the people of Portugal's African territories are agitating to gain political freedom. The people of Goa had always wanted to be free and since India became independent in 1947, this desire for freedom had become stronger. But neither the British nor the Americans had brought only pressure to bear upon the Portuguese to give up their deep attachment to ancient and anti-human political "rights". The fact that they had ruled their colonies for 400 years or more really proves nothing. For Indians have ruled India before the Muslim invasions for well over 2500 years and they had also ruled Ceylon, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other countries in Melanesia for long centuries without, however, claiming any political rights over any country on grounds of past overlordship. In recent times only China has claimed political suzerainty and even the right of conquerors over Tibet on

*The Statesman's Year Book.

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grounds of past imperial overlordship. But the fact that Tibet too, at one time, ruled over China, did not sound logical to the Chinese for accepting Tibetan rule over China, for reasons based on their complete faith in brute force as the strongest and final argument. The Portuguese too believe in the rights of the people for governing themselves and for choosing their own ways of life, avocations and conduct; for, they had overthrown their own King and Presidents in the past and formed their own governments by right of self-determination. They, of course, followed a different standard as far as the rights of their subject races went in their colonial territories. But that was neither logical nor could the Portuguese expect the victims of their false political theories to agree with them and surrender their destinies to the whims and fancies of the white people of Portugal. So that the same logic and ethics which enabled Brazil to break away from Portuguese tyranny and overlordship, would also hold good for any other subjects of Portugal. And the right of Goa to be free cannot be challenged on ethical grounds, nor opposed by any political argument.

The question is whether India had any right to intervene in the affairs of Goa. Now, India had been fighting for freedom for a long time and that fight included, all expressed as well as latent struggle for freedom of all the peoples who lived in this sub-continent. The British left India in 1947 and believing in the ethics and logic of self-determination, India even agreed to a partition of India in response to the desire of a handful of Muslim agitators to form a separate State for the Muslim majority areas of India. The French and the Dutch possessions were by and by surrendered by them to India and it was only natural and just to expect that, the Portuguese would also give up their imperialistic hold over their Indian possessions. But unfortunately they did not do so during the long period that followed the surrender of India to the Indians by the British. Their misgovernment of Goa grew more and more tyrannical, and chaotic and the Portuguese persecuted, tortured and murdered many Indians who lived in Portuguese India. All nations have a right to help friendly peoples in distress. The French helped the Americans during the War of Independence. The British have attacked many kingdoms in India to safeguard something or other as understood by them. The Anglo-Americans have interfered in Russian affairs after the 1917 Revolution and later in Cuba and elsewhere. The Russians intervened in Hungary and the Chinese in Korea. In such circumstances as we find now to exist in world politics, we cannot say that the Government of India had done any wrong by invading the Indian territories kept down in subjection by the Portuguese. The Portuguese called their Indian possessions **Estado da India**, so that their hypocritical assertion that their possessions overseas were integral parts of Portugal, was nothing more than a mere hypocritical assertion with no basis of fact attached to it. The Indians had tolerated foreign domination for a long time and when they became free they had no reason for tolerating Portuguese domination over a part of their country. Pakistan was governed by the Pakistanis, who were not foreigners by race, culture or tradition. They were a people who were Indians, now called by a different name for the appeasement of their religious fanaticism and political complexes. The U.S.A. and Great Britain were hoping that India would put her national pride and love of freedom at a lower level compared to her theoretical attachment to non-violence and her obligations to the U.N. Charter; but they were hoping for the impossible. India could never consider anything higher than her liberty and freedom. The logic and ethics of human liberty and freedom would always occupy a higher place than any political expediency. Portugal's fake imperial rights could never compare equally or better with the fundamental rights of humanity. Portugal ceased to be an empire as soon as the king of Portugal was deposed and Portugal became a republic. For that act of deposition made **all** the subjects of that king free and heirs to the sovereignty that was vested in the king. No particular group of subjects could claim that sovereignty exclusively and to the exclusion of other subjects. If they did so, it was an act of illicit appropriation what did not rightfully belong to the usurpers of sovereign

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power. So that, if at a later stage the deprived ex-subjects of the king or emperor kicked out the interlopers and assumed full sovereign powers politically, the persons who had been fraudulently enjoying those power could have nothing to complian about.

We are extremely pleased with the action taken by Pandit Nehru's Government and we do hope we shall see similar action in other fields too, where Indians are suffering at the hands of marauders and impostors. For in this world of fakes unless early steps are taken to assert one's own rights, the rights vanish entirely. **True Satyagraha** is a fight to the finish to establish truth and to destroy untruth, immorality and injustice. Meek surrender to brute force is a great sin. We have done this for a long time. Let us not submit to sinfulness any more.

A. C.

India Is Now Fully Independent

Why Pandit Nehru selected Bolpur for an electioneering speech we do not know. One might have thought the nearness of Viswa-Bharati would make him think of things intellectual and cultural rather than about the political achievements of his party. The liberation of Goa was an incident which made all Indian hearts happier; but it was not an incident of such great importance as to make the Prime Minister of India indulge in hyperbole. He said, in his Bolpur speech that the liberation of Goa had completed India's independence. If the independence of a country is to be measured by the number of square miles of that country which are independent compared to the total area of the country in square miles, then India is not yet completely independent. For many thousands of square miles of India are still under Chinese and Pakistani occupation and the total area of India under foreign domination vastly exceeds the area liberated in Goa. If, however, completion of independence has some other meaning one might ask Pandit Nehru whether freedom from starvation, want, illiteracy and aggression by dacoits and foreigners add to the sum-total of independence of a country in any manner. A.C.

One World Vs. Many India's

During the life-time of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Viswa-Bharati became an emblem of the spiritual unity of all human beings. When one spoke of one world and of one humanity they meant that fundamentally all human being were alike in point of their purer feelings and sentiments. Evil desires and the machinations of evil men split the world up into mutually antagonistic communities and separate states. Had all human beings been allowed to pursue their higher ideals without interference from politicians, party-mongers, gangsters and other creators of disunity, the world would have been peopled by one humanity and political geography would have shown a single united world without any divisions. In his Bolpur speech Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in a manner which suggested that India had many political partywise divisions. The Congress-made Constitution of India has divided India into many states. If now each state had further divisions by language, race, religion and political parties; there would then be about a hundred India's within India ! It would appear then that it had not taken our political leaders much time to destroy the dream of Tagore completely and to make it totally impossible to forge a single united world out of the many countries of this earth. A. C.

"If Necessary We Shall Fight"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in the course of his political speech at Bolpur that he would fight China, if he found it necessary. There is one thing about great men which common people find difficult to understand. It is their sense of necessities. For what the great men find quite unnecessary often appear to be extremely necessary to the man in the street. And what the great consider urgently necessary are usually of no consequence to common people. So that when Pandit Nehru said he would fight the Chinese if he found it necessary; there was no guarantee that he would ever find it necessary under any circumstances. For his sense of necessities should be highly rarefied as befits a man in his position. He has already said he did not consider it necessary to regain by force those bleak uninhabited heights which the Chinese have occupied in the Himalayas. We do not know what kind of climate, quality of soil and density of population will make our Prime Minister conscious of the necessity of recapturing territory from foreign aggression; and, for all we know even New Delhi may not fulfil the conditions required by him. We feel that in view of his ardent love for statistics Pandit Nehru will very soon make out a chart of priorities in the field of necessities. We shall then know how far the Chinese can occupy Indian territories without fighting with the Indian Army. A. C.

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EDUCATION FOR TOMORROW'S MANAGERS

A Case For Integrated Liberal Education

By NARENDRA K. SETHI

The growing significance of the Industrial leaders in the socio-economic organism of our free world is an indication of the fact that the business administrators of the future will observe a rapid enlargement in the scope of their executive action and a correspondent growth in their sociological vision. It is futile to offer them just a passive role in the shaping of the course of our society. Their field can no longer be encompassed within the immediate boundaries of their operational responsibilities. The present texture of the society expects more from them. They are bound to assume the position of leadership in developing the economic values of the country and thus contribute in a wider manner to the development of the concept of free enterprise. Therefore, one of the essential themes emerging from the Managerial Revolution of this decade is the gradual growth of the managerial quarter to the dominant position of leadership in the social organization of our composite social-mix.

How can the managers sustain this position of extreme responsibility ? How can they develop the proper perspective needed in maintaining their liberal status ? How can these industrial leaders co-ordinate their functions, faculties and economic values which will develop an integrated concept of "social leadership" in their mental picture ? These are some of the questions raised in this analysis and an effort has been made to define some of the major educational objectives of managerial success. The requirements of management leadership—both in its **creative** and **functional** aspects call for an approach based on the expectations of future role of assertive social status as well as on the needs of the present industrial environment and business "climate."

Essential Functional Themes

A manager, primarily is a leader in the broadest sense of the term. This aspect has received increased emphasis in the recent years. The successful business manager, therefore, has to combine the responsibilities of an administrator, the positive functions of a leader and the uncanny virtues of a statesman. His chief interest is his most significant asset—the manpower of organizaton. He understands their moods, their hopes, frustrations and motivations; he analyses their social values, aesthetic desires and intellectual modes and, finally, he sets himself the task of co-ordinating these things for the development and welfare of his business and the nation. Therefore, unconsciously, he acts as a sound delineator of human actions—adding a common desire and goal to them and thus leading them to achieve peak performances. This is an activity which requires a psychological insight of human mind and a dedicated intellect of powerful conviction.

Along with this primary function of leadership, the manager acts as a distinct decision-maker. He shifts the material around him ; changes their emphasis ; selects the bare themes ; figures out the various possible alternatives and in the final analysis, decides upon the best suited line of action. This activity requires an imaginative grasp of the entire situation and a strong mental faculty to weigh the alternatives, both existent and immediate as well as those still a long way off. Without a well-cultivated mind and a sharpened sense of business judgment, the manager will not be able to develop this creative decision-making process.

The third most pervading function of management is more socio-economic than purely business-oriented. It lies in shaping the future and foreseeing the course of future events. It may be termed a visionary anticipation of change or a formalistic emphasis on the long-range view. Any way, this activity requires a broad perception of the world and an ability to translate the events into easily understandable terms of social significance. In this particular capacity, therefore, the manager acts with a statesman-like vigor to which no event is too small to be left unnoticed and no effort

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too rigid to be left unattended. He labors under the sharp focus of the world happenings and learns how to pin-point the nucleus of these scattered global actions. This enables him to forsee the changing concepts of the people, the fleeting moments of the economic history and the curious episodes of the industrial life.

These three functions of psychological leadership, intellectual decision-making and statesmanship must operate in the framework of an over-all general conviction about the belief in the preservation of the system of Free enterprise and the liberal capitalistic way of life. The business manager is neither a rebel nor a dogmatic supervisor. He is a sympathetic leader and a cautious spokesman who learns to understand and appreciate opposing voices. With an analytical temper and a chiselled mind, he sets out to define the "Free Way" and if possible, visualize the degree of cultural differences between the economic judgment of his managerial actions and the responses of his "public" and the outer environment. This activity assumes a keener edge of understanding in the area of international management and foreign communication. In order to achieve success in this strategical area, the manager must possess mature techniques of communication, logical reasoning and wide vision.

Phases of Active Preparation

After having observed some of the more salient functions of management, we are now in a better position to reiterate the question that we had raised earlier how best can the manager of tomorrow be prepared to live up to these diverse sets of challenging responsibilities and how best can he develop his personal faculties to accomplish the objectives that the ever-changing face of our society has set for him ? Reduced to its bare terms, the question is whether managerial success is a function of extreme preparedness and training or of lucky breaks, chance and intuitive hunches. Perhaps, the oft-repeated but seldom understood cliche again arises here : **Are managers born or are they made ?**

As the social patterns and economic concepts of our historical ages change, a corresponding change in the "value-mix" of managerial responsibilities also occurs. And, therefore, without being too facetious and overly generalized, it can be said that while the managers of yesterday were **born**, those of today and more so of tomorrow will be **made**. The deep-set complacency and self-fulfillment of the age just past was the perfect breeding ground for those administrators who led through blissful intuition and visionary hunches ; the new character of the present age emphasizes change, disturbance, social upheaval and multi-dimensional progress and hence there is hardly any future for the intuitive administrator. The new age is one of conceptual criterion in management and not one of extra-rational judgment alone. These differences in the composition of the two ages have given two entirely different pictures of managerial functions and responsibilities. While one was authoritative, the other was co-operative ; while the former emphasized intuition, the other demanded perception ; one reflected self-sufficiency while the other thrived on incessant self-development.

It is clear, therefore, that the complex business and non-business disciplines of the modern age require a manager, trained and fully-prepared to meet these challenges. How, then, should he be trained in this process ?

The Variety of Approaches

There are various schools of thought on the issue regarding the best way to prepare the manager in facing up to the challenge of the day. One school holds strongly that the task of management cannot be learned since it is the result of lifelong dedication to industrial work and practical business experiences. This school maintains that management is a process of managing and consequently it can be learned by managing alone. To them, there is hardly any substitute for practical work. The second school of thought emphasizes the need of a functional or professional type of education. To this school, management appears as a distinct functional process requiring a degree of specialization and technical accomplishment. The third school of thought stresses the all-pervading broad aspects of

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management and hence emphasizes more the integrated characteristics of business administration rather than the specific functions. This calls for a blending of imaginative perception, sympathetic understanding and a broad intellectual front. All these things come under the banner of liberal education and humanities.

As a matter of fact, this variety of approaches is not something basically antagonistic to its components; it only seeks to describe the different aspects of management. Each of the three schools takes an individualistic view of the totality of the managerial function and thus proposes a program of education suitable to its concept of what actually managers perform. Thus, the whole controversy once again boils down to the task of defining the vital characteristics of the future managers. Once these essential themes are pin-pointed, the development of an approach to managerial education becomes relatively an easier task.

The Emerging Values in Management

It seems that the following four pointers convey the essence of the new managerial age and its dilemmas. These general convictions impress upon us the need of re-evaluation of the functions and the responsibilities of the coming age.

1. The socio-economic phase of our modern life seems to be attuned more to "fleeting moments" rather than to any permanent set of values. The new scientific innovations, technological improvements and techniques pose newer problems both of adjustment and education but surprisingly, the components of our human nature reveal very little change, if any.

2. The present structure of American industry is no longer immune from foreign competitions and overseas aggressions. It is apparent that future years will see increased foreign participation in our business activities.

3. In spite of rigid channelisation of human performance and specialized professionalism, non-conformity and individuality are greatly admired in the managerial circles. The economic 'rationale' of our business operations emphasizes greater creativity and individual brilliance than ever before.

4. Modern business strategy is increasingly becoming a major function of governmental interference and high-level official interest suggesting a swift break-through from the traditional policy of non-alignment with any business action followed by our administrative hierarchy in the previous ages.

These four points convey the spirit of the modern age and its managerial implications. We are rapidly moving into a new age, perhaps a transitional one, but nevertheless an age of new expectations and potentialities. In order to face up to this innovistic age, the future managers must meet these four salient characteristics and define ways and means to understand the same. As the managers will move outwards from the confines of their business life, their interests, obligations and occupations will grow in intensity. As their intellectual faculties get outer stimulation and motivation, their cultural allegiances will develop too. As they consciously strive towards enhanced creativity in their managerial spheres of actions, they will experience a sense of imaginative and aggressive participation in extra-business activities. All these things will develop a new breed of administrators, integrated and liberal; harmonious and well-adjusted.

And, undoubtedly, these broad mental disciplines can be cultivated only through a well-balanced program of liberal education combining arts and humanities. It is felt that this educational approach provides the necessary framework of development and stimulation to the modern executive in grasping the wide issues of the future.

The Liberal Pattern

There is hardly any anachronism in suggesting this educational concept for the administrator of the technological age of the day. But some people will ask how a liberally-trained manager will ever be able to conceptualise his thinking in terms of managerial science, operational research, systems-engineering and various other quantitative tools. This question is not only irrelevant, but also quite misleading. First, all these

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so-called scientific themes of controlling and decision-making are only tools in the hands of the management; they are not substitutes for management at all. Second, the wide perspective of the liberal education does not exclude scientific or quantitative studies from its domain. Third, and perhaps,, the most significant point is that this crude differentiation of administrative knowledge into two separate categories of arts and sciences is irrational. In this reference of management concept, the functional difference between **art** and **science** disappears. There remains only a difference of viewpoint. Art is perception; science is expression. One imagines the thing; the other exposes the same. Therefore, managerial education—at least in its liberal phase—seeks to remove this crude division of knowledge by emphasizing a homogeneity of concept and identity of administrative-values.

What is the character of this liberal education? How can it be defined in actual and realistic terms? Basically, it is a conscious intellectual activity. It develops the mental faculties and integrates the entire executive personality. It motivates, fulfills and encourages; it broadens, sharpens and inspires too.

How broad is the scope of this educational pattern? It does not seek to emphasize specialised perfections but only strives to liberate the hidden forces behind the manager. Therefore, subjects that broaden human intelligence, like history, logic and mathematics; subjects that sharpen faculties of communication, like literature, rhetoric and drama; subjects that stress ethical conduct and rich moral behavior, like philosophy, sociology and ethics, and finally, the subjects that expose the person to the complex structures of the period, like political economy, economics and international affairs are all basic ingredients of the liberal training program. These subjects do not stultify the executive mind by prearrived dogmas, cliches and custom-built themes but lead it to develop its own notions, concepts and periodical decisions. These subjects provide him with a basic context and a framework and from then on, it is up to the manager to form his own specific value judgments.

The administrator of tomorrow will primarily be a decision-maker and a leader. Hence, his first love will be attitudes, beliefs and human disciplines. The humanistic influence of this education will play a positive role in the development of his creative abilities in this direction.

The Vitality of Communication

Future managers are going to be associated more and more with the art of communicating with people. With the gradual increase in the complexities of the industrial life, the need for a well-balanced **system** of group relationships, mutual adjustment and corporate responsibilities will be felt in an increasing degree. This requires a subtle control over semantics: an imaginative use of words, symbols and themes with a command over the flexibility of the language. The managers would not be confined to the explanations of the balance-sheets alone but would be asked to express their ideas and concepts about their business units, industrial conditions and the over-all socio-economic tendencies of the time. This activity aims at achieving complete receptivity in the minds of the people at large. Hence, the managers must be well-prepared to project their messages across in a clear, understandable, simple and accurate manner.

Liberal education provides the manager with the necessary tools required in the art of **persuasive communication.** Perhaps, the administrator would not be required to write highly technicalized scientific reports and treatises, but he would, certainly be expected to express his thinking and translate his visions in everyday idiom. It is in this particular emphasis that the concept of liberal training comes handy.

The Breadth of Outlook

Management is a comprehensive art and it requires the services of a "fuller" man to accomplish all that the managerial strategy has to offer. The liberal educational program de-emphasizes any undue development of any specific faculty and aids in the development of the "entire man". The business leaders cannot reduce themselves to the category of automatons or complacent followers; they have to develop varying perspectives and differing viewpoints. The present argument does not suggest that the

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successful executives will ultimately adopt the negative functions of a "jack of all trades." Far from it, indeed. It is a broad familiarity with a variety of mental disciplines and administrative approaches that we seek, not just an intuitive perception of a few scattered and unrelated concepts. An off-hand and passing acquaintance with many subjects and a diffused mastery over a few topics are both somewhat destructive elements in the proper development of the managers. Liberal education is aware of this possibility and reduces the risk of such tendency by encouraging the businessman to portray his own personality, character and attitudes in a positive way through the wide framework of intellectual background and outlook.

How does this program of liberal training differ from either vocational or professional education? While liberal education is choice-oriented, vocational training is attuned to a rigid action-orientation. One offers unlimited possibilities in terms of future openings and career-choosings while the other practically administers a dogmatic and restrictive influence. In other words, at least in the immediate managerial reference, it can be said that one is the education for the "free executive," the other for the "functional technician." Liberal education, in the same viewpoint, also differs from informative education, technical training and dogmatic education of a specialised type.

The Creative Continuity

As a matter of fact, this proposed liberal training program for the potential executive is not confined to a few years of formal study in an institution. It is a continuous activity requiring life-long pursuit and desire. By continuously exploring newer intellectual expriences and modes of thought and stretching mental dimensions to newer administrative themes and leadership concepts, the business manager is able to preserve the freshness of his outlook as well as the creative originality of his approach. With experience and experimentation, he gets exposed to new subtleties of his management. In this way, a liberally-trained executive is always in the process of educating himself. His training never ends because it has no end. It is neither rigid nor static because a creative function of continuity can never develop these attributes at all.

In the final analysis, this liberal grounding will bring home an added consciousness of the need of an equilibrium and harmony in the minds of the business leaders. They are faced with the challenge of creating a harmonious whole of management out of these dissimilar disciplines of industrial complexities. This challenge becomes more acute in the context of international management. Out of seemingly different and hostile cultural values, business strategies, trade functions and managerial patterns in the international area, the potential executives have to frame and develop a model of managerial efficiency which would integrate these diverse socio-economic elements in a coherent system. This requires again an understanding with the functions of international affairs, universal business decisions and economic life in the different area-groupings. It is through a liberally-developed perspective that the executives can meet these stiff challenges in the rapidly growing structure of international management.

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Conclusion

The manager of tomorrow is a product of different social environment and economic attitude than his counter-part of the previous age. His action-area is broad; his influence great and his administrative impact is widely felt. In order to be successful in this multi-dimensional world of his, he has to prepare himself thoroughly in the most effective and the best possible manner. This is achieved not as much by vocational, professional or technical education as by an integrated system of liberal training, designed to develop the "full" executive.

The economic freedom of tomorrow depends much on the role that our business executives are going to play in the coming years. Their role calls for a sharpened intellect, widened vision, increased moral vigor and a disciplined imagination. Where, indeed, can they look for these bounties of personality except in the all-embracing domain of liberal education?

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INDIAN MINORITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

South-East Asia with an area of 1,600,000 square miles and a population of 170,000,000 consists of British Borneo possessions, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malayan Peninsula, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam (North and South). Excepting Vietnam on the north-east of the region, the boundaries of South-East Asia separate it effectively from the nearest land mass on all sides. It is fringed by water on the east, south and west. High mountains on the north divide it from India and China except from the north-east coastal region of Vietnam.

South-East Asia has been subjected to pressures from all sides all throughout history. Racially, culturally, economically and politically, it has been always a "low-pressure" area. It is peopled for the most part by the descendants of successive hordes of migrants from the north by ever-increasing pressures upon them, stemming in the last analysis from the Chinese. Compared with China, South-East Asia is a region of low population density. Patches of over-population notwithstanding, South-East Asian countries are, on the whole, sparsely populated and there is a heavy pressure of population from China and also to an extent from India. There are today about ten million Chinese and about a million and a half Indians[1] in the various countries of South-East Asia.

Throughout the long centuries of its history, South-East Asia has received cultural influences from all sides. The high level of civilisation attained, among others, Sumatra and Java in Indonesia and by Cambodia in the pre-modern period was due to the penetration of the area by Hinduism and associated social elements. Arabs, Chinese and Indian cultural influences are not far below the surface of South-East Asia even today. Cultural influences have, in a word, converged upon South-East Asia from China, India and Middle-East and also from America and Europe and all have been accepted. They have moulded the socio-cultural pattern of this part of the world. Cultural influences, it must be remembered, have never emanated from South-East Asia.

Economically, Arab, Chinese and Indian merchants fostered South-East Asian trade and commerce in olden days. Its economic structure, however, underwent a revolutionary change with the foundation of the Western power in this region. Subsistence agriculture, cottage industries and bartar economy gave place to the growing of food and raw materials for the world market, among others. The South-East Asian market was flooded with cheap, machine-made, finished factory products from the West. Cottage industries were cornered, if not altogether wiped out. Money economy drove barter economy out of existence. South-East Asia became a leader of the world rice, and rubber markets.[2] Politically too, South-East Asia has always been a low-pressure area. China, the Asian colossus, has moved southwards on several occasions. Vietnam was long tied to the apron-strings of Chinese imperialism. Kublai Khan's hordes devastated Burma, Cambodia and Champa (in Vietnam). He also sent an expedition to Java because the latter had helped Champa against China. Emperor Yun Lo (1403-24 A.D.) of the Ming Dynasty occupied most of Vietnam, controlled Upper Burma and sent several expeditions to the south to collect tributes and to persuade the local rulers to accept Chinese suzerainty. Indo-South-East Asian relationship, on the other hand, have always been peaceful in the extreme. But the expedition of Rajendra Chola I of Tanjore (1012-44 A.D.) against the Sailendras of Java shows what an aggressive India could do. Japan too struck at the region only once. But for the Anglo-American intervention she would have become today the arbitress of the destinies of South-East Asia.

The West took full political control of South-East Asia for a time. Western rule certainly did some good to it. But the evils of foreign rule always for outweighed the beneficial results thereof. Today South-East Asia is a principal arena of the cold war between the countries on either side of the iron curtain. It is clear from what has been said above that "As much in terms of international relations as of population, culture and economics, South-East Asia can best be understood in terms of a low-pressure area."[3]

Foreign penetration of South-East Asia, it is

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important to note, has been easy due to its division into a number of small political units. As van Mook puts it, the West found South-East Asia in the 16th century "a patchwark quilt of Kingdoms, principalities and tribal chieftainships, independent cities and local or regional confederations."[4]

Hindu and Buddhist merchants and missionaries sowed the first seeds of civilisation in South-East Asia. Java, Sumatra and many other regions in South-East Asia owe their earliest civilisations to India. Indian cultural influences, are still traceable in South-East Asia. About a million and a half Indians (and Pakistanis) are scattered all over the region. About 80 per cent of them are agriculturists and unskilled labourers.

The rest are traders and money-lenders with a sprinkling of doctors, lawyers and government and non-government employees. The majority of these Indians are from South India. Others are, by and large, Sikhs and Hindus from the Punjab, and Parsis from Bombay. There are a handful of Bengalis as well.

Pre-independence India was, on the whole, indifferent to the Indian community in South-East Asia. Only on rare occasions, in times of crisis, she showed interest in them. Her expression of anxiety for the Indo-Burmese riots of 1938 and for the economic distress of Malaya Indians during the trade-slump in the late twenties and early thirties is a case-in-point. The 1936 annual session of the Indian National Congress adopted the following resolution—"The Congress sends greetings to our fellow-countrymen overseas and its assurances of sympathy and help in their distressful condition and the continuing deterioration in their status in the territories in which they have settled. The Congress is ready and willing to take all action within its power to ameliorate their condition, but desires to point out that a radical amelioration in their status must ultimately depend on the attainment by India of independence and the power to protect her nationals abroad." The Congress set up a Foreign Department in 1936 with a twofold objective, *viz.*, to keep in touch with Indians overseas and to contact such international organisations as might be of help to India's quest for her lost heritage. The Department sent a circular to the Indians in various countries and published some literature on Indians overseas. Jawaharlal Nehru's Malaya and Burma tour in 1937 awakened for the first time national and political consciousness of his compatriots in these countries. It is a pity that this awakening was not made permanent by suitable propaganda and organisation.

Today, India stands high in the estimate of various South-East Asian people and their governments. Almost all of them have implicit faith in India's, particularly Nehru's, leadership in the field of international politics, Burmese Premier U Nu's message to a special news-reel broadcast by the All-India Radio, Delhi, on November 14, 1960, the 71st birth anniversary of Nehru, reflects what South-East Asia in general thinks of Nehru. Premier Nu, observed, "Just as a bright star cannot" help influencing "all heavenly bodies around it, Panditji's great influence has not been confined to India. Under his leadership India's peace-preserving efforts, ... have today come not only to be generally recognized, but even to be widely sought . . . . We Asians are happy, indeed, to acknowledge these great achievements of India under her great Prime Minister."

Not to speak of Buddhist Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, even predominantly Muslim Indonesia and Malaya cherish their Hindu-Buddhist Indian heritage, and are not ashamed of it. The situation, however, may change in the not very remote future. Enemies of India, both within and without, miss no opportunity of maligning and misrepresenting her. Our publicity in South-East Asia leaves scope for improvement. Paradoxical as it may sound, none of the South-East Asian Governments is very sympathetic to the Indian section of its population. They are either hostile or indifferent.

But why? For one thing, Indians are mostly unwilling to settle down permamently in South-East Asian countries and for sound reasons at that. India is a sovereign state today and many at home and abroad are optimistic about her future. Indian immigrants in South-East Asia are not, therefore, willing to renounce their Indian nationality. The policy pursued by some of the South-East Asian Governments and the internal condition of their countries do not inspire much confidence and the Indians are not

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very eager to identify themselves and their future with those countries. The attitude is selfish; but human nature being what it is, we must admit that it is only natural. For another, Indians are conservative by nature and do not easily give up their own way of life. Nor do they encourage social contacts with the peoples in whose midst they live. For yet a third, Indians migrated to South-East Asia in modern times in the wake of foreign conquerors (excepting Thailand which was never conquered by any western power) and did not a little in consolidating foreign rule in that part of the world. South-East Asian nationalists, therefore, looked upon them as allies of their conquerors and spoliators. Little wonder, they (Indians) have been always disliked and suspected and suspicion and dislike have been accentuated in recent years. The all-out effort by some "*educated*" Indian immigrants to play the black American or black Englishman together with their patronising attitude to the children of the soil has further widened the gulf between the Indian immigrants and the indigenous communities. Last but not least, Indians in South-East Asia took an active part in the Azad Hind movement backed up by Japan. Indians are, therefore, held partially responsible, quite erroneously though, for Japan's misdeeds in South-East Asia during World War II. Indian merchants and money-lenders, who have earned millions in South-East Asia, have done little for the well-being of the indigenous population. The comparatively poor middle class Indians were formidable rivals of their counterparts in the indigenous society. Indian labour competed successfully with local labour. All these have contributed to the unpopularity of Indians in South-East Asia. They are not liked; but just tolerated. We shall attempt here a brief review of the condition of Indians in Burma, Malaya (and Singapore), Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam.

Burma—Though Burma has had an Indian problem for many years, it became serious only after the separation of that country from India in 1937. The great Economic Blizzard of the late 'twenties and early 'thirties of the present century disrupted Burma's economic life. Burmese national consciousness began to grow in the years before World War II (1939-45). After the separation of Burma from India, the Government of Burma placed a number of laws on the statute book to safeguard the interests of the children of the soil. These laws adversely affected the interests of Indian immigrants in Burma. A Burmese Muslim savagely attacked Buddhism in a book written by him. The book, first published in 1929, had attracted little attention at the time. Reprinted in 1938, it touched off serious disturbances in the country. The Burmese Buddhists were infuriated. Anti-Indian riots broke out in Mandalay in Upper Burma, The conflagration spread to other places. 200 lives, mostly Indian Muslim, were lost. According to government estimate, property worth Rs. 18,000,000 was destroyed. The riots strained the relations between Indian Hindus and Muslims. Hindus had sympathised with the Burmans during the riots. Attack on Buddhism had naturally wounded Hindu susceptibilities. Besides, the Muslims in India had been rapidly forfeiting the confidence of their Hindu compatriots about this time. The Muslims should thank themselves, particularly the Muslim League supporters among them, for the attitude of their Hindu countrymen to them. The joint efforts of the representatives of the Government of India[5] and the principal Indian organisation in Burma, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, external Hindu-Muslim harmony was restored after a time. A real heart-unity could not be achieved, however, and the fire of communal animosity smouldered below the surface. The Government of Burma appointed a Riot Enquiry Committe, which held the Indians mainly, if not solely, responsible for the 1938 disturbances. It reported that "perhaps the most compelling cause of the anti-Indian outbreaks had been the unrest and discontent caused by the dominant position of Indians in Burma and by their unrestricted entry into the country."[6]

During the years 1938-40, the Government of Burma passed a number of laws detrimental to Indian interests. United action on the part of the Hindu and Muslim immigrants might have stayed the hands of the government. But that was not to be. The Burma Land Purchase Bill authorised the government to buy out the non-agriculturist absentee landlords and distribute the land thus obtained among the tillers of the soil. The Burmese Tenancy Act reduced the land revenue

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to be collected by the landlords. Most of Burma's non-agriculturist landlords being Indians, Indian interests in Burma were threatened with serious losses by these laws. But, thanks to the inefficiency of the Burmese Government and the efforts of the Nattukotai Chettyar Association, the losses actually sustained were much smaller than they had threatened to be.

The riots of 1938 and the two laws under reference were an eye-opener to Indian landlords and money-lenders most of whom were Chettyars from South India. They began to dispose of their capital and properties in Burma. Transfer of money from Burma to India readhed an all-time high in 1938 and has not been equalled or surpassed before or since. Indian landlords and money-lenders in thousands left Burma for good.

The Rangoon Municipal Bill, 1940, proposed that at least one-half of the members of the Rangoon Municipal Corporation should be Burmans. The reader should note that in 1940 Indians constituted more than 50 per cent of the city's total population and that 55 per cent of the Corporation's tax-payers were Indians. The Bill was subsequently amended through the intervention of the Government of India. The Indo-Burmese agreement concluded at the time of the separation of Burma from India had provided for the free entry of Indian imports and Indian immigrants into Burma. But a new Indo-Burmese Trade Agreement (April, 1941) imposed duties on Indian imports. A preferential treatment was, however, accorded to India and tariff rates for Indian imports were fixed at 10 per cent and 15 per cent lower than those on (British) Empire countries, respectively. The Minister U Saw of Burma announced in 1940 that his government intended to stop the unrestricted immigration of Chinese and Indians into Burma. A committee of experts under the chairmanship of Mr. James Baxter, the Financial Adviser to the Government of Burma, had been appointed in 1939 to find out (i) the volume of Indian immigration into Burma; (ii) how far it was seasonal and transient; (iii) the principle occupation of Indian immigrants; (iv) if in such occupations they already had displaced the Burmans or could be replaced by them and (v) whether unskilled Indian labour was indispensable to Burma. The committee's report was not publishad by the government for a long time.

An Indo-Burmese agreement concluded in July, 1941, sought to regulate the entry of Indians into Burma. It accepted the principles of Burma's right to determine the composition of her own population and the equality of rights and privileges between Burmans and those Indians who identified themselves with the interests of Burma. The Indian migrants were divided into two categories : (i) Those who could stay in Burma for an indefinite period, could carry on business and could be employed there and (ii) Those whose entry-permits would be controlled by the Government of Burma and issued only to Indians with "specified financial guarantees and literacy qualifications."

The Government of Burma next announced that they would soon introduce the system of registering Indians domiciled in Burma.

The agreement was received with a chorus of disapproval both in India and Burma. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Imperial India Citizenship Association, Bombay, and the All-Parties Meeting, Madras, jointly memoralized Viceroy Lord Linlithgow protesting against the agreement. Mahatma Gandhi too raised his voice of protest and said that he could not believe that the agreement had been made in response to "a vital cry from the great Burman nation." The Government of India could not remain indifferent and persuaded the Parliament to withhold its approval of the agreement. The Indian community in Burma and the only repersentative of Indian labour[7] in the Burmese legislature had also protested against the 1941 agreement. The Burman legislators accused their Indian colleagues of not identifying their interests with those of Burma and of using their votes for interference in the domestic issues of Burma and the Burmans. Indian public opinion in Burma, while accepting the inevitability of some sort of restriction on Indian immigration, felt that negotiations for the 1941 agreement had been conducted with undue secrecy and that those most affected by it had been the least consulted.

When the question of the separation of Burma from India was raised in 1931, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Burma reported that domiciled Indians accepted Burma's right of

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separation and only desired that the legitimate interests of Indians in Burma should be protected. The Government of India interpreted "the legitimate interests of Indians" as the interests of the rich and it was through their (The Government of India's) intervention that the interests of the Chettyars, of Indian business magnates and of Indian shipping companies were partly, if not fully, protected. It was not until 1939 that the Government of India appointed an agent to look after the interests of Indian labourers in Burma. Very little powers were, however, give to this dignitary.

The Indian community in Burma was apathetic to politics. Rich and poor, educated and otherwise, all were absorbed in the pursuit of personal ends. Till 1937, Burma had a Provincial Congress Committee affiliated to the Indian National Congress. The Provincial Committee used to send a few delegates to the annual sessions of the parent organisation. The former (*i.e.*, the Provincial Committee) has no remarkable achievement to its credit. It was dissolved in 1937. A Burma Committee of the Indian National Congress was organised to work for the independence of Burma. The Committee used to elect 2 Indian and 1 Burman members to the All-India Congress Committe till 1939. The All-Burma Muslim League and the Burma Hindu Sabha were founded in the latter year. These latter organisations were in close touch with the Indian Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, respectively. A few regional organisations, such as, the Young Chulia Muslim League and the All-Burma South Indian Association, were also founded about this time. These had no political programme. To safeguard the social and economic interests of their members and associates was their principal objective.

The number of Indians in Burma was steadily on the increase till 1941, when the conflagration raging in Europe since 1939 spread to Asia. The rate of increase, however, had been going down for many years. According to the 1931 census returns—since 1931 no census has been taken in Burma as a whole—there were 1,018,000 Indians in Burma and they constituted 7 per cent of the country's total population. More or less 500,000, *i.e.*, about one-half of Burma's Indian population returned home after the Japanese invasion in early 1942. According to the Government of Burma, about 10,000 died on the way. In the post-war period (1945-60). The number of Indians in Burma has never reached seven figures. Strict immigration laws and an equally strict enforcement, thereof, lack of security in Burma and disruption of her economic life in post-war years coupled with war-time evacuation, among others, have kept the number of Indian migrants much below the one-million mark. Reduced in numbers, the Indians have lost much of their pre-war political and economic importance.

Hardly had Rangoon been captured by the English, when the Chettyars and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company began to press the Governments of India and of Burma for the recognition of the "right of Indians to enter Burma without let or hindrance." The request was, however, turned down.[8] The two Governments concerned and the Colonial Office finally decided that all Indians, who had left Burma during the war, excepting unskilled labourers, would be permitted to go back to Burma. But shipping difficulties, shortage of food, problem of accommodation and the difficulty of proving pre-war residence in Burma were so many formidable stumbling blocks in the path of those who were willing and entitled to return. Many of the evacuees could never go back to Burma.

About 200,000 Indians trapped in Burma during the war wanted to return home after the war. But lack of sufficient shipping facilities made repatriation slow and difficult. The exact number of Indians returning to Burma after the war is not known. A statement of the Burmese Minister of Labour and Industry in the spring of 1947 said that about 246,000 Indians had re-entered Burma after the re-establishment of civil government there. The Government of India statistics, however, showed a maximum of 140,000. The expenses of repatriation to India and of return to Burma were all paid by the Government of India. Many complaints were heard at this time as to the inefficiency and corruption of the Burmese Immigration Department.

The Burmese Emergency Immigration Act (June, 1947) laid down that all persons entering Burma must have passports from their respective governments and visas from the Government of Burma or permits issued by the Burmese Controller of Immigration. The Government of Burma

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informed in reply to Government of India's protest against this "unilateral and harsh" action that the Act was applicable to immigrants of all nationalities and was called for by the emergency situation in Burma. The Government of India, they concluded, had, therefore, no valid ground of complaint. The Emergency Immigration Act is not a little responsible for keeping down the number of Indians in post-war Burma. Not more than a quarter of Indians, who had returned to India in 1942, have been able to re-enter Burma. According to the 1953 census returns of the city of Rangoon, the Burmese metropolis had a population of 737, 079 of which only 40,396 were Indians.[9]

Though the Government of Burma discouraged Indian immigration, they welcomed Indian doctors. Most of the Burmese doctors in government service resigned after the war and beccame wholetime private practitioners. There was in consequence a serious shortage of doctors in government hospitals and dispensaries. Of the 670 doctors employed by the Government of Burma before the war, only 280,—(a little less than 41.8 per cent) were in service in early 1952. A Burmese mission was sent to India about this time to recruit doctors. 600 Indian doctors offered themselves as candidates for 280 available vacancies.

Untold harassments, hardships and sufferings were the lot of Indians left behind in Burma after the withdrawal of the British army early in 1942. Indians were threatened. Their shops were looted. There were large-scale pogroms of Indian labourers in the Irrawaddy delta. The bay ran red with Indian blood. The beach was littered with Indian bones. The arrival of Japanese troops in Burma improved the situation. Indians left rural areas in large numbers and took shelter in Rangoon. An Indian Residents' Association was organised under Japanese auspices. The Rangoon branch of the I. I. L. (Indian Independence League) was organised in August, 1942. Indian prisoners of war willing to fight for the independence of India were all released and armed by the Japanese military authorities. Each was to receive a salary of Rs. 5/- per month. The I.I.L. first turned its attention to the relief of Indian miseries and the security of the Indians. It was not, however, "catapulted into publicized activity until Subhas Chandra Bose came to Rangoon in June, 1944.[10]

In October, 1942, Burma's war-time government, under Dr. Ba Maw, imposed a ban on the future entry of Indians into Burma. But under Japanese pressure, the ban had to be withdrawn within a year. Indians' right to Burmese citizenship was recognised at the same time. Dr. Ba Maw at first did not agree to make Burma an operational base of the Indian National Army's (I. N. A.) Manipur offensive. But he waived the objection later on. The Headquarters of the Azad Hind Government and the I. N. A. were transferred from Singapore to Rangoon in October, 1943. The Japanese occupation authorities from now on made strenuous efforts to win over the Indian Muslims in Burma. Burma was no lover of the Azad Hind Government and their activities. But Burmese leadership Moderates as well as Radicals,—realized before long that Burma's economic future was linked up with India's and that Burmese policy to Indian immigrants was bound to have far-reaching effects on Indo-Burmese relations in future.

The Azad Hind movement gave to Burma Indians "a greater unity than they had ever achieved before and a larger identification of their aspirations for independence with those of the Burmese nationalists."[11] The Chettyars returned home, almost to a man, during the war. The Indian community in Burma was numerically much weaker during and after the war than before it. Indian labour accepted Burmese labour leadership. The cumulative effect of all these was the weakening of anti-Indian sentiments in Burma. By 1945, it had almost disappeared. The Burma Indian Congress and the Burma Muslim League actively supported the A. F. P. F. L. (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) and Burmese attitude to Indians underwent a complete change. Leaders of Burma Indians did much to cement the nascent Indo-Burmese cordiality. Dr. C. Rauf, representative of the Government of India in Burma and free India's first Ambassador to Burma later on, and his brother U. Raschid were the foremost among these leaders. The latter opted for Burmese citizenship and was for sometime a Minister of the free Burmese Government. Both stood high in the estimate of the Burmese nationalist leaders.

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Nehru's speeches dispelled Burmese fear and suspicion of India immigrants.[12] It would be too much, however, to assume that the Burmese fear an suspicion of Indians were completely removed. They only receded to the background. General Aung Sang, the principal architect of Burmese independence, made no secret of what he thought of Indian vested interests in Burma. He observed in course of a press interview at New Delhi in January, 1947,—"There are some Indians in the A. F. P. F. L. . . . . but Indian vested interests, like any other vested interests, are not in favour of independence. The rest of the people are with us."[13] He is also on record as having said in April 1947, that "The rapacity and economic imperialism"(!) of Indian big business "in regard to Burma were held in check only by Nehru."

Burma became independent on January, 4, 1948. The Constitution of Independent Burma drawn up in the same year made a distinction between aliens and the children of the soil for purposes of citizenship. Indians were required by the Constitution to renounce their Indian citizenship before admission to the Burmese. Aliens, who did not apply for Burmese citizenship by April 4, 1949, were to register themselves as such. The time-limit was, however, extended several times. According to Kondapi[15] more than 150,000 out of about 250,000 Indians in Rangoon were admitted to Burmese citizenship by September, 1949. Reliable statistics for the period, since 1949, are not available. It is, however known, that thousands of Indians have left Burma since late 1949. Insecurity of life and property in post-war Burma coupled with a strong sentimental attachment to the motherland partially account for this large-scale withdrawal.

Buddhism is the state-religion of Burma. Premier, U. Nu, is a devout Buddhist. The Government of Burma, it should be noted, are not indifferent to Hinduism, which is the religion of the majority of the immigrants from India. The All-Burma Hindu Central Board was founded in 1953 with financial aid from the Government of Burma. The Board, a purely non-political organisation, seeks to preach the fundamental principles of Hinduism.

Chettyars from South India were by far the most prosperous section of the Indian community in pre-war Burma. About a quarter of the best rice lands in the country were in their possession in 1937. Capital invested by them in land amounted to about Rs. 500,000,000/- in 1930. It was mainly Chettyar capital which gave a fillip to Lower Burma's paddy cultivation. Chettyar capital invested in urban properties amounted to about Rs. 25,000,000/- in the same year.

Chettyars having left Burma in 1942, the Burmans occupied the properties left behind by them. The Japanese-sponsored war-time government of Dr. Ba Maw validated this unlawful occupation. The Chettyars on their return to Burma, after the war, claimed their properties. Burma, however, was in no mood to listen to them.[16] The Government lost no time in strengthening Burma's inadequate pre-war agrarian legislation. The Tenancy Act of 1947 fixed the rent that a landlord might realise from his tenants at roughly twice the land-tax payable to the government. On January 3, 1948, one day before independence, the transfer of land to a foreigner for more than one year was forbidden. Three more land laws had been placed on the statute book before the year was out. The Land Nationalization Act denied proprietory right in land to non-agriculturalists and fixed a ceiling of land holding by peasants. No peasant was to have more than 50 acres of land. The maximum compensation to be paid to an expropriated landlord was fixed at 12 times the annual land-tax. The compensation in no case was to exceed Rs. 60/- per acre.[17] The Land Alienation Act forbade the sale of land to non-Burma nationals. The Disposal of Tenancies Act authorised the government to lease out to a tenant of their own choosing as much land as he could cultivate efficiently. The laws under reference devalued Indian landed property worth about Rs. 1,000,000,000/- and arbitrarily deprived their owners of their legitimate income therefrom.[18] Lack of Burmese capital for land purchase has worsened the situation. The Government of India requested the Government of Burma to postpone the enforcement of the above laws "pending an overall agreement between the two countries."

The Chettyars, according to Andrus, were "much the most important part of Burma's financial community judging by volume of business

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and economic impact on the country as a whole". Chettyars are, by and large, money-lenders. The interest charged by them ranged between 15 and 36 per cent, per annum. The Burmese debtor seldom re-pays his debt. The results were disastrous and during the great slump of the late twenties and early thirties many peasants lost their land for non-payment of debts. Burmese money-lenders, often landlords, charged interests at much higher rates than the Chettyars. Their capital being much less than that of the Chettyars, they could neither compete successfully with the latter nor cope with the demand for loans, by the peasantry.[20] There were six Indian banks in Burma before the war. Five were closed down by the Japanese occupation authorities during the war. Laws passed by the Government in the post-war years have practically stopped money-lending by foreigners. Money-lenders in Burma, it may be noted, were mostly Indians.

Indian businessmen occupied a very important place in the economic life of British Burma. They controlled "more than half of Burma's rice export, and were important in the export of several other commodities, as well as being the importers of most items. They owned many saw mills, rice mills, and miscellaneous but important factories like those manufacturing matches, soap and knit goods".[21] 49 per cent of Burma's income-tax payers in 1931 were Indians.

The restoration of British rule in 1945 marked the beginning of evil days for the Indian mercantile community in Burma. The Civil Supplies Board, formed in 1946, to regulate import trade ignored the claims of Indian merchants and allotted, quite arbitrarily, an unjustifiably large share of the import quotas to British merchants. 65 per cent of the rice traders in pre-war Burma were Indians. The Agricultural Projects Board, another post-war creation, reduced their precentage to 36. Assaults on Indian interests mounted steadily from 1947 when power began to be transferred to Burmese hands. Before the war hardly 10 per cent of Burma's importers were Burmans. From 1947, 50 per cent of the import licences were given to them. The rice trade was nationalised. The policy of the government, needless to say, adversely affected business. Thanks to the expanding Indo-Burmese trade in post-war years, the big Indian trading houses weathered the storm. The small fries, unable to hold their own against the government-backed indigenous traders, were, however, cornered.

According to the census returns of 1931, only 14 per cent of Burma's male wage-earners were Indians. But Indians predominated in banking, trade, various government establishments and also in the field of unskilled labour. Burmese field-labour, however, had not to face much Indian competition in the late thirties. The 1938 ban on the export of Indian labour was certainly beneficial to Burma's indigenous agrarian labour.

Unemployment has been a serious problem in Burma since the days of Japanese occupation. Large-scale influx of agricultural labourers into urban areas in search of security and employment created a problem of unemployment in towns, already suffering from the problem of chronic under-employment. Many of Burma's saw mills closed down in post-war years and the employees thereof lost their jobs. A drastic curtailment of the mining and petroleum industries and a reduction in the transport services threw thousands out of employment. At least 5,000 Burma Indians were unemployed in May, 1949.

The leadership of Burmese labour passed from Indian hands to the Burmese. Indian labour is responsible for this change of leadership. The Burma Trade Union Congress had a total membership of 30,000 in 1947. Only 5,000, *i.e.*, one-sixth of the members were Indians. Thakin Hla Kwye, Secretary of the Burma Trade Union Congress, told American authors, Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, that Indians had no leaders of their own, who might challenge successfully the Burmese domination of the Congress, "which prided itself on its inter-racial character".[22]

Indians in the Burmese Government service have shown the same passivity as Indian labourers. In 1947, the Government of Burma announced that the number of foreigners in government establishments would be reduced. About 4,000 Indians were employed under the said government at the time. Faced with discharge or registration as Burma nationals and acquiring a knowledge of the Burmese language about 1,000 had returned to India by February, 1949. The All-

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Burma Ministerial Services Union called for a general strike by government employees in the same month. The attitude of the Indian employees pleased neither their indigenous colleagues nor the government. On the advice of the Indian Embassy at Rangoon about 1,000 Indians in government service stayed away from work; but they declared at the same time that they were not on strike *deliberately*. They also re-affirmed their loyalty to Burma. On February 7, the authorities asked all strikers to return to duty by the 10th on pain of dismissal. On he 11th, 600 Indian (and Pakistani) employees were dismissed. They were all due to retire within a short time. By May, about 1,500 Indians in government service had been discharged. Pensions of some them were arbitrarily reduced.

Notes and References.

1. Vide, A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell, *South-East Asia among World Powers*, pp. 2, ff.
2. Vide, D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 649.
3. A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
4. H. J. Van Mook, *The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia*, pp. 36-7.
5. The post was created after the separation of Burma from India in 1937.
6. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Minority Problems in South-East Asia*, p. 73.
7. There were in all 8 Indian Deputies in the Burmese Legislature.
8. *The Civil Affairs Services Bureau*, Burma, was, however, permitted to recruit 16,000 unskilled Indian labourers for temporary rehabilitation work in Burma.
9. Including Pakistanis.
10. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
11. *Ibid*, p. 79.
12. *Ibid*, p. 80.
13. *Ibid*, p. 80. (quoted).
14. *Ibid*, p. 80.
15. C. Kondapi, *Indian Overseas*, 1838-1949, p. 420.
16. About 3,000,000 acres of land valued between Rs. 600,000,000/- and Rs. 800,000,000/- were legally still the property of Indians, mostly Chettyars. About a quarter million of Indian residents of Rangoon owned about 70 per cent of the buildings and 50 per cent of the cinemas in the city. The alien domination of the country's economic life was naturally an eye-sore to nationalist Burma.
17. The land-tax at the time varied between Re. 1 and Rs. 5 per acre.
18. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
19. J. Russell Andrus, *Burmese Economic Life*, p. 305.
20. *Ibid*, p. 311.
21. *Ibid*, p. 351.
22. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

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EXPORT PROMOTION IN INDIA

By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.COM., LL.B.

Introduction

Trade is a symptom of civilisation. The economic progress of a nation is based upon trade. One nation exchanges its surplus production for the surplus of another nation and in this way every country tends to produce only that commodity for which the nature has given her the greatest capacity. Climate, topography, soil, social and economic organisations determine the capacity of production. They also, on the other hand, determine the market for commodities. India is rich both in natural resources as a base for production and in geographical location for purposes of international trade. She stands like a pendant among the continents at the very centre of the eastern hemisphere and commands trade routes running in all directions.

From time immemorial India is known to carry on a very flourishing trade with countries like Egypt, Rome, Greece, Arabia, Iran and China and the balance of this trade always used to be in her favour. Even during the modern period the balance of her foreign trade never oscillated so heavily against India as in more recent years after the Second World War. The reasons for this change are not far to seek. The two sides of a nation's balance of payment-sheet represent the strength of the two general forces of supply of a nation's currency and demand for a nation's currency, the former, *i.e.*, supply depending on a nation's imports and the latter, *i.e.*, demand depending on its exports. The strength of these forces is directly determined by existing economic conditions within the country. Income levels, degree of employment, range and nature of goods entering into consumption, structure of production, monetary and fiscal policies, these and similar parallel forces within an economy are the determinants of the inflow and outflow of goods, services and capital between nations. Thus, at best, the external economic conditions as denoted by the balance of payments are a mere reflection of internal conditions. And a persistent disbalance in external accounts is by and large an offshoot of internal disequilibrium.

Recent Trends in India's Balance of Payments Position

Though India's balance of payments position was very satisfactory at the end of the Second World War, yet very soon the scales took a turn. Imports of foodstuff, machinery and consumers' goods increased. Machinery was required for replacement and development purposes whereas hitherto pent up demand for consumers' goods led to the intensification of their imports. This brisk rise in imports could not be matched by the pace of exports. Within our economy the rising price level coupled with uncertain political conditions kept prices of our exportable goods high enough to discourage foreign demand. The overall position was one of exports lagging behind imports leading to an adverse balance of payments, the net deficit on current account having reached about Rs. 49.7 crores in 1948. The pressure of post-partition events, *viz.*, the political, economic and psychological dislocation led us deeper into the maze of foreign currency dependency and the year 1949 recorded a heavy deficit of Rs. 53 crores. This situation continued unabated and the bulge grew to Rs. 57.4 crores in 1951. Later in 1954, due to two important factors, namely, a succession of good agricultural harvests and the curtailment of imports (as opposed to expansion in exports) the deficit was reduced to 4.1 crores.

The net deficit again rose to 206.2 crores in 1956 and to Rs. 451.9 crores in 1957. There was, however, some decline in the deficit to Rs. 355 crores in 1958 and a substantial decline to Rs. 171.7 crores in 1959. The continued deficit, and that too in increasing proportions upto 1957 was chiefly due to the import of capital and other goods needed for the execution of the projects included in the Second Plan. The subsequent decline in the deficit was due to the strict check exercised over imports since 1957 and the foreign assistance which we received during this period.*

*Records and Statistics, *Quarterly Bulletin of the Eastern Economist*, May, 1960.

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Need to Promote Exports

There is no gainsaying the fact that any attempt at quickening economic development brings in heavy pressure on the country's balance of payments. For, generally the export earnings rarely rise to the tempo necessary to serve the expanding domestic economy adequately. Again, substantial periods of time are required to carry out the adjustments necessary to direct the rising productivity at home into a healthy foreign trade position. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the trade deficit cannot go on expanding to any extent. While it is not possible to reduce substantially our imports in view of the developmental plans, every effort should be made to increase exports. However, it was not till the deterioration in the country's balance of payments position began to jeopardize the execution of the various development programmes under the country's successive Five-Year Plans that for the first time the question of more vigorous export promotion was invested with a sense of urgency. In view of the growing foreign exchange crisis, the size of the Second Plan was cut short and it was announced that foreign exchange would be arranged for those projects only which were included in the 'core' of the plan.

As such it is more than clear now that for the implementation of these Plans the problem of foreign exchange is going to be a tough task. Taking credit from abroad is not a permanent comfort to our economy because it is only a deferred payment for which we shall have to find money in no distant future. To counteract, therefore, the pernicious effect of imports of essential goods and services we must endeavour to stimulate exports substantially.

Weaknesses in Our Export Trade

The stepping up of our exports is limited by the following weaknesses :—

(1) The expansion in home demand that must necessarily accompany the projected rise in the standard of living may tend to reduce the size of exports of such commodities like raw cotton and oil seeds.

(2) The fact that earning capacity of a number of commodities that figure in the export trade depends on the taste and demand of consumers in a limited number of countries constitutes a second source of weakness. For instance, while about 65 to 70 per cent of India's exports of tea are bought by the U.K., over 80 per cent of the cashew kernal exported from India is taken up by the U.S. Because of dependence on a limited number of markets, the diversion of demand in the U.S.A. for manganese ore from India to sources nearer home and for mica from the natural product to synthetic substitutes has proved to be one of the principal causes of distress and unemployment in the manganese and the mica mining areas of the country.

(3) Wide fluctuations in export prices introduce yet another factor of instability which is not conducive to the maintenance of a constant and prosperous export trade. Witness for example, the phenomenal rise and fall in the prices of tea and pepper in recent years. This often results in unexpected prosperity or unlooked for poverty for producers.

(4) Stiff competition from rivals makes it difficult to place too great a reliance on the potentialities of India's traditional foreign exchange earners, namely, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, tea, manganese and spices. As regards cotton textiles, significant ground has been lost to China and Japan in many South-East Asian markets. Account must also be taken of the natural desire of the cotton-growing countries which import a fair proportion of Indian textiles to endeavour to manufacture their requirements at home. The competitive capacity of our jute goods in foreign markets is being progressively undermined in the present context of (i) Pakistan's renewed efforts to expand production and exports of jute goods, (ii) competition from other packaging and wrapping materials, (iii) imposition of certain restrictions on imports of jute manufactures by the Governments of the European Common Market countries, and (iv) controls over Indian jute fabrics imports into Britain. Export trade in spices continues to be threatened by other rivals. Among them, mention may be made of Borneo and Sarawak for pepper, Zanzibar for cloves, Jamaica and Sierra Leone for ginger and Guatemala for cardamom.

Clearly, therefore, it is largely in the new lines of exports of manufactured items like light

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engineering products and metal manufactures that one may reasonably look for a substantial expansion in exports. But here too the scope seems to be limited because of European influence over banking and insurance business, high shipping freights, the offer of attractive terms of credit by the more developed countries of the West and our own rising costs.

Export Promotion Committee, 1957

The Government's deep concern about the weaknesses in our export trade became manifest when in February, 1957, it appointed an Export Promotion Committee headed by Dr. V. L. D'Souza, former Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University, with 7 other members, to recommend measures to increase the country's exports in all possible directions. The Committee was to make a comprehensive study of all aspects of export promotion and make recommendations with particular reference to the nature of fiscal or other concessions to be granted to increase exports and the nature and extent of credit facilities required for the export trade.

The Committee in its report suggested a target of our exports worth Rs. 700 to Rs. 750 crores a year. In order to reach this target the Committee made the following recommendations :

(i) There should be a substantial increase in production in all sectors of the economy (agriculture, industry, mining, etc.). The Committee in particular very strongly recommended increased output of vegetable oil seeds and raw cotton.

(ii) Prices should be maintained at competitive levels. The Committee dismissed a possible way of reducing prices through devaluation as being against the interest of the country. On the other hand, it suggested the use of latest methods of production to bring down processing and overhead costs and to increase the productivity of labour.

(iii) Exports should be encouraged even at some sacrifice in respect of domestic consumption.

(iv) Export goods and export markets should be diversified and research should be conducted into new uses for traditional exports.

(v) Following the example of many countries, transportation costs should be reduced on export goods and bottlenecks removed.

(vi) The export duties should be kept at low-levels and should not be changed too often. Further, export goods should be made free from excise duties and sales tax and draw-back of customs duties should be granted to exporters using imported raw materials. Some relief from income tax can also be granted to exporters for better export performance, the extent of the relief being dependent on the actual increase in exports, the total business turn-over of the exporter and the total income tax he has to pay.

(vii) Five per cent of the increase in exports (by value) of non-quota item effected by an exporter over his average performance during the past 3 years might be allotted to him for effecting such imports as he likes but allowed under the import trade control policy in force from time to time. In the case of the cotton textile industry, the import entitlement might be given 50 to 75 per cent of additional exports utilizable for the import of modern machinery and equipment.

(viii) The Reserve Bank and the State Bank of India should offer more rediscounting facilities to the commercial banks and the rediscount rates should be materially below the bank rate. The benefit of the low rediscount rate should be passed on to exporters.

(ix) Encouragement of entrepot trade in certain ports in India, conclusion of bilateral agreements with countries with which India is in heavy deficit, simplification of procedural and administrative formalities relating to exports, greater publicity of Indian goods in foreign countries, setting up of a private agency in the country for the dissemination of status, reports on Indian traders to foreign importers and exporters, greater replacement of foreign shipping by Indian vessels, improving the handling and storage facilities at the ports, increased use of Indian banking and insurance companies, encouragement to tourist traffic into India, pre-shipment inspection and adherence to quality and standards and the improvement of arbitration facilities within the country are some other measures recommended in the direction of export promotion.

Most of the above recommendations have been put into effect by the Government.

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Government Measures to Help the Export Drive

1. *Setting up of Export Promotion Councils* :—These Councils have been sponsored by the Government to maintain and develop export markets for Indian products. These Councils consist of representatives of manufacturers, traders, growers and others interested in the export of the commodities concerned as well as a few Government representatives. Financial assistance is being given by the Government to the Councils which carry out market surveys in foreign countries, send delegations to survey export prospects, provide information to exporters regarding market conditions and help in establishing trade contacts. So far 12 Export Promotion Councils have been set up for 12 different commodities, namely, cotton textiles, silk and rayon textiles, plastics and linoleum, engineering goods, cashew and pepper, tobacco, hides and skins, mica, shellac, sports goods, chemicals and allied products and spices.

2. *Setting up of Export Promotion Advisory Committees* :—These Committees which have been set up at important port towns consist of experienced businessmen and are presided over by the Joint Chief Controllers of Imports and Exports. The Committees undertake the study of commodities exported from the ports within their respective jurisdictions and endeavour to explore the export potentialities of commodities produced in the hinterland which are not yet making an adequate contribution to the country's foreign exchange earnings. Besides, the Export Promotion Advisory Council has been set up to advise the Government on matters relating to export policy and procedure with particular reference to the promotion of exports.

3. *Insuring export risks* :—The conception of insuring export risks is a fairly simple one. The exporter, like other businessmen, faces certain risks in his trade, which are beyond his control. These are, first, pre-shipment risks, such as non-availability of raw materials for transport, export control difficulties, strikes and enhancement of export duties and costs generally. Where goods are sold to foreign buyers on credit, certain post-shipment risks are also faced. These include interruption or diversion of voyage, import control difficulties at destination and repudiation of contract or default of payment by the buyer as well as his insolvency. Then there is another classification of risks—commercial and political—the most prominent among the latter being war and civil war risks which come in the way of the due performance of the contract either by the exporter or by the buyer. Such of these risks as are not normally insurable with the general insurance companies are, in a number of countries, covered by special export credit guarantee schemes which are essentially export promotion measures. They encourage exporters to do business on credit terms and thus meet the desire of their customers, the importers to be able to make payment in their own (*i.e.*, the importers') country after shipment. Further, they strengthen the position of the exporter with his banker and this advantage in turn assists the former to offer more favourable credit terms to his foreign customers. In advanced countries of the West, export credit insurance is a well-developed branch of general insurance and has played a notable part in the development of foreign trade of such countries as the U.K., Canada, West Germany, Japan, Norway and Sweden.

The question whether India's export trade would benefit from a credit guarantee was looked into in 1949, by the Export Promotion Committee under Mr. A. D. Gorwala, which rather airily dismissed the idea with the remark that the scope of such a scheme was very limited in India. The Government, however, rightly refused to take this as the last word and after circulating draft proposals among trade associations, appointed in January, 1956, an Export Credit Guarantee Committee, with Mr. T. C. Kapur as Chairman, to examine the need for export credit insurance as well as prepare a scheme. Pursuant to the recommendations of this Committee the Export Risk Insurance Corporation was established in September, 1957, with headquarters at Bombay. Now the Corporation has opened offices at Calcutta and Madras also to reach more easily the exporters in other centres. The Corporation has an authorised capital of Rs. 5 crores provided entirely by the Government of India. The Board of Directors of the Corporation consists of 7 members. The Corporation offers facilities to the exporters to insure risks arising in the course

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export trade which are not normally covered by commercial insurance companies. The scheme works on a voluntary no-profit no-loss basis. During 1958-59 the Corporation issued 176 policies.

4. *Setting up of a Directorate of Export Promotion* :—In June, 1957, a Directorate of Export Promotion was created in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. It has a two-fold task. On the one hand, it is the executive agency for policies and decisions formulated by the Foreign Trade Board (which has been set up to coordinate all work relating to the development of India's foreign trade, particularly the promotion of exports). On the other, it is an agency to which all exporters in the country can look to for guidance, information and assistance, *e.g.*, securing wagon capacity or shipping space for expeditious movement of export goods. The Directorate functions under the Director-General of Foreign Trade assisted by the Director of Export Promotion. The Director of Export Promotion is assisted by two Deputy Directors at headquarters and export promotion officers in important port towns.

5. *Removal of Disincentives* :—To make Indian exports more competitive exporters are being given draw-back of import duties and rebate of excise duties paid on raw materials used in articles which are exported. If an article is produced, partly from materials on which an import duty is paid and partly from materials on which an excise duty is paid it has been decided to combine, wherever possible, the duty elements and prescribe a composite rate of rebate for the producer. Replenishment of iron and steel contents of exported articles is also permitted. Rebate on freight has also been given for a number of commodities transported by rail from the interior to the ports.

6. *Setting up of the State Trading Corporation* :—To the extent that the Corporation has been able to supplement the existing level of exports, it has proved to be an instrument for export promotion. Among the goods for which exports have been arranged by the Corporation are mineral ores, shoes, handicrafts, salt, tea, coffee and woollen goods. The Corporation has been successful in boosting up trade contracts with Communist countries. The Corporation's business transactions, including contracts entered into with foreign countries since inception, amounted to about Rs. 126.8 crores. Of this about Rs. 74 crores are exports.

7. *Conclusion of Bilateral Trade Agreements* :—Many of the agreements concluded or modified in recent years are directed towards ensuring a balance in India's bilateral trade in addition to enlarging the markets for Indian exports. This is sought to be achieved by (i) providing for payment for imports in non-convertible rupees, thereby inducing the contracting country to purchase Indian goods or to spend the proceeds within the country, (ii) providing credit arrangements to facilitate purchase of Indian goods, and (iii) fixing monetary or qualitative ceilings for imports and exports.

8. *Curtailment of Imports* :—Import restrictions are the keynote of trade policy and indirectly influence export promotion. Although the stringent import policy adopted since 1957 was continued during all these years it was slightly modified to subserve the ends of export promotion through special schemes for the supply of raw materials needed for the manufacture of export goods.

9. *Quality Control Measures* :—Compulsory grading and standardisation of agricultural and livestock produce prior to export is carried out under the provisions of the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937. Many industrial commodities are standardised under the certification marks scheme of the Indian Standards Institute.

10. *Participation in International Exhibitions and Sponsoring of Trade Delegations* :—The Director of Exhibitions looks after visual commercial publicity for Indian goods. It participated on large-scales in the California Fair, the Chicago Fair and many other International Fairs. In addition, wholly Indian exhibitions have also been organised by it at Saigon, Budapest, Baghdad, Buenos Aires and Rio-de-Janeiro.

A number of trade delegations have been sponsored and sent abroad by the various export-promotion councils.

Prospects of Export Trade with Foreign Countries

An important factor in the Indo-British trade has been the complementary character of

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the economies of the two countries. For the sale of certain items there is a close interdependence between India and the U.K. India, for instance, depends on the U.K. for the bulk disposal of her tea, tobacco, coir manufactures, etc., while the U.K. finds in India one of her best markets for the export of metal manufactures, electrical machinery, chemicals and aeroplanes. Recently in some commodities, India has been facing competition as, for instance, tobacco from Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which is better in quality and colour, and manganese ore from Ghana and Soviet Russia. Similarly in her tea exports to Canada, India has been facing keen competition from Ceylon and British East Africa.

India's place in the import trade of Switzerland is very negligible, being less than half per cent. Her important exports to that country consist of precious stones, coffee, tea, mica, coir, etc. There is considerable scope for the expansion of India's trade in these commodities. It should, however, be remembered that the Swiss are very quality-conscious and that the Indian traders should undertake adequate publicity for their pruducts by establishing branches, appointing local agents and adopting latest business techniques. Switzerland is known as the "Test Centre" for Europe and what is saleable in Switzerland can fetch a ready market elsewhere.

India has been experiencing a heavy dificit in her trade with Iran, mainly due to large imports of mineral oil and petroleum products. Until now our exports to this country mainly consisted of tea, spices and cotton textiles. Recently the export trade has been expanded in many directions but it must be noted that there is keen competition for many goods from leading European countries. As such Indian suppliers should visit Teheran to make on-the-spot survey and to develop personal contact with Iranian firms. This is of paramount importance, for no amount of correspondence can take the place of personal contact.

There is good scope for increasing India's export trade in non-traditional commodities with Aden—the flourishing entrepot centre of the Middle East. India has certain definite advantages over her western rivals—her close proximity and many merchants being Indian. But as it is a free port, with no import control restrictions, competition is keen and the price factor governs the marketability of commodities.

India with her industrial potential can play a big role in the economic growth of Ceylon, Thailand, Malaya and Singapore. Hongkong can be used as an entrepot trade centre by Indian exporters for expanding their trade with the neighbouring countries in that area. The prospects for greater exports to Japan and Australia are also good. Since Australia is a quality-conscious market, Indian exporters have to pay special attention to create confidence among importers at this end of their ability to supply goods according to specifications and in time.

Ill Effects of the European Free Trade Movement

The Western European countries which began the European Free Trade Movement as members of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation about the middle of the 1950s could not retain their original unity in later years. On account of different attitudes of individual countries on the proposed European Common Market scheme, they were divided into blocks. Six of them, namely, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, who believed in a closely-integrated union embracing all the important economic activities of their members formed in 1957, the European Economic Community, popularly known as the Common Market. Seven other west European countries, namely, the U.K., Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Norway, Sweden and Denmark grouped together to form in 1959 a looser association where the individual members would be able to retain many of their rights as nation states. This was named the European Free Trade Association. Five members of the O.E.E.C. are even now outside the two groups.

There are mainly three differences between the two blocks. Firstly, while the E.E.C. will eventually abolish all internal tariffs and will have a common external tariff, the E.F.T.A. will abolish internal tariffs only and will retain individual external tariffs against non-members. Secondly, the E.E.C. unlike the E.F.T.A. associates the overseas territories of the members. Thirdly, the E.F.T.A. is confined only to trade

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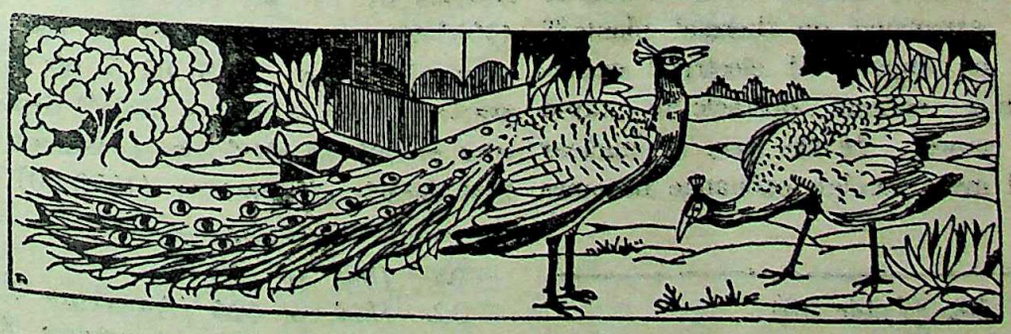
in industrial goods whereas the E.E.C. scheme applies to both industry and agriculture.

Both E.F.T.A. and E.E.C. form important regions in world trade. In both the cases the removal of tariffs on all imports originating within the region will have inimical effects on exports from the outside world to the region. However, in the case of E.F.T.A. the region as a whole being dependent on the outside world for the major portion of its imports, the competition that is present from within the region is not very marked. In the outside world the E.E.C. countries have the biggest stake in the imports of all the E.F.T.A. countries except the U.K. In the import trade of the U.K., the stake of India is quite big because of her total exports to this region (about 30 per cent of India's total) about 95 per cent go to the U.K. alone and only 5 per cent to the other 6 members. Even so, E.F.T.A. does not pose a real danger to India because of all the major items of our exports to the U.K., *e.g.*, raw goat skins, grey cotton fabrics, tea, coffee, tobacco and sugar preparations, there is little competing trade from within the region. From the Indian point of view the ill effects of the E.E.C. seem to be more marked. The preferential treatment to the products of the member countries and their overseas territories will adversely affect export of goods from India to this region because of the competition which India will have to face from the products of the overseas territories of the member countries, *e.g.*, un-manufactured tobacco, ground-nut oil, coffee and tea from Belgian and French colonies. Besides being duty-free they will also benefit by the lower manufacturing costs as a result of economic integration and other measures and the likely establishment of giant enterprises.

In October, 1961, the U.K., plagued by economic troubles has also applied for membership of the E.C.M. Now it will have to find solution for problems of the Commonwealth, British agriculture and the E.F.T.A. of which it is a member. Britain is said to be eager to end this present division of Europe into two rival trade blocs. An assessment of the effect on India of Britain's joining the Common Market can only be known later when the new policies to be followed by the Common Market countries are decided upon. Nevertheless one certain result would be that instead of the preferences Indian goods enjoy in the British market today there would be "a reverse preference operating against our exports." One important reaction to this development has been that many Asian countries (notably India, Japan and Thailand) have started discussing the desirability of mutual trade liberalisation and other forms of economic co-operation among themselves as a corollary to the growing trend towards similar regionalisation in Europe.

At one stage the British Government proposed to secure for some members of the Commonwealth the status of associated overseas territories under the Rome Treaty but the idea was rejected by the political or economic status. Now they may be invited to associate themselves with the community on mutually acceptable terms without militating against the principles of GATT which are that new preferences should not be created, that long-term preferential arrangements should be allowed to continue and if these preferences are reduced, the benefiting countries should offer tariff concessions. In line with these principles India has demanded suitable transitional arrangements for a gradual ending of the preferences, a substantial liberalisation of the import policies of the Common Market countries and the abolition of all quantitative restrictions on Indian exports to the "six."



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USE OF POWER IN VILLAGE INDUSTRIES : THE PROSPECTS IN INDIA

Part II

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Thermal Projects

During the Third Five-Year Plan the installed capacity of steam (thermal) plants is expected to be increased by 3.62 million kilowatt while that of hydro-plants is expected to be increased by 3.17 million Kw. The total contribution of oil plant (0.36 million Kw in 1966) and nuclear plant (0.15 million Kw in 1966) is negligible.[29]

Investment and Foreign Exchange

The total planned investment on power up to the end of the Seond Five-Year Plan was Rs. 1,017 crores, of which State-owned public utilities would account for Rs. 790 crores. The estimated cost of the power programme in the public sector in the Third Plan is Rs. 1,039 crores, investment in the private being estimated at Rs. 50 crores. Of the public sector investment, Rs. 661 crores are meant for hydro and thermal generating schemes, Rs. 51 crores for nuclear power development and Rs. 327 crores for transmission and distribution schemes including rural electrification. The value of the foreign exchange component is placed at Rs. 320 crores. Although the foreign exchange component of coal-based power stations is two to three times that of hydro-stations we have still to depend on the expansion on thermal plants.[30] The dependence on imports of electrical equipments has been a serious obstacle to rapid development of power. In the case of nuclear development still more foreign exchange becomes necessary.

Pattern of Power Consumption in India

During the first decade of planning (1951-61) there has been no marked shift in the pattern of consumption of electricity except for traction and irrigation pumping.[31] About 62 per cent of electricity generated in India in 1959-60 was being consumed by industrial establishments, about 7.7 per cent was being accounted for by consumption on domestic or residential light and small power; 4.3 per cent by commercial lighting and small power; 2.5 per cent by traction; one per cent by public lighting; 4.1 per cent by irrigation ; 3.4 per cent by public water works and sewage pumping; and 16 per cent by consumption of auxiliaries, transmission losses, etc.[32] The slow rate of growth of electric traction resulted in a fall in the percentage of consumption of electricity from 4.4 in 1951 to 2.3 in 1961. Consumption of electricity for irrigation pumping however increased from 2.7 per cent in 1951 to 4.2 per cent in 1961.

The growth in the consumption of electricity has been very sharp. Between 1950 and 1955 domestic consumption rose by 62 per cent, industrial consumption by 92.5 per cent. commercial lighting consumption by 56.5 per cent, public lighting by 75 per cent. In the next five years (1955-60) the percentages of rise in these four categories were 75.5, 82.5, 69.3 and 82, respectively. The following table[33] depicts the sector-wise growth of electricity consumption during the first decade of planning (1950-60).

29. *Ibid*, p. 402 (Table 10).
30. *Ibid*.
31. *Ibid*, p. 403.
32. *Ibid*, p. 424 (Annexure X).
33. *Ibid*, p. 425 (Annexure XI).

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Table VIII

Sector-wise growth of electricity consumption during First and Second Plans (including generation in self-generating industrial establishments)

Class of Utilisation	1950* million kWh	1955* million kWh	% increase over 1950 (First Plan)	1960-61** (Estimate) million kWh	% increase over 1955 (Second Plan)
1. Domestic or residential light and small power	524.6	850.4	62.0	1492.0	75.5
2. Commercial light and small power	308.8	514.4	65.5	870.0	69.3
3. Industrial Power @	3983.6	6757.1	92.5	12313.5	82.5
4. Traction	308.4	403.3	30.8	449.0	11.3
5. Public lighting	60.3	105.6	75.0	192.0	82.0
6. Irrigation	161.7	254.8	57.6	836.0	228.0
7. Public water works and sewage pumping	189.1	284.6	50.5	455.0	60.0
8. Consumption of auxiliaries, transmission losses, etc., (including 5% of generation in self-generating industrial establishments)	1038.0	1607.0	55.0	3242.5	102.0
9. Total generation	6574.5	10777.2	64.0	19850.0	84.3

*Figures relate to calendar year.
**Figures relate to 1st April, 1960 to 31st March, 1961.
@Includes 95 per cent of generation from self-generating industrial establishment as in the absence of precise data, 5 per cent of generation in self-generating industrial establishments is assumed as losses.

Regional Variation

There is, however, a wide divergence in the regional *per capita* consumption of electricity.[34] It varies from 2.4 KWH in Assam to 147.8 KWH in Delhi reflecting the uneven economic development of the various regions. The regional *per capita* consumption of domestic and small power was highest in Delhi (34.0 KWH) and the lowest (0.4 KWH) in Orissa, the national average being 3.3. West Bengal was leading Delhi in the *per capita* consumption of industrial power until 1957-58; since 1958-59 Delhi has had the highest *per capita* consumption of electricity—49.3 KWH in 1958-59, 54.8 KWH in 1959-60 and 63.6 KWH in 1960-61. The *per capita* consumption of electricity is rising in all the States except Maharashtra, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh. The All-India *per capita* consumption rose from 23.2 KWH in 1957-58 to 31.8 in 1960-61. Between 1957-58 and 1960-61, Orissa recorded the highest gain (636.8 per cent) in *per capita* electricity consumption, Madhya Pradesh (179.3 per cent) coming second and Andhra (110 per cent) coming third. The following table[35] shows the *per capita* consumption of electricity in different States in the country.

34. *Monthly Statistical Commentary on Indian Economic Conditions* by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion Ltd., New Delhi, Vol. III (September, 1961) No. II, p. 20 (Table II).

35. P. K. Chaudhuri "Development of Electric Power"—*The Economic Weekly*, Bombay, December 10, 1960, p. 1799 (Table IV).

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Table IX

Regional Pattern of *per capita* consumption of electric energy in India

State	Domestic use	Commercial use	Industrial including traction & water works	Public lighting	Irrigation	Total *per capita*
Andhra	1.39	1.30	4.60	0.36	0.56	8.07
Assam	0.88	0.27	0.28	0.17	0.01	1.61
Bihar	0.84	0.33	9.34	0.06	0.23	10.80
Bombay	4.56	3.22	46.87	0.50	0.49	55.64
Kerala	2.12	0.30	19.70	0.29	0.83	23.24
M. P.	0.98	0.50	4.41	0.20	0.03	6.12
Madras	4.00	2.24	17.35	0.70	7.06	31.44
Mysore	2.93	0.91	31.88	0.04	1.00	37.42
Orissa	0.77	0.31	2.85	0.43	1.78	3.97
Punjab	2.22	2.46	10.34	0.22	0.11	17.23
Rajasthan	0.82	0.66	2.16	0.14	2.66	3.97
U.P.	1.15	0.90	5.59	0.62	0.02	10.44
West Bengal	9.82	3.10	52.14	0.17	0.09	65.68
Jammu & Kashmir	3.90	0.50	3.97	3.76	2.97	8.18
Delhi	33.78	30.82	68.70	0.19	0.93	140.63
Rest	1.04	0.18	1.54	0.36	1.39	3.88
All-India	2.78	1.55	17.68	8.21	20.16	23.76

Apart from this divergence in the consumption of electricity in various States, even within each State there is wide disparity in the consumption of electricity by the different regions. The following table[36] shows the regional disparity in Maharashtra :

TABLE X

Consumption of Electricity for Industrial Purposes in Maharashtra (1951-56)

(In Million KWH)

Division	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
1. Aurangabad	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.4
2. Bombay, excluding Gr. Bombay	9	—	13	15	348	357
3. Greater Bombay	743	—	1111	1181	995	1074
4. Nagpur	—	42	64	80	96	96
5. Poona	40	39	43	42	40	50
Maharashtra	792.7	—	1,232.2	1,319.2	1,480.1	1,578.4

—Not available.

Source: Statistical Abstract of Bombay State, 1957, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Bombay and Handbook of Basic Statistics of Maharashtra State, 1960. The same picture holds good for other States with minor variation here and there.

36. *Problems of Maharashtra* (report of a seminar held under the auspices of the Indian Committee for cultural freedom, the Asian Office, Congress for Cultural Freedom and the *Sadhana weekly*), Bombay, 1960, p. 52 (Table 3 in the article "Pattern of Instrical Development in Maharashtra by K.R. Ranadive).

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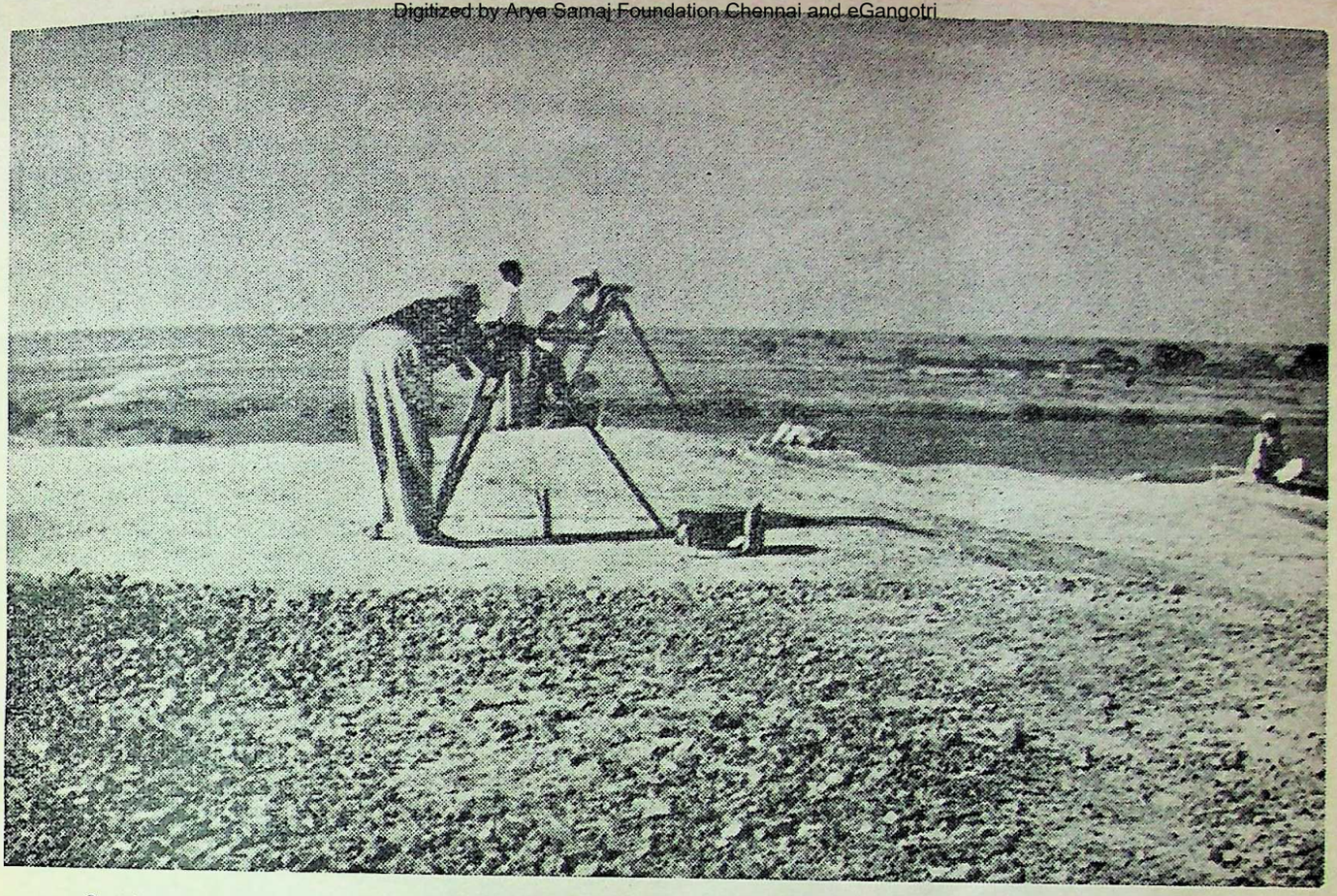

Students of the School of Archaeology receiving training in surveying at Kalibangan.

The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, shaking hands with Major Gagarin and his wife on their arrival at New Delhi.

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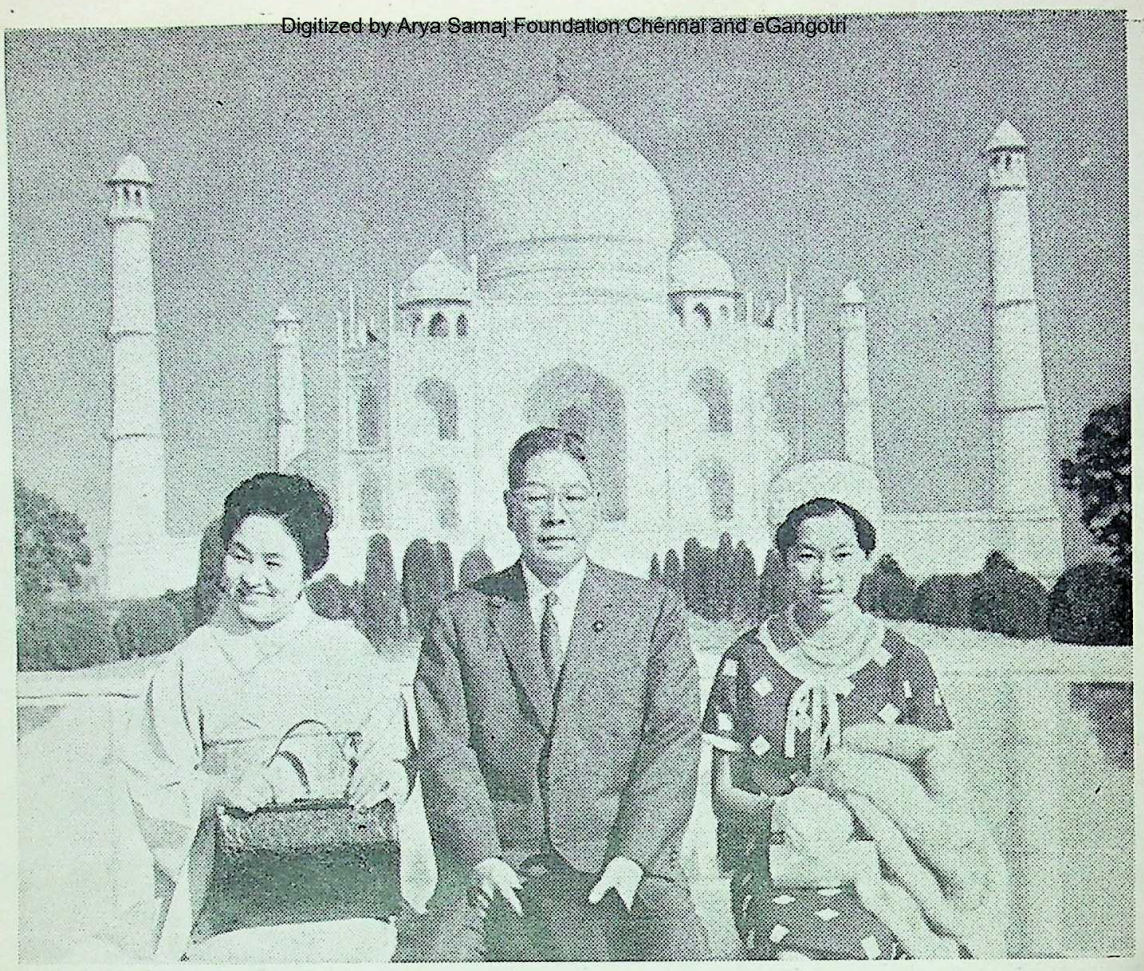

The Japanese Prime Minister, H. E. Mr. Hayato Ikeda with his wife and daughter at the Taj Mahal.

Sreemati Tarkeshwari Sinha, Deputy Minister for Finance, Government of India, receiving a Cheque of Rs. 25,000/- from Shri R. N. Jadhav Talathi at Gadag.

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Urban Consumption

From the above table it would also be evident how the bulk of the electricity generated is being consumed in the urban areas, leaving very little to be utilized in rural areas. Writing in 1959, an author calculated that out of an estimated outlay of Rs. 480 crores on hydro-electric projects, only about 7.6 per cent or Rs. 36.48 crores were likely to benefit the villagers who constituted over 80 per cent of the population.[37]

"That is to say out of a rupee spent by the Government, the share in the benefit of the villager is Re. 0-1-3 (Re. 0.08) only while the town-dwellers get Re. 0-14-9 (Re. 0.94)."[38]

Rural Electrification

Electrification of the villages can go a long way in promoting their regeneration. It would cheapen several processes and augment the earning capacity of the rural masses. For example, the Central Water and Power Commission has estimated that the lift irrigation by electric motor and pump would be much cheaper than any other available method. The following table[39] gives a comparative estimate:

Table XI

Cost of Lift Irrigation in India

	(Rs.) Per acre per crop of paddy.
By Animal Power	300.00
By Oil-Engine driven pumps	83.00
By Electric motor and pump (cost of power being 0.75 anna per KWH)	50.00

Source: Proceedings of the World Power Conference, New Delhi, 1951.

Besides promoting agricultural production through better irrigation, electricity can contribute to the improvement of several rural industries such as wooden toy-making, button-making, tape-weaving, knitting, etc. It can provide better lighting and heating to farms and can augment dairy farming, poultry farming, fruit growing and horticulture. It can act as a brake on the rural exodus which has already assumed serious proportions in several countries of Asia including India. As a report prepared by the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East notes, electrification of rural areas "can be a powerful factor in preventing the drifting of the rural population to urban centres, where higher wages and more of the comforts of life are available."[40]

The experience gained by the Japanese is instructive. "Japan's success in industrialisation," the report adds, "may be stated to be due to decentralisation and the availability of power at reasonable rates throughout the country, including rural areas."[41] In his well-known study on the economic development of Japan, Professor William W. Lockwood also mentions,[42] "If the transplanting of labor to the cities was one aspect of industrialisation, another was the carrying into the countryside of improved techniques, business capital, and organisation." It is obvious that without the availability of electricity, people in rural areas could not adopt modern technology. "The difference between Japanese and Indian industrialisation (in the British period—S.C.S.)," writes[43] Prof. Lockwood, ". . . . is particularly instructive as regards the contrasting relations between modern and traditional industries. Factory enterprise developed more rapidly in Japan than in India after 1900; but it appears to have been much less destructive of cottage and workshop industry. To a far greater degree the Japanese succeeded in modernizing the production technique of the small establishment . . . ."

37. M. Vinayak: *Sarvodaya and Electricity*, Madras, 1959—P. 6.
38. *Ibid*, p. 7.
39. United Nations (Department of Economic Affairs)—*Rural Electrification*, Bangkok, 1954—P. 34.
40. *Ibid*, p. 33.
41. *Ibid*, p. 35.
42. William W. Lockwood—*The Economic Development of Japan* (Growth and structural change, 1868-1938), Princeton University Press, 1954, p. 487.
43. *Ibid*, p. 213.

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"The introduction of electricity into rural areas," the ECAFE report referred to earlier goes on, "and the introduction of the improved tools required for the cottage industries with financial and technical assistance, will provide employment for the population all the year round which will be a real step forward in the economic uplift of the country."[44]

Electricity in India's Villages

In 1952 only 4,518 towns and villages or about 0.81 per cent of the towns and villages of India were supplied with public electricity. This general percentage did not present a correct picture of the actual position in respect of effective consumption of electricity by different types of towns and villages. While electricity was available to all towns with a population of over one lakh, to 98.2 per cent of towns with populations of over 50,000 but less than 100,000; and to 76.81 per cent of towns having a population of 20,000—50,000; only 0.72 per cent of towns and villages having a population of less than 20,000 were being supplied with public electricity. The following table[45] gives the details:

TABLE XII

Number of Towns and Villages Electrified in India (1952)

Population Range	Total Number of towns or villages in India	Towns or villages with Public electricity supply	
		Number	As % of Total
Over 100,000	73	73	100.00
50,000-100,000	111	109	98.02
20,000- 50,000	401	308	76.81
10,000- 20,000	856		
5,000- 10,000	3101	4,029	0.72
Below 5,000	556,565		
Total	561,107	4,518	0.81

Source: United Nations (Department of Economic Affairs)

In contrast, according to the annual survey at the end of June, 1950, 86.3 per cent of all United States farms—*i.e.*, about 5,053,676 farms were receiving central-station electric service. The percentage was only 10.9, fifteen years earlier. The improvement had been brought about by the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) which had been brought into being in 1935.

The number of towns and villages electrified at the end of the First Five-Year Plan was 7,401. By the end of the Second Plan another 15,600 villages were electrified. During the next five years about 20,000 more villages are expected to be electrified bringing the toal number of towns and villages electrified to 43,000. It is expected that all the towns and villages having a population of over 5,000 will have been electrified by March 1966 and about half of the 10,000 villages having a population between 2,000 and 5,000 will have been benefited by the schemes of rural electrification for which an outlay of Rs. 105 crores has been proposed in the Third Plan (which excludes the outlay required for providing the necessary generating capacity for meeting rural loads which is included in the provision for generation).

The following table[46] shows the number of villages already electrified, and proposed to be electrified during the Third Plan, with their population :

(See Table XIII on next page)

Problems in Rural Electrification

The principal limiting factor in the expansion of rural electrification is imposed by the problem of making electricity available economically to small units scattered over long distances.[47]

In India also "rural extensions of electricity become relatively uneconomic mainly because of distances separating individual villages the low level of power consumption and the seasonal character of the requirements of power specially in agriculture."[48]

44. U. N. Department of Economic Affairs —*Rural Electrification*, p. 35.
45. *Ibid*, p. 11. (Table 7).
46. *Third Five-Year Plan*, p. 404.
47. United Nations, *Rural Electrification*, p. 21.
48. *Third Five-Year Plan*, p. 404.

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TABLE XIII

Towns and Villages Electrified in India

Population Range	Total Number according to 1951 Census	Number electrified by March, 1951	Number electrified by March, 1956	Number electrified by March, 1961 (Estimate)	Number electrified by March, 1966 (Estimate)
Over 100,000	73	49	73	73	73
50,000 to 100,000	111	88	111	111	111
20,000 to 50,000	401	240	366	399	401
10,000 to 20,000	856	260	350	756	856
5,000 to 10,000	3,101	258	1,200	1,800	3,101
less than 5,000	5,56,565	2,792	5,300	19,861	38,458
Total	5,61,107	3,687	7,400	23,000	43,000

The following factors affect costs of electricity supply :

(a) *Load factor—i.e.*, the ratio of the number of kilowatt-hours supplied during a given period to the number that would have been supplied had the maximum demand been maintained throughout that period. Unless there is sufficient load the cost of electric supply tends to grow high. In rural areas the load factor is generally not satisfactory because of the absence of the diversity in the demand for supply. The consumption is mostly for domestic and heating purposes at particular hours of the day. During other periods the capacity remains practically idle. This tends to raise costs per unit of consumption.

(b) *Diversity factor*—There are various types of consumers whose peak demands may not synchronize. Diversity factor may thus help reduce the peak demand on the system while improving the load factor and contribute to the lowering of the cost.

(c) *Power factor*—Unless the power supplied is of a minimum voltage, cost per unit of consumption may become higher.

(d) *Integration*—Integration of various different systems into a grid generally contributes to an improvement in the load factor and the power factor and thus reduces cost.

(e) *Losses*—Which may occur in generation, transmission and distribution. Losses can be divided into two parts—iron losses, which are constant and, co-operative losses, which depend on load carried or energy supplied.

Special Features of Rural Electrification

It would not be proper to apply the same test of profitability to the measures for rural electrification as can be applied in the urban areas. "Even in some of the western countries where the standard of living is high and farm holdings are large, and where the cost of electrification has been made as low as possible, it has been found that the return on the investment (on rural electrification) is not adequate at least initially."[49]

In India also special measures for rural electrification will have to be considered. In the initial stage rural electrification cannot become profitable as already mentioned. But here rural industrialisation can play a very significant role by improving the load factor and diversity factor. "With a view to improving the load factor." the Planning Commission of the Government of India notes,[50] "it is essential that different types of economic activities in each district requiring the use of power should be developed in a co-ordinated manner."

Conclusion

This brief survey has been intended to throw some light on the state of availability and utilisation of electricity in India in the context of the world situation. Demand for energy is growing at an accelerated rate all over the world. In the

49. United Nations—*Rural Electrification*, p. 56.

50. *Third Five-Year Plan*, pp. 404-405.

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process of development India is also undergoing the same experience of an accelerated demand for power. In India power is needed to lift the country out of its present miserable condition. In this respect the demand for power in India differs from that in others—more advanced countries—where it arises out of the effort to further improve an already high standard of living. Unless productivity is raised considerably India cannot sustain her population at the present rate of growth, even at the existing low-level.

Resources

The accelerated demand for energy has created a world hunger for energy and has led to a search for exploitation of alternative sources of energy. Although the level of power production in India is very low, the known resources—coal and hydro-electricity—do not admit of a very high production of energy over any considerable period of time. At an annual coal production of 300 million tons in India, the estimated reserves of some 40,000 million tons of coal would be sufficient for only 130 years. Even if the reserves were three times of this figure they would last for only about 400 years. This may be compared with the estimate that at an annual prodoction of 300 million tons the reserves in the U.S.S.R. are expected to last for 4,050 years; at the rate of 500 million tons per year reserves in the U.S.A. for 2,600 years; at the rate of 220 million tons per year, the reserves in the U.K. for 770 years; and at an annual production of 300 million tons the reserves in China would last for over 1,000 years.[51]

Even at present there is an actual shortage of power throughout the country. We have already noted specific instances and areas of such shortages. Development of electrical power has favoured the urban areas and has not so far succeeded in touching, even the fringe of the really rural areas. In terms of population, by the end of March, 1966, electricity may be expected to reach about 10 crores of people at the most, while about more than 3 times as many people would remain unaffected by it.

Need for a Special Agency

The cost of supply tends to become higher in the case of rural electrification. It is to be noted, however, that even in the most highly developed countries like the United States of America rural electrification could not make any headway until the Rural Electrification Administration had come into being.[52] In the course of the first 15 years of its existence, the Rural Electrification Administration succeeded in raising the percentage of farms served by electricity from 10.9 to 86.3. If this was the case in the United States, the need for a special agency for rural electrification in India can hardly be exaggerated.

Pattern of electricity development in India including the projected pattern does not leave much scope for optimism regarding the availability of electrical power for use in village industries. The generating capacity itself it too limited to admit of any sizeable extension of supply outside the areas which are now being served by electricity. The prospect of getting an adequate supply of electricity for the development of industries in our rural areas is far from a heartening one.

Alternative Sources

This naturally leads to the need for exploring sources of energy other than mineral deposits and hydro-electricity. The following table[53] shows the world availability of solar energy from various sources, their actual use as in 1950 and the possibility of their development by 2,050—some hundred years hence.

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51. See Bhaba and Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 310, Table 5.

52. United Nations, *Rural Electrification*, p. 14.

53. Eugene Ayres and Charles A. Scarlott, *Energy Sources—The Wealth of the World*, McGraw-Hill Book Co. In., New York, 1952, p. 281 (Table 1).

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TABLE XIV

World Utilization of Solar Energy In Trillions Horsepower-hours per Annum

	Maximum Energy Available	Energy Used in 1950	Energy possible in 100 years
Land Vegetation	60	3	10
Waterfalls	360	1	6
Solar Collectors for power	17,000	Trace	20
Solar Collectors for space heating	9*	Trace	3
Peat	5	Trace	1.0
Wind	2	Trace	Trace
Heat Pumps	2	Trace	0.2
Tropical Waters	20	—	Trace
Total	———	———	40

*This is the amount of energy now required for space heating. More than this amount is, of course, theoretically available.

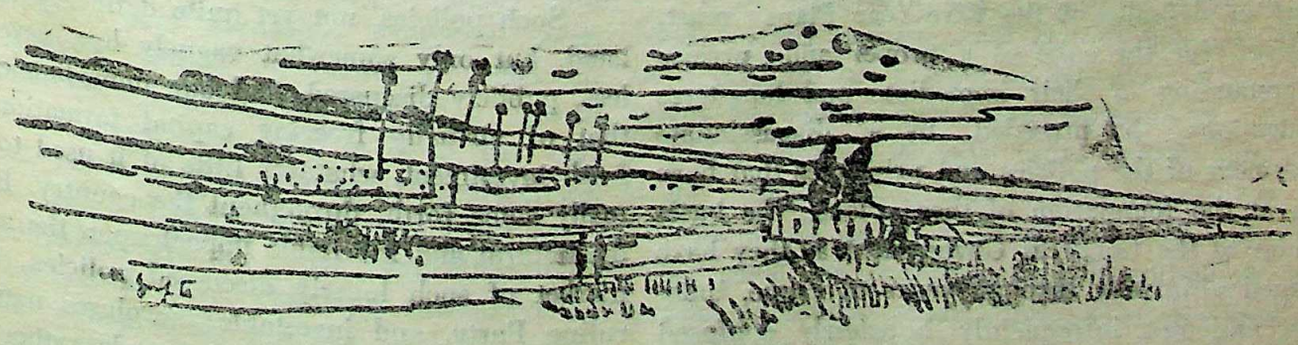
"Solar radiation" write two serious students of energy availability, "is more than ample to supply our maximum energy requirement in the future. There are many different ways of capturing some of this energy—from desert areas, peat bogs, fertile valleys, forests, ocean. If photosynthesis can be manipulated to take care of the world's food requirements, similar industrialized techniques may be applied to the growth of fuel. Superior photo-chemical reactions will probably be found. We are only at the threshold of knowledge of such phenomena."[54]

54. *Ibid*, p. 280.

In point of fact there seem to be good prospects for the development of some of these alternative sources of energy in India. The Wind Power Committee, after making wind velocity surveys, concluded that in at least 2/5th of the geographical area of India suitable wind-mills could be set up to augment power supplies in villages to the equivalent of another 100 KW capacity of electricity per year with an outlay of only Rs. 3.5 crores, *i.e.*, at an initial cost of about 1/20th of the coal-based power stations and a maintenance cost of about one-fifth of hydel stations. It has been possible to devise two wind-power machines costing about Rs. 2,500 each and requiring a maintenance cost of Rs. 300 per year.[55] Experiments are going on in other fields as well and, given proper attention, they may yield encouraging results.

Under such circumstances the agencies and institutions engaged in the promotion of rural industrialization have to give a special attention to the development of the sources of power supply in rural areas—mostly from non-conventional sources as well. Another direction to which research could be geared up is improving the efficiency of use of various sources of energy such as coal, cowdung, wood, etc. To the extent this is possible to be done, efforts at improving the lot of millions of our rural people by diversifying the economic conditions in our villages would bear fruit.

55. See the article "A Plan to overcome Power Shortage", by A. W. Meem in the *Economic Times*, Bombay, October 23, 1961, pp. 4-7.



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A CRITIQUE OF CONGRESS POLICIES AND ACTIONS

By K. K. NANDI

THE election manifesto of the Congress Party, which has only just recently been approved by the Party presidium, is no more than a roster of vague but extravagant promises and a litany of claims relating to its past achievements, any of which is hardly justified by the realities of the situation obtaining in the country today. The Congress has been in control of the machinery of government ever since Independence throughout the last fourteen years and more and any correct evaluation of the legitimate support from and confidence of the electorates that the Party is entitled to, must be based upon a factual analysis of its policies and actions during the period passed by and their impact upon the physical, economic and social life of the community.

IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD

The primary claim to achievements by the Congress Party during the last fourteen years since its accession to power consists mainly of the policies formulated and actions taken by it in the field of planned economic development of the country by way of the Five-Year Plans. Two of the successive Five-Year Plans, the first relating to the period 1950-51 to 1955-56 and the second from 1955-56 to 1960-61, have already been completed and, now, the Third Five-Year Plan relative to the period from 1960-61 to 1965-66 is on the way.

Any factual analysis of either the achievements or defaults of the Five-Year Plans must, however, for the sake of a proper and precise understanding of their immediate and long-term implications, be preceded by a dispassionate assessment of the policies and principles that have been at the foundation of these Plans. The basic policies of the Congress Government as they have emerged ultimately through years of vague, indefinite and not infrequently hopelessly confused thinking and action, is reflected in the philosophy of *Mixed Economy* adopted for the purpose of carrying out the planned economic develop ment of the country. The initial stand of the Co gress in the matter of its economic goal had bee declared to be eventual but complete socializ tion of all sources and means of production b way of progressive nationalization of all maj industries in the country in gradual stages whil at the same time, by establishment of new indu tries under Government aegis and managemen The difficulties of translating such a policy int actual practice, it soon became obvious, woul be overwhelming and, even before the First Five Year Plan could be actually formulated, ther had to be a considerable shift in Congress pol cies in this regard. In fact, it would appea obvious that there must have already been a con siderable cleavage of opinion even within th highest echelons of the Party counsels in this re gard. In one of his public utterances in Sout India, when the Party was yet toying with th idea of nationalization of large industries, the la Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel openly declared himse to be vigorously in opposition to this policy. Th policy of nationalization of land by way of liqu dation of landlordism and other intermediary i terests and interceptors of revenue between th cultivator-tenant and the State had alread been more or less generally adopted througho the country by the State Governments concerne and legislation to implement this policy was a ready in the process of being formulated in mo States.

Such policies, not yet quite definitely form lated, but only somewhat vaguely but, neverth less, publicly discussed, had one immediate effe that of virtually freezing capital formation f fresh investment, whatever little of it used to no mally come forth, throughout the country. It w the natural and inevitable impact upon the mon market of such loosely discussed policies of t ruling Party, and investable surpluses natura diverted themselves to secret hoards rather th come out in the open for investment. The pub

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revenues also began to increasingly suffer, for this acted as a direct incentive to massive and widespread tax evasions. By the time, therefore, that the ruling Party arrived at the stage of formulating its First Five-Year Plan some three to four years since it first acceded to power, it was faced with a complete and wholesale capital famine that would be bound to shrivel up the Plan at its very roots. It was as a result of dire necessity forced upon it by circumstances, rather than a real change in its goals and policies that compelled the Congress to effect a shift in its operative policies to enable the Party to pursue a process of planned development of the national economy under Government aegis.

Mixed Economy

The result was the formulation of the now well-known principles of a *mixed economy*. That is, the economy of the country was intended to be developed simultaneously under both private capital and enterprise and Government control and management at the same time. The contents of a *mixed economy* was not entirely unknown in this country. Some large public utility industries like, for instance, the Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, etc., have already been under Government control and management for a long time past. These were very good revenue-earning enterprises and the Government obviously imagined that their projected further inroads into the wider fields of production industry would, at once, place correspondingly increased revenues at their disposal at comparatively massive scales and would thus provide the capital resources for the eventual build-up towards a progressive and self-generating national economy. In the comparatively narrower field of municipal administration also we have been long familiar with publicly-owned and managed enterprises such as water-supply, sewage and sewerage disposal, street lighting, etc. Selling the idea of a *mixed economy*, therefore, especially in a country riddled with innumerable, generally unprincipled and, most often, brazenly anti-social petty capitalist enterprises, did not prove very difficult so far as the masses of the country's citizenry were concerned, although big business, such as we already had within the country, remained persistently resistant to its enticements.

Private Sector

It was not really until much later, not really until the Government formulated a definite policy of pursuing the country's economic development and progress simultaneously and, more or less permanently, through both private and public enterprises at the same time that the resistance of private enterprise to Government Plans could, ultimately, be broken down. Such a policy had to be definitely and publicly avowed by the Government through an Industrial Policy Statement and allocation of spheres of public and private enterprises outlined. Even then, however, private capital did not very much come out into the open and, in respect of certain major key-producer industries at least, Government had to provide direct incentive to their growth in the private enterprise sector by way of rupee and foreign exchange loans provided or guaranteed by itself. Here was, again, a swing in Government policies and practices to almost an opposite extreme and conditions were provided for the expansion and growth of privately-owned industries by which private capital and enterprise would be able to enlarge its stakes in the industries owned by itself to a massive extent virtually at public expense. This, perhaps, was an inevitable evil flowing from the confused working of the ideas of a *mixed economy* for, Government found that such were the absolute minimum conditions upon which private enterprise would be prepared to toe the lines chalked out for itself in the Government's Plans for the development and growth of the national economy.

Incentive to Private Sector

It is doubtful if any very close attention to Government's policies and actions has, so far, been paid in this regard. In the field of certain major producer industries Government have helped to provide massive rupee and foreign exchange credits on certain very peculiar terms to say the least. In the field of one such industry with which the present writer is intimately acquainted, massive credits have been provided of both rupees and foreign exchange, on the definite condition that redemption of both capital and interest thereon in respect of these credits

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would be effected from correspondingly marginal increases to be allowed in the price factor of the commodities produced by these industries covering their obligations in this behalf. This, in other words, postulates that expansion of privately-owned industries of certain key-producer varieties would be encouraged at public expense. In respect of one such industrial organization, for instance, credits have been provided to the extent of very nearly three hundred per cent of the residual stake of the share-holders themselves in the industry concerned and conditions have been provided for enabling the organization to redeem its debts partly directly provided and partly guaranteed by the public exchequer from out of corresponding increases in the price of the produce of the industry allowed to the producer concerned to meet these obligations. In plain words, therefore, the owners have been provided, at public expense, with the extraordinary privilege and facility of increasing the value of their property by very nearly four times their original capital stake in the organization, the burden of this process of expansion in the contents and value of the *private* property concerned to be entirely borne by the tax-payers.

It is not unnatural, therefore, that the present owners and managements of industries who have been provided with such extraordinary privileges should be anxious to continually go on expanding the capacities of their respective concerns on similar terms, and overtures for more and more fresh instalments of such credits are being continually made to Government with, in certain cases, more or less satisfactory results to themselves, for the purposes of similar further expansion of their respective plant and production capacities. This would seem to be especially extraordinary when regard is had to the fact that the private sector managements concerned of one such particular industry similarly favoured have not been chary of publicly giving expression to their pessimism in respect of the ultimate prospects of the industry concerned in the country. It is no less extraordinary that the Government, whose initial avowed economic policies postulated ultimate eventual socialization of all key-producer industries, should have been prepared to extend such extravagant privileges to privately-owned such capital enterprises without, in any way, reserving to itself the rights of natural compensation for their expansion at public expense.

Even if such extraordinary privileges to certain key industries could be justified on ground of their immediate potential of contributions to the general economic advancement and development of the country as a whole, the least that the Government providing such massive facilities to these organizations would seem to own to itself and to the people at whose expense these encouragements and enticements are being offered would be to take necessary measures to ensure that these industries are administered rationally and with justice and with a view to obtaining the highest yield in production at minimum cost while at the same time ensuring prevention of all avoidable wastage. In other words Government should, in such circumstances, reserve to itself the right of supervision and, where necessary, even control with a view to the maximum utilization of such public resources as may have been placed at the disposal of these industries. In actual practice, however, except for what is merely a nominal nomination of a Government representative on the Board of Directors of the organizations concerned, no further check is found to be maintained over the operations and administrations of these industries. The result, very often, has been criminal waste and misapplication of funds and the growth of a community of unscrupulous *noveau riche*, mainly of so-called contractors of every description.

It is not necessary to go into further details in this behalf but any independent and thorough inquiry into the working of most public-exchequer-financed private industry in the country to-day would be bound to more or less present the picture detailed above.

The Public Sector

The situation in respect of the Public Sector industries organized under Government initiative and management also would not seem to be very much better. The story about the three large public sector steel plants is already well-known all over the country. In the first instance, in every single instance the original capital estimates upon which these projects had been initially planned have been found to be considerably

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at variance with the actual capital that had ultimately to be thrown into their foundations. The stock excuse for these increased and increasing expense of building these steel plants has been that of price increases of plants in the meanwhile. References to the figures in values of India's imports of capital goods during the corresponding periods, however, as would be found in the issues of the Government of India's weekly *Trade Journal*, do not seem to support such a contention to the extent it has been taken recourse to. The time schedule also between commencement of construction and the stage when production could commence has not been maintained in two out of the three cases under reference. Now that all three plants have long since reached production stage, the level of production has been woefully short in most cases of scheduled plant capacity. There is the excuse usually resorted to that there is an inevitable long time lag between the stage when a newly laid down steel plant can commence production operations and the one when it is able to reach targetted production capacity. But even when all these factors have been duly taken into consideration, production would still be found to be woefully short of expectations and the period taken to get over what has been described as the initial teething troubles to be unconscionably long. In the meanwhile expenses of production would be bound to remain unjustifiably high for, whatever the actual quantum of production-yield, expenses have to be inevitably geared to the plant-capacity level. There are other wastages and nepotism also is not entirely unknown creating production lags and increases in production costs which, at any time, would be extremely difficult to completely eliminate.

Similar would be the story, if careful inquiries were to be pursued, in respect of most other public sector industries. Corruption, inefficiency, nepotism, lack of proper and legitimate production planning, all would seem to have been affecting the course of progress of most public sector industries. In a word, management organization of public sector industries normally sensitive to pressures and persuasions of party politics, have so far been found to be most inadequate to the requirements of the organizations they have been invested with the responsibilities of. It would seem, therefore, that the ruling Party's new experiments with the national economy, at overwhelming public expenditure, have not, so far, proved anything like the success they have been claimed to be and it is not unlikely that the commitments that the country has been obliged to run into in these behalves may, yet, prove quite a back-breaking burden for the country's as yet unorganized resources.

Over-all Results of Planning

The discussion above provides only a few glimpses of the conditions of affairs in respect of individual private and public sector industrial organizations which have either expanded or have been newly laid down under the stimulus or facilities provided under the Five Year Plans. It would be equally interesting to note the results of the last ten years of planning in its over-all aspects so far as the present condition of the national economy is concerned. At the eve of the First Five Year Plan, the country started off with an estimated gross national income of about Rs. 9,000 crores and *per capita* income at approximately Rs. 252 per annum. The *per capita* incidence of taxation at that stage was calculated at a gross of Rs. 8 per annum including direct and indirect taxes, the proportion of indirect to direct taxes being only about 7 per cent. Employment level was comparatively satisfactory having regard to continuing employment in a large number of war-time organizations which had not yet been demobbed and the foreign exchange balances were quite satisfactory as well as a satisfactory surplus being available on current account.

The end of the First Five Year Plan and the beginning of the Second was officially held by the Government and the Congress to have been most satisfactory, gross national income having risen over the five year period to an approximate Rs. 10,800 per annum and *per capita* income to have correspondingly risen to approximately Rs. 282 per annum. But as far as employment progress was concerned, it had to be admitted that mainly due to the liquidation of certain wartime organizations in the meanwhile, its quantum had actually shrunk compared to the pre-Plan period despite the increases registered

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as a result of the implementation of the Plan. In the matter of taxation it is easy to understand why the burden of *per capita* taxation, over the five year period, had gone up by a little more than a hundred per cent, but what is really most significant in this connection is that of this gross burden of *per capita* taxation, indirect taxes constituted as much as 40 per cent of the total. The field in which the indirect tax burdens have their most impact is in that of essential consumer commodities and the usual feature of indirect taxation on such commodities is that the actual burden on the consumer is really far heavier, indeed beyond all reasonable proportion, than the actual incidence of the tax. It was estimated by the *Daily Statesman* some time ago that for every Rs. 10 collected by the Government by way of excise or other indirect taxes upon essential consumer commodities, the buyer or consumer has usually to pay anything between 100 to 120 per cent more in increased prices. It would seem, therefore, that with the burden of indirect taxes at approximately Rs. 6.4 per annum the actual cost to the payer of the tax in question would, therefore, be in the region of between Rs. 12 to Rs. 14 per annum. The consumer price level had also moved up over the five year period of the First Plan, especially in the essential commodities' sector to a considerable extent. Taking all these different factors into consideration, it would be easy to realise that the increase in the *per capita* income claimed to have been achieved as a result of and at the end of the First Plan period, was really almost entirely neutralized by the heavier burdens that had correspondingly fallen upon our people over the identical period. Apart from this there was also another very significant and, in a sense, quite alarming factor which made itself evident by about the end of the First Plan period. This is in regard to the country's foreign exchange position. India's export trade had, in the meanwhile, suffered severe reverses in respect of some of her established markets abroad with the result that with the end of the First Plan period her export markets had already considerably depleted, as would be evident from the already growing deficits on current account and substantial portions of accumulated balances having already been liquidated by way of payments for imports of certain capital goods required for the implemetation of the First Plan in respect of some of the projects included within it. She had also, at the same time, already commenced to accumulate foreign exchange debts by way of loans from the World Bank for the implementation of the D.V.C. projects of electrification. In short the end of the First Plan period, despite the extravagantly vociferous claims officially made of its successes and achievements, really ushered in a period of mounting anxieties which it was hoped could only be adequately offset by providing for massive industrialization during the following Plan period.

Second Plan

Thus it was that the Second Plan had for its objectives an over-emphasized programme for industrial development. It was at this time that increasing attention began to be paid to the Private Sector of Indian industry and overwhelming incentives began to be provided for its expansion under Government guarantees and protections. The achievements and failures of the Second Plan have yet to be assessed before a proper evaluation of its gains and losses could be made. But certain symptoms which have been blatantly evident in the meanwhile are not at all encouraging in this context. On the contrary, there is every reason to apprehend, that whatever the gains and losses of the Second Plan in physical terms, its impact in economic terms has created a situation which it would be extremely difficult for the country to be extricated from. The foreign exchange content of the far more massive Second Plan was much higher than that of its predecessor against a background of depleted reserves and already increasing deficits on current account. Efforts at export promotion instead of helping to correct this alarming situation only ended by further increased deficits. The only way to meet the foreign exchange requirements of the Second Plan, therefore, was, partly, to draw upon whatever balances were available and, also, partly, to find assistance abroad to fill the remaining gap. It was not possible to abridge the entire gap, and the size of the Plan had necessarily to be pruned to a corresponding extent. Today, our foreign exchange position is visibly in a dismal state although commitments already incurred in the

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regard are comparatively massive on the other hand. Having regard to the fact that our foreign exchange balances provide the necessary reserves for our currency issues, continually depleting balances which, at one stage some time ago touched the rock bottom of only about Rs. 69 crores, must be viewed with considerable apprehension if not with positive alarm. On the other hand even if the estimated increase in the national income as envisaged initially in the Second Plan may have been achieved in full, viewed on the background of further pressures on the price structure in the meanwhile on the one hand and increasing burdens of taxation both direct and indirect—indirect taxation now covers almost the entire range of essential consumer commodities that one could think of—the results so far as increase in *per capita* income in *real terms* for one thing, or as regards having arrived anywhere within striking distance of a self-generating savings process in increasing proportions for new investments, for another, cannot be said to have been achieved in any way.

Test of Economic Progress

Indeed, despite the comparatively massive investments of the First and the Second Plans taken together, the only test which would prove economic development and progress could not be said to have begun to apply yet in this country. The only acceptable standards of measurement of economic progress are, first, the progressive widening of the area and content of *effective demand* and, secondly, which is really an inevitable corollary of the first, that the employment potential must be correspondingly expanding. Judged from these twin points of view we cannot claim to have arrived anywhere near a satisfactory level of progress yet. And, yet, viewed in the context of the rate of spontaneous pre-Plan capital formation in the country, investments during these two Five Year Plan periods have admittedly been very heavy. Lack of correspondingly assessable results, therefore, must be ascribed to certain important factors which had not been as carefully taken care of as they should have been. To quote Prof. John Galbraith from one of his recent University addresses, the essential prerequisite of planned economic development of underdeveloped economy must be, first, an efficient, dependable and incorruptible public service; secondly, there must be an upward levelling of education of the people concerned and, finally, when these essential human materials have been adequately provided for, naturally the necessary capital and other resources requisite for investment and development. But, here again, Prof. Galbraith warned, that the use of advanced technology—an ambition which appears to have completely enveloped the thinking machinery of the Government and other agencies directly concerned with Planning—is, *primarily* and largely an *accommodation to labour shortages* and its application to an underdeveloped economy may, in certain circumstances, prove completely ruinous. We have, we are afraid, not paid the attention to these requisites of development of an underdeveloped economy as defined by Prof. Galbraith, that we should have. On the contrary, in the name of the use of advanced technology and methods we have, visibly, frittered away a great deal of our resources, both material and human which we could hardly afford to neglect. The result has been what is becoming increasingly obvious, despite the extravagant claims to success that our official sponsors of economic planning lay, that at the end of ten years of our progress, in spite of capital investments amounting to very nearly a hundred per cent of the annual national income during this short period, has been incomparably infinitesmal, if any at all, compared to what it might have been if rationally conceived, guided and supervised.

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PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN LOK SABHA ON CHINESE ACTIVITIES IN LADAKH

THE Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on November 28, 1961, on Chinese activities in Ladakh :

As you have been pleased to fix, I think, the 4th of December for a discussion on this subject of our border, more especially in regard to the renewed activities and aggression of Chinese authorities there, I do not propose to say much. But, I should like to help Hon. Members to know the facts as far as they are in my possession so that it might help them in the course of their discussion.

This White Paper that I am placing today contains a large number of letters, charges and counter-charges made by one Government or the other and the replies. That will give them some picture of the relations of the two Governments which are obviously very far from friendly. It consists of charges and counter-charges being made of this kind. In one of the letters sent more or less recently on the 31st of October, 1961—it is a long letter sent by our Ministry to the Embassy of China here—various matters are dealt with, various charges made by the Chinese Government against us are replied to and repudiated. Then this letter says : I shall read out a paragraph from it.

> "Reports received in August-September, 1961, show that the Chinese forces have spread even beyond the 1956 Chinese claim-line in Ladakh to establish the following new posts, and that they have constructed roads to link these posts with rear bases :
>
> Post at E 78.12, No. 35.19—this is the location of the post—
>
> Post at Nyagzu.
>
> Post at Dambuguru.
>
> These fresh instances of violation of Indian territory by the Chinese establish conclusively that the Chinese are guilty of further aggression against India and their protestations to the contrary are only a cloak to cover up these renewed incursions and aggressive activities."

Thereafter, we rejected their note. I read out this brief reference because this particular matter has been before us now.

I should like to explain because there is much confusion on this issue. On the one hand, quite rightly and inevitably, there is a strong feeling in this House and in the country about these Chinese aggressive activities in Ladakh and elsewhere, a feeling that is obviously completely shared by the Government and by, I take it, almost everybody in India, and further that active and effective steps should be taken against these activities. What has happened? I wanted, first of all, to make that clear. In the course of the last two years—I am not referring to the period previous to the years as that has been fairly well-discussed here and the facts are known—in the course of the last two years, we find that three Chinese posts have been established. I have myself used the word 'check-posts' for their posts or our posts. It is not a correct description. They are military posts; they are not check-posts. Check-posts are normal police posts. Whether they are our posts in these mountains or the Chinese, they are regular military posts. In the course of the last two years, three posts have been established.

As a matter of fact, so far as we are aware they were established during the last summer, especially one important post to which I shall refer. Of these three military posts, two of them, one at Dambuguru and the other at Nyagzu in the Kongka La-Khurnak Fort sector of Ladakh are practically on the international frontier between Tibet and Ladakh; I am talking about the real frontier, not where the Chinese have come in. They are actually on the international frontier. We are not quite certain whether they are a mile or two on this side or on that side because it is rather difficult in these high mountain regions to be precise about the actual line. But, broadly speaking. . . .

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Shri Nath Pai : Then, they must be on this side. If there is doubt, then they are obviously on this side.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Let us presume that . . . . We have presumed that. But I am merely saying that they are near the international frontier. And it is an objectionable thing the Chinese having built them, not because they have included any particular area of territory there by coming a mile but because that is a sign of aggressive mentality behind it and aggressive activities. What I mean to say is that to consider or to think that, as has been said, a large area—I do not know how much, thousand or to two thousand square miles—have been further occupied is not a correct statement. What is correct is that in so far as these two posts are concerned, they are, as I said, almost on the international frontier. And it is objectionable, because the mere erection of these posts even on the international frontier is an aggressive activity and not in keeping with the assurances given to us.

The third post is a more important one, that is, a post in the northern part of this Ladakh area. Presumably, this was put up during this last summer. It is very difficult to give exact dates, because we find out about the existence of these posts by reconnaissance. When a reconnaissance occurs, we see that it is not there; when it next occurs, it is there or it is being built, so that all we can say is that on a certain date, it was there, and on a certain date it was not there; and roughly, we can, therefore, say that it must have come into existence between those two dates.

Shri Balraj Madhok (New Delhi) : What was the date or the month at least when Government came to know about it? Summer is a long period.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The month in which we discovered it ? Early in September, our reconnaissance took place and discovered this post, which is a post a little further to the west of their last post where it was.

This is towards the Karakoram range. As a matter of fact, we have built an important post, military post right near the Karakoram Pass, which is a very important route of entry. Although now it is not used very much, it used to be a very important route from India to Sinkiang and Central Asia. We have built a very important post there at a place named Daulatbeg Oldi which is about ten miles from the Karakoram Pass, and which is a post at about nearly 7,000 feet altitude. The Chinese post which they have built up is to the east of this, ten to twelve miles to the east of this. It is this one single post that is a little further away from the old frontier, from the frontier line, and must be put in a different category, as compared to the two other posts that I have said, which are more or less on the international border. We objected to these posts, of course, for reasons which I have stated. But to this post, our objection is greater because it has moved west two miles. But even that does not imply that the Chinese have taken possession of any large area. A post is just a post at that point, to the right, to the left, or to the east; they are not in possession; nobody is in possession except any Armed Force that goes there for the time being. And as I have pointed out, we have got an important military post . . .

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura) : About how many soldiers are there in one post?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I cannot say how many people the Chinese have put there. Roughly speaking, about fifty is the outside limit on a post; it may be sixty or it may be forty, I cannot say, because every such post, so far as we are concerned, has to be fed, and everything has to be supplied, by air. Ever since these troubles became marked in our frontier regions, we have been trying to build rapidly roads, and in order to facilitate this process, we have taken it out of the normal channels and routine methods of building roads by the P.W.D.'s, which, however, good they may be, are rather slow-working. And we have created a special division of the Army for building roads in these high mountains, with good engineers and the rest. They have done very good work, and proceeded more or less according to schedule. But it has been a tremendous task, in this sense that every little match-stick, every screw, and everything else has to be carried by air, even to build the road; every person whom we station there has to be supplied with everything he needs by air. So, it was for this purpose that we purchased a number of very good transport aircraft from various countries.

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It has been of help to us. And this process is continuing well. This was the base, because we have normally been thinking of preparing for such effective steps in a thorough way. We cannot take adventurist action which may land us in greater military or other difficulties.

It is not an easy matter to conduct a warfare in these regions, but it has to be done, and, therefore, we have to prepare for it, if necessary, and the base of that preparation is this system of roads that are being built rapidly, not only there, but over a large part of the border. After that, of course, in the ordinary military sense....

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun) : On a point of order. I do not think that army strategy will permit Ministers to talk so openly about the preparations which they are making, whatever the demand of the Parliament may be.*

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi) : Especially, the number should not be disclosed.

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh) : The Prime Minister knows his job better.

Mr. Speaker : I have always felt that it is the privilege of the Ministers to say, whenever they do not want to disclose anything to the House, that it is not in public interest to disclose the information. I do not know if it is open to an ex-Minister to claim that privilege.

Shri Tyagi : It is based on conventions observed in many Parliaments. It is not an ordinary matter.

Mr. Speaker : It is somewhat curious. On the other hand, the complaint has often been made here that sufficient information is not being made available and that it is not being given in public interest.

Shri Tyagi : Let photographs also be sent to China. It would be better!

Shri Nath Pai : The Chinese know much more than we.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The Hon. Member Shri Tyagi has rightly drawn attention to the fact that we should not help those who are opposed to us to get information which might help them; that is an obvious precaution that every country takes.

They may know, as Shri Nath Pai hinted, much of this, as we know a good deal abo their activities. Nevertheless, they do not kno everything. It is no good helping them to kno a little more than what they know. I acknow ledge that my general tendency, more especial in the House, is to take Hon. Members into m confidence and say things which perhaps I oug not to say. From that point of view, I was, i fact, thinking of inviting some Hon. Member leaders of parties, to see me privately when I cou talk to them with a map in front of me and t to explain these matters a little further, which cannot do in the House.

Shri Tyagi : Let us have a closed sitting the House. A debate can be had in that way a let all the Members know.

Mr. Speaker : He wants a Secret Session.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : No, Sir. I am ve sorry. A Secret Session or Public Session, the things cannot be discussed with hundreds people present. Obviously, however, secret it i it only means that it does not go to newspaper But otherwise, it becomes semi-public.

Shri Ranga (Tenali) : That is the gener weakness of all parties.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : That is not a weak ness of ours. That is a well-known fact every where. I was merely stating something that terribly secret. The locations may be secret, b obviously not, we have been engaged to the be of our ability to strengthen our positions along the borders. In fact, as I once said, w were engaged in doing this, to some extent rig from 1950 onwards. One error—if you like—w made in our judgment. The frontier was tremendous frontier of 2,000 miles, and it is very difficult frontier, in the sense that there no means of communication sometimes f hundreds of miles on the frontier, because th was a dead frontier in the past. The old Briti Government did not take much interest in it, a it remained so. But the moment we becam independent, both because of that and because the fact at that time the Chinese came into Tib we were alerted by this fact, although nothi had happened against us so much directly. B this frontier became a live frontier and we beg taking military and other steps, 'other ste meaning development of communications, etc.

We concentrated rather on the North-E

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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Frontier Agency because we thought that might be threatened more than any other place. The problem was so huge, involving 2,000 miles of mountainous frontier. In fact, we succeeded not only in bringing a large part of the North-East Frontier Agency in a system of regular administration and communications but in establishing many posts there which have done good work and which have, in fact, prevented any incursion there.

References have often been made to Longju, which is a small village of a few huts only and which, according to us, lies in our territory just on this side of the border. According to the Chinese, it does not. We are even now within about four or five miles—that is, our posts are —from Longju. Of course, the four or five miles are not just straight going. It is mountainous territory and is very difficult going. We have been asked why we have not occupied Longju, although Longju has been vacated by the Chinese. Why they vacated it, I do not know. They are four miles beyond on the other side. It is not a difficult matter, I suppose, for us to go four or five miles ahead and sit there. But it is of no particular importance.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): Have they re-occupied Longju? On a former occasion, we were told that they vacated it because of certain epidemic there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There was some story about epidemic. They left it. They have not, so far as we know, re-occupied it. What their reason is, I do not know. But it is of no particular importance to them or to us.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): On a previous occasion also, the Prime Minister made statements like this about Ladakh and I objected to that. Here also I do not want the Prime Minister to say that Longju is not of much importance to us because this may be taken advantage of by the Chinese. Let us not be shaky about our borders.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not speaking a lie. I am not going to tell a lie. It is not the method of our Government.

Shri Hem Barua: My trouble is that in regard to border disputes the Prime Minister has a tendency to act like an umpire in a cricket match rather than as one whose interests are involved. That is the trouble.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member ought not to interrupt like this.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is perfectly clear that Longju is of no military importance to either party. Of course, it is our territory. That is a different matter. It is an obvious fact. We can, and we may perhaps, occupy it, but if we occupy it, we must be prepared to do many other things too all along the border. When we want and when we are ready for it, we will do it. What I mean is that we have to see things in the large context and perspective, military strategy and the rest. We have to go by the advice given to us by our military chiefs and advisers, that it is not of great importance from that point of view. For instance, Ladakh or any other part is far more important.

So my point is that we hold the entire North-East Frontier border well except this little village of Longju which, at the present moment, nobody holds. At one time, we had even suggested to the Chinese, before these various developments had taken place, that they should retire from Longju and it should be left unoccupied by either party. That was sometime ago. But we have every right to occupy it, if we so choose and if it is in keeping with our general military strategy. That was the point I was making. But it is not, from the military or other point of view, of extreme importance.

Shri Hem Barua: These are unfortunate remarks about Longju.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be unfortunate, but I am trying to make a factual statement. That is my difficulty. If I have to be frank to the House, I hope this House will never compel me to speak lies to this House because they consider that lies are good for this country. We may delude ourselves with a lie. We do not delude the opposite party by our lies because they know the facts as well as we do, and perhaps more.

That is what I ventured to say. We are taking even from 1950, onwards steps to protect our borders, trying to build roads, etc. We attached importance to the NEFA border for various reasons, and we have succeeded in pro-

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tecting it adequately. We are now building up a system of roads right up to the border.

In the other parts, specially the Ladakh part, difficulties were greater—for greater—for us to build roads. Take, for instance, even a single road, which leads from Srinagar to Leh. Leh is a very important part of the Kashmir State. Even the building of that road had caused great difficulties to us. It is now completed. That is one of the big things we have done, and that helps us to move materials and men into Ladakh.

So we have been building these roads and building bases at suitable places for our armed forces. Out of the bases go forward posts etc. The whole thing is being built up in an organised way, paying special attention to the logistic demands of the situation because the whole thing depends on that. Napolean or someone else once said that an army moves on its stomach. That is true, not only stomach but other supplies and all that.

We are a modern army. We are not just an adventurist group going in and taking undue risks in doing it, undue risks for our soldiers and others. Therefore, we have been proceeding step by step, building up our strength in those areas, and we have gone a good distance in doing that.

I was talking about the last two years. That is where, keeping in mind what Shri Tyagi has said, it is not proper for me to mention places of outposts, etc., the military posts we have set up. But we have set up more than half a dozen new posts, important posts, in various parts of the Ladakh border. I have mentioned one already, an important one which is right near the Karakoram Pass a very important one.

An Hon. Member asked what was the strength of each post, and I said that normally it is 40 or 50 men. But I should like the House to remember that behind those 40 or 50 men is a huge apparatus to feed them, to supply them and so on, involving 10-20 times that number of persons.

So, all this has to be built up like this, with a solid base, so that nobody is left unconnected with the bases and, therefore, weakened. What has been our general plan, which I think, has been proceeding more or less satisfactorily, in spite of all these difficulties what have taken place.

Now, it is clear that from the point of view of feeding alone, these areas in Ladakh cann support large armies, either Chinese or ours anybody else's, it just can't. Roughly speakin 80 men require a thousand men for their suppo somewhere behind the scenes, to feed them, et You can imagine how any large army can supported. May be, I cannot say, a great countr like the United States of America or the Sovi Union may be able to do it with their vast r sources, but certainly neither the Chinese Gover ment nor any other Government can support lar armies in this area.

It is not a question of large armies manoeu ring and crushing each other. It is a question strong armed groups—armies, yes—relative small groups going and either taking possessi of a place or removing somebody from som place. That is, the whole strategy has to depe on that conception, but with strong bases behi them to support them. One has to do this with strong base and logistics and food supplies an all that. So, all that has to be taken into cons deration.

As I said, I recognise the strong feelings i the House over these matters. We entirely shar them, but the House will not expect the Gover ment, feeling strongly as it does, nevertheless, take some step which cannot be fully carried ou We are ready for it, we are perfectly prepare for it.

I do not think the last two years, with whi I am dealing, have changed the situation to t advantage of the Chinese in these areas. If I m make a broad statement, I think the situation h broadly been changed progressively in o favour, not as much as we want it to.

It is a fact that they are still in the are which they occupied, that is true, but progre sively the situation has been changing, from military point of view and from other points view, in our favour, and we shall continue take steps to build up these things, so that ul mately we may be in a position to take action recover such territory as is in their possession.

I am sorry I took so much time, I did n intend to, but the matter, as you were pleased say, will be discussed a few days later in t House.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): May I ask one sm question of the Prime Minister? If the s

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ing up of a base on our territory by the Chinese Republic, he does not think will lead to war, why should we be worried that destroying the base set up by them will lead to war?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question of leading to a war. We do not want a major war, of course. It is not a small matter to have a war between two of the biggest countries in Asia. It is not a question of liking or disliking. It is a major historical fact that one gets entangled into when, whatever step we take, we have to be strong enough to pursue it to the logical end. Every military administration has to think of that. It must be pursued to the logical end, and one has to be prepared for that, whether it is there or elsewhere in India, whether it is in Goa or whatever it is. A step has to be taken knowing what the second, third, fifth, twelfth step should be. We should be prepared for all this. We do not take a step and then find that we are not prepared for something that follows.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): The Prime Minister has been saying that the versions given in the press about the territory which has been recently occupied by the Chinese are exaggerated. Some papers say it is 1,500 square miles or so. We were expecting that the Prime Minister would clarify the position, and tell us what, according to the estimate of the Government of India, is the extent of the territory which has been freshly occupied by China.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I thought I had made that clear. There is no occupation of territory except in so far as you put a small group of 40 or 50 men in a particular point. That particular point is occupied and from that area they may exercise some control round about, but there is no other territory occupied at all.

The one place that I have mentioned where they have opened these check-posts, about which we got to know in September last, is a place on the banks of a river with the happy name of Chip Chap river. It is 17 miles south-east of our post which is Dauletbeg Oldi. This is connected by road to the previous post behind which is Jilga, which was established two years ago. So, that the question of occupation of territory does not arise excepting, as I said, they have got a few soldiers sitting at one post, in a sheltered post, which has been created.

Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur): That is occupation!

Shri Hem Barua: Occupation and exercising control!

Shri Vajpayee: Are we to have a new definition of occupation? After the Chinese post is created on our territory, it is occupation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Hon. Member, I am afraid, when he deals with these matters, will have to exercise a little patience. I did not say that is not occupation. I said it is incorrect to say 1,000 or 500 sq. miles have been occupied. That is ridiculous, that is not true. Where they have occupied a particular point, because they have occupied that point, they can exercise some influence round about in those mountainous areas, but to draw a line and say east or west or north of it is occupied is not a correct statement. That is what I ventured to say in answer to the Hon. Member.

Shri Balraj Madhok (New Delhi): It seems they set up some check-posts two years ago. How many miles are the new check-posts from the old ones?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot precisely say, but it may be 10 or 12 miles.

Shri Balraj Madhok: They have advanced 10 miles. It means $10 \times 100 = 1000$ milies of the border.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You can also draw a line from our post of Dauletbeg Oldi, and say that we have already driven out the Chinese, because the line drawn would cover all that area. The area is an extraordinary area where our posts and their posts go in a zig-zag line to some extent; somewhere zig-zag, somewhere something else over that area where they have occupied and where our posts are increasing in number to control that situation.

"Ministry of External Affairs."

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"ECONOMICS OF GROWTH AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA"

By Prof. R. N. BANERJEE

The concept of growth economics has been of crucial importance particularly in the underdeveloped countries. In India with successive Five-Year Plans the principles underlying such economic growth would assume more and more strategic importance. In a such context, what role can be assigned to industrial relations in India with reference to economic growth?

It is our purpose to touch upon the problem, first, from the standpoint of theoretical background of the concept of Economics of Growth; and then to examine briefly the casual relationship between the problem of economic growth and industrial relations in India in so far as our inquiry into adjudication and a possible collective bargaining system is concerned.

Precisely speaking, Harrod-Domar models concerning Economics of Growth are of particular significance for our purpose. Mr. R. F. Harrod has analysed certain fundamental assumptions which are the rudiments of his growth model.[1] According to his conception the level of income and the supply of saving in relation to demand and supply are of crucial significance for a dynamic economy. Harrod has constructed an equation which sets forth his model as follows :

$$GW = \frac{S}{C}$$

Here GW stand for warranted rate of growth, S denotes propensity to save of the community, comprising both individuals and corporate bodies and C denotes value of the capital goods necessary for accelerated investment. C is the inverse of the capital co-efficient or the capital-output ratio. It is now clear from the equation, that rate of economic growth of a community is the function of the ratio between the propensity to save and capital-output ratio.

Harrod has also further explained that long-range rate of growth is also a function of population growth and technical progress which he has christened as natural rate of growth.

1. Vide his article, "Essay in Dynamic Theory", *Economic Journal*, 1939.

Closely similar to Harrod's model, Professor Domar has also constructed another mode which can be set forth in equation as follows :[2]

$$d = S8$$

Here d stands for the rate of development, S is the proportion of savings, and denotes th average productivity of capital. Now from th equation two important conclusions can b drawn. (1) First, the rate of development or th rate of growth of national income would b faster as capital-output ratio tends to be lowe or higher the average productivity of capital an (2) Second, given the value of the average pro ductivity of capital, larger will be the rate o development higher the propensity to save. Thu it seems also clear from this equation what ar likely to be the contributory factors for declin ing the rate of growth in a community.

Harrod-Domar models provide not onl meaningful tools for economic analysis, but als very powerful instruments for economic plann ing. Therefore, one can easily see that the models can be of decisive importance in Indi in accelerating the pace of economic growth.

But it is pertinent to question how far Indi is in the process of economic growth? Or to p in technical terms, the question may be posed Is Indian economy in the "take-off" stage economic growth?

It is well-known that the term "take-of has been popularised by the economic-historia W. W. Rostow,[3] as the interval during which t rate of investment increases in such a way th the real output *per capita* rises and this initi growth carries with it radical changes in produ tion techniques and income flows which perpetu self-sustaining growth. While it is not our pu pose to dwell upon the full discussion of the "tak off" stage of Indian economy, it can be fair said that India is well in the process of the init stage of "take-off". The next two decades wo

2. Vide Domar's article, "Expansion a Employment", *American Economic Revie* March, 1947.

3. W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Econo Growth—A non-Communist Manifesto*, p. 179

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be of critical importance for more rapid growth and accelerated pace of "take-off".

This process, however, is hinged on to the rate of domestic savings by which growing investment should be financed. It is then obvious that propensity to save or capital formation should be rapidly increased for self-sustaining growth. The rate of savings should be raised at 15 per cent from the current rate by the next decade, and to mark the completion of the "take-off" stage by 1975, it is necessary to raise the rate of savings to at least 47 per cent of the national income.

It is now relevant to refer briefly to some important problems connected with the capital-output ratio for higher investment which raise the fundamental question of competing growth of agricultural sector and industrial sector in India. This is important before we examine the implications of industrial relations in the context of economic growth.

It must be pointed out that in a country like India with an ever-increasing mass of population and a limited supply of superior land-holdings, agricultural sector cannot be fully relied upon for maximum level of employment and national income. This, however, does not for a moment under-estimate the improvement of agriculture. For, in India this primary sector would, perhaps, demand major attention and care for a pretty long time till at least self-sufficiency in food and essential raw materials is reached. But once this is achieved, industrialisation will be the only alternative to absorb the surplus labour. Therefore, in that context again capital-output ratio and consumption function assume added importance.

Of course, it can very well be said that in the growth of mechanised agriculture also such capital-output ratio is of considerable significance. But as we have pointed out, agricultural sector cannot be relied upon except to a certain limit of self-sufficiency for the self-sustained growth of economy as a whole, especially for employment and income maximisation. For instance, estimated rate of capital-output ratio of Indian Five-Year Plans for the economy as a whole is assumed to be of 3:1, and that for agriculture is of the order of 2:1 which are rather low. Colin Clark has estimated that in underdeveloped countries the capital-output ratio is approximately of the order of 4:1.[4]

Considered from this standpoint, paucity of domestic savings might greatly arrest the growth of economy, and the danger is a real one in India. To tide over the problem, increasing reliance is generally placed on capital import and massive foreign aid. But it must be said, that this tendency cannot sustain self-perpetuating growth for long. To improve the situation the government should adopt adequate tax-reform policy, monetary policy, price policy and efficiently run the administrative machinery. Also the government should guard against too much reliance of self-perpetuating policy of deficit finance, as it ultimately saps the saving potentiality of the community in face of inflation in a country like India where mostly the aggregate demand is of an inelastic type.

Now it is in this context of economics of growth that implications and importance of industrial relations should be understood in India. It seems obvious from the foregoing discussion that the rate of domestic savings, which may be termed as the reciprocal of capital-output ratio, is of supreme importance in relation with a particular pattern of industrial relations system. So in India, one might ask, to what extent the present industrial relations have contributed to such factors as rate of domestic savings or capital output ratio ?

This question is convenient to analyse from two standpoints. First, what have been the effects of compulsory awards on economic growth ? And, second, what should be the desirable effects of a possible collective bargaining system *via* voluntary arbitration on economic growth ?

With regard to the first point,[5] it can be fairly said that effect of compulsory adjudication and awards have adversely affected the rate of domestic savings or capital output ratio, which is the indirect reciprocal of consumption function of labour. It might be fairly said also that immediate results of awards have been the sharp increase in consumption which has naturally

4. Vide his article—"Population growth and Living Standards", *International Labour Review*, August, 1953.

5. See Chapter VIII.

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retarded the rate of savings. It is, however, important to note here that for a considerable length of period consumption function of Indian labour would go on increasing till a fair standard of living is reached, even if compulsory adjudication is superseded by a collective bargaining system. Therefore, the rate of domestic savings is not likely to be accelerated much from the labouring class for some time to come, at least so long as their sub-human standard of living is not improved by further increase in wage rates and other better amenities of life. Thus, from a short-period point of view, both compulsory awards and a collective bargaining system are unlikely to accentuate the growth of savings.

But considered from long-period point of view, collective bargaining would definitely expedite the rate of savings by improving the standard of living, the level of income and other amenities of life, which the compulsory system could never achieve in any foreseeable future. For it must be known that awards in spite of some wage-increasing effects cannot possibly raise the income of labour to that level which is conducive to capital formation.

This should also be understood in the context of the marginal rate of man-days lost and the number of disputes, as a result of strikes and lockouts, the fundamental factors which involve the problem of industrial peace. Because, industrial peace is an essential pre-requisite for the ideal capital-output ratio which again is the function of optimum productivity of capital. As a result of awards, incidence of the number of man-days lost and disputes has not improved so far. This leads to the conclusion that awards have adversely affected productivity of capital. This has been so from two major standpoints. Firstly, the increasing rate of number of man-days lost and industrial disputes have considerably reduced the marginal efficiency of capital resulting in dis-investment. And, secondly, awards in such a context, despite employers' disinclination, have compelled them to give higher money wages to labour, however insignificant that might be. Thus, both ways, awards actually reduces the efficiency of capital. With this we might say, as we have examined just now, that productivity of labour has not also improved as the rate of savings has not been accelerated by awards.

Against this background, we can expect material improvement both with regard to labour and capital; if collective bargaining is introduced. Since collective bargaining is not adopted, we cannot, of course, prove from any investigation the claim of betterment of economic growth under review. But wherever in the world the system is relied upon better results on the score of capital output ratio have been recorded. Even in India despite the absence of collective bargaining noticeable improvement in industrial relations are registered whenever the disputes have been settled by voluntary methods with mutual compromise. From this we can hope, productivity of both labour and capital is bound to increase if full-fledged collective bargaining is introduced.

It is relevant to point out in this connection as noted already, that from short-period point of view consumption function of labour is likely to increase sharply as the level of income improves further even as a result of the introduction of collective bargaining. Obviously, this would adversely affect the rate of savings. To tide over this problem it might be suggested that apart from the well-known provident fund system, a compulsory savings-bonus scheme should be introduced. According to this scheme, special bonus should be granted to all categories of workers on the basis of a fixed percentage of savings of their half-yearly income, the bonus being double the rate of savings. The special feature of the scheme is that, the rate of savings-bonus should be compulsory upto a fixed limit, say on the basis of 5 per cent savings of income. But beyond this limit, savings-bonus should be entirely voluntary, on the basis of progressive increase in the bonus of different slabs of savings which should be finally determined by the mutual consent of both labour and management.

Another important feature of this scheme is that such savings of labour should be compulsorily deposited with the reserve fund of the firm in which the worker is employed, which means that such savings cannot be utilised by the worker for his personal benefit. It follows then that this would help capital formation which would increase marginal efficiency of capital and investment directly in the best possible manner.

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It would be clear from the rough outline of the scheme, that labour would not mind such contributions as it would be amply compensated by the bonus they get. On the part of the management, they exactly give what they receive from the labour, thereby incurring no loss. But directly they accumulate a fund which, if profitably reinvested, might yield more than what they give to the labour in shape of bonus. It must be pointed here that this scheme holds good both in private and public sectors, obviously with different purposes.

The scheme mentioned above, of course, is only a bare outline of an idea which should be fully developed into a workable and detailed plan. This is provided here only to manifest the profound necessity of some such thought which is essential for the economic growth in the context of the complicated industrial relations in a developing economy like India.

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TAGORE : AN EDUCATIONIST

DR. S. C. CHATTERJI

RABINDRANATH Tagore was born on the 25th Baisakh, corresponding to 8th May, 1961, to a well-known Bengali family of North Bengal. His father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore was one of the pioneers of Indian Renaissance; and along with the great Raja Rammohan Roy regenerated our national life not only in art and literature; but also in social, political and economic activities in general.

Rabindranath grew up during a period when our whole atmosphere was surcharged with a spirit of resurgence; and an idea of humiliation due to foreign domination pervaded all walks of our national life. The versatality of his genius was unique : he touched and adorned all phases of literature. He was a poet, a philosopher, a dramatist, a novelist, a political and religious thinker, a musician, a painter, an actor, a humanist, and above all an educationist. We are here concerned about the last aspect of his life and shall discuss it in as few a words as possible, although volumes could be written on this item of his prodigious scholarship.

Unlike our Upanishadic conception in which renunciation or negation of life was over-emphasized, he laid special stress on human relationship. Consequently, education, as laid down by him at Santiniketan, created suitable materials and spiritual conditions for self-development. In his beautiful sonnet "Vairagya" he emphasized, unlike Rousseau, the positive aspect of education and blamed the man who was about to desert his family, and wanted to be an ascetic. As dealt with in the *Bhagwat Gita* his educational system breathed a profound love of life and appealed to a deep sense of duty to mankind. In another sonnet "Mukti" he gave the same idea that salvation was not to be obtained through self-abnegation. The aim of education should, therefore, be, to fit a child to face the realities of life and not to cut himself off from the world as was done in our hoary past.

In another place, while emphasizing religious education he conceived religion in a very broad sense : his faith was even wider than Buddha's "maitree" or Christ's "brotherhood." His God is with and within us in our vices and virtues, in our sorrows and pleasures, in our sufferings and enjoyments. In fact, in his vision he finds God and man merging to one another making our existence a complete unity.[1] Disagreeing with the Hindu University, Benaras, and the Muslim University, Aligarh, where religion was taught much in the same way as other subjects of the syllabus, he excluded all kinds of direct teaching of theology and held that the main object of moral instruction would be to create a religious

1. Adapted from Tagore's Hibbert Lectures on "*Religion of Man.*"

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atmosphere in his institution; and this could be best achieved where there was freedom and spontaneity in the work. He consequently gave no place for corporal punishment or other forms of external coercion, for such methods were likely to set an anti-religious atmosphere.

During the days of British imperialism he keenly felt that our country had greatly suffered from a callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life, as primary education, and an adequate provision of food and clothing. His heart bled for the sufferers and he started experimental work in his Santiniketan. He, consequently, spent much of his time, energy, and physical resources in creating a feeling of self-confidence in the neglected masses of our agrarian India.

Rabindranath, as we all know, was a worshipper of Nature. In his famous institution he, therefore, like Comenius, laid special emphasis for nature study. He not only made provisions for teaching in the open air under the bracing influence of nature at Santiniketan; but also organized teaching under the shade of trees. Although handicapped by rigid school curriculum he infused the spirit of open-air education in classroom work.

Besides, following the syllabus, scholars were given facilities for making various observations and experiments in the open air. For this purpose they are not only supplied with apparatus for weather study, *viz.*, maximum and minimum thermometer, barometer and a rain-gauge, but each senior student is given a plot of land which he cultivates and produces things according to his choice.

Moreover, in order to compare differences in landscape, climate, and social conditions of the people in the neighbouring villages, short excursions are organized from time to time to extend the knowledge of the young educands beyond the limits of their immediate environments.

Realising that a truly national system of education should be founded on the principle of equality of rights, Rabindranath gave a new colouring to pupil-teacher relationship. He found that the system in vogue was based on the assumption that the teacher was to command and the pupil was to obey. On the other hand, the new method demanded that there should be a policy of "give" and "take" between the teacher and the taught. He, therefore, made a new approach to the problems of curriculum and method. He found that in the past the approach was only psychological depending mainly on the traditional methods of rewards and punishments; but now it belonged to the province of educational sociology. Considered from this point of view, true discipline comes not from the position or commands of the teacher or any higher authority; but it is implicit in the work carried out in a friendly spirit. When each pupil feels that he is a real part of the working force of the school society, when his work appears to him both useful and interesting in the sense of arousing effort, the usual problems of discipline do not arise. It is of course necessary to have recourse to personal discipline; but that should be a part of the discipline which emanates from within in the sense that it originates from the scholar's appreciation of what co-operation demands from him. Here, Rabindranath's personal influence, as a teacher, pervaded the whole atmosphere and worked unobtrusively in moulding the character of the growing generation.

Furthermore, he utilized the social instinct of the young by encouraging pleasurable hobbies that would ensure the children from wasting their time in ways that would counteract their classroom work. He, therefore, entertained them in the evenings, by story-telling, recitation of his poems, and himself participating in their open air exercises like wrestling and swimming.

Fearing an excessive use of competition in our present system of education and believing William James that "no educational progress is possible if the pupils are made to rush from one kind of work to the other," Rabindranath left some time to his pupils for rest and contemplation. He felt that the living of a life involved not only constant intercourse with others: it also required a period for analysing and synthesizing one's own experience. In his institution, therefore, he provided a secluded place where the young scholars could retire for meditation. With the growth of modern sciences, however, our idea of universal laws has undergone considerable changes. We begin thinking this world as a combination of physical forces. Rabindranath rightly thought that man could not be

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merely physiological or even psychological. He has a relation with those great laws that lie at the basis of all creation. In his opinion, therefore, a separate time and place were necessary where adolescent scholars could retire for using a text like the following for deep meditation.

"Om bhur bhuvarsvah tatsa vitur varanyam bhargo devarsya dhimahi dhiyorah prachodayat Om."[2]

In this way, he made every endeavour to bring his wards into direct contact with the great spiritual forces that are working in the universe; but they were left free to respond to them according to their desires and inclinations.

Santiniketan having developed rapidly between the two world wars, it was but natural that Rabindranath had felt keenly the defects of our educational system. Although economic and other factors were involved for such a deplorable state of affairs he rightly pointed out that education had signally failed to inspire men with high ideals that would bring home the fundamental fact of human kinship and overcome the urge of lower motives.

He found that not only in Germany but also in other countries educational institutions were responsible for accentuating the differences which divide rather than unite nations. In order to overcome this defect, he established an international House in Santiniketan and freely admitted students of all nations. Following the Danish system of scrutinizing the text books, specially of history, he removed those matters which could not be supported from an international point of view. He stressed the importance of our ancient ideal of social service and self-renunciation and deprecated the desire for domination and self-gain; but he was handicapped by our rigid departmental and university syllabuses and the methods of teaching that had got to be done in a foreign language.

Another important experiment of Rabindranath's educational system was the establishment of the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan for agrarian welfare. He realised that it was useless to make children and even adults read and write if they soon relapsed to illiteracy for want of proper "mental food." What is done in our rural school is entirely bookish and does not produce the faintest desires for improving their social and economic conditions. He, therefore, not only tried to improve the school curricula and methods, but also to infuse a spirit of self-sacrifice and voluntary service in the mind of the would-be teachers of the district. In the absence of a band of voluntary workers, as found in western countries, the teaching staff should take up rural uplift work. In order to hold and take his proper place the teacher must practise what he preaches and set the example of working with his own hands all the uplift measures, he recommends. "His gospel is the dignity of labour and dignity of social service and he must be as willing to set about cleaning the village or adjusting an iron plough as he is to teach reading and writing. Then and only then will the villagers respect him and his mission."[3]

Closely connected with the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic is the education of the people for a healthy rural life. In his institution, therefore, he included farming and housekeeping projects as an integral part of the course. Thus the boys are trained to keep the records in connection with the growing of corn, caring for a few cows, looking after a flock of sheep, etc. In the domestic department the work to be done at home might be followed according to given suggestion. The point is to have the pupil recognise the definite limits of the project in order that she or he might have a sense of responsibility for doing it completely.

As our peasants are practically idle in the greater part of the year Rabindranath provided training facilities at Sriniketan for cottage and village arts and crafts. He disregarded the current notion prevalent here that cottage productions, specially handloom weaving, should be discouraged and mill products substituted in its place; but from his experience of the conditions of other countries he had found that those types of cottage industries which were associated closely with farming had not entirely disappeared from

2. He prescribed similar passages from the scriptures of other nations.

3. Brayne, F. L., *The Remaking of Village India*, p. 158.

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the world. For instance, "in Germany small-scale industries continue to employ about two fifths of the entire population and embrace more than 90 per cent of the industrial establishment."[4] In our country he rightly realised that the main cause for the deterioration of village industries was partly due to the apathy of the British India Government and partly due to the want of education of our village folks who could not effect the sale of their productions.

Understanding his own limitations, Rabindranath introduced in his institution the training in such crafts, as toy-making, bamboo and straw-weaving, and knitting of all kinds. He also introduced a bias to a trade so that on leaving his institution the student could expect a reasonable price for the articles which he had manufactured. He would thus not produce unsaleable artistic work nor follow slavishly "the old conventional patterns and designs which cramp artistic freedom."[5] Besides, he held continuation classes to facilitate training appropriate to different types of cottage and artistic industries, and organized extra-mural lectures for illiterate country adults.

Rabindranath heard a deal about the "pathetic contentment of the Indian peasantry"[6] which pointed out that the ultimate aim of life was to attain *moksha* (salvation) and that the material comforts of life were passing and transitory. What was most important was abstention from the needs and desires of worldly life. This was the version of India's conquerors and was not the real fact. The Indian agriculturist lives in poverty, because his income is meagre, and he has no education nor training to supplement it when he has no work at the farm. The desires for better and more physical amenities are imbedded in human nature, and no one would like to live in poverty only if he could live otherwise. Rabindranath also felt that one of the main problems in our country was to raise the standard of living of these millions of agriculturists, and the Government should take measures to achieve this aim. The British Government in India discharged its duty by only guaranteeing the security and protection against violence. It did not hold itself responsible for finding a market for their products (in fact, it was against its interest); nor did it seek to control the fluctuations of prices; nor did it succeed in evolving any scheme for financing the peasantry to carry on during periods of depression. Rabindranath could not concern himself with all these economic measures; but he felt in his heart of hearts that the standard of living of an average agriculturist must be raised at all cost. This entailed enlightenment and it was education alone which could give such an outlook on life. When his mental horizon was widened he would look upon cultivation from the business point of view. General agricultural education would not be alone sufficient to increase his income, but it should give him an originality, initiative and a desire to improve his land and make it give the best possible returns.

Finally, Rabindranath found that our villagers were reluctant to send their children to schools; it was but natural that when a farmer saw his children not earning more by school education, he became indifferent. Following the system in vogue in the United States of America, he sent his students with leaflets, etc., to villages to mould the opinion in favour of school education. He thus "contributed his full share to making education in India, Indian, as well as human and humane, in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate".[7]

In the end, it becomes our unpleasant duty to offer criticism by saying that according to him the child should be placed in some beauteous spot of nature where he should grow, live and learn without an external interference. "The teacher should not tread upon the sacred soil of the inborn tendencies and powers of childhood."[8]

Like Pestalozzie, Rabindranath's ideals of education, as carried out in his famous institution,

4. Mukherji, R., *Rural Economy in India*, p. 230.
5. *Ibid*, page 236.
6. Joad, C. E. M., *Story of Indian Civilization*, p. 134.
7. *Modern Review*, May 1961, p. 357.
8. Tagore, Rabindranath, *Personality* p. 138.

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mark a definite improvement on the current principles of Indian education; but they are apparently inadequate, like the Swiss educatior's, to meet our everyday needs. To us it appears that his scheme of education is an isolated educational experiment carried on through the instrumentality and under the auspices of the great elevating personality of the poet amid extraordinary favourable surroundings, and is thus of little or no value to those who are engaged in the cause of education outside Santiniketan. To be brief, an impracticable high ideal is not half as good as an ideal less high, but of more practical utility to the people.

In the first place, our attention has been repeatedly drawn to the sanctity of childhood and to the ardent pleading to let the child grow, live and learn unfettered in the beautiful natural surroundings which Santiniketan offers; but to admire, assimilate and love the harmony of nature is one thing; whereas to cut oneself off completely from the hard facts of life as experienced in Santiniketan is altogether a different matter. Nature, as depicted there, appears sweet and atonce entrancing; but life is not so: it has its full measure of joys and sorrows, its triumphs and turmoils. It may be pleasant, but it looks to be injudicious to train our young generation of today in a secluded place, for our youths are likely to find themselves, like so many Rip Van Winkles, to be in great difficulty when they have to deal with the complexities of modern life. Furthermore, they will not have acquired the necessary experience in their impressionable age to discharge the duties of our democratic system of government, when called upon to do so in their advanced ages.

In the second place, Rabindranath's idea of religion was in consonance with the spirit of the day; but he had not the necessary practical experience of bringing home some of the fundamental truths of morality and their bearing on human life and thoughts through the various departments of school activities. Of studies, history and literature would, if properly treated, heighten the sense of life and its values; geography and physical science would appeal to man's spiritual experience. Even games and athletics, if carefully organized, would offer opportunities for "fair play" and would thus be useful in awakening religious feelings, and in living a truly spiritual life.[9]

In the third place, it was not easy to base his educational procedure like Rousseau on freedom and spontaneity, and at the same time follow the departmental and university curricula. It is useless to hold classes of more than thirty pupils in the open air, and taking the blackboard and other apparatus outside follows the traditional method of teaching. In this respect, Gorukul Kangri near Hardwar has shown better initiative by not accepting a syllabus prescribed by the Punjab University. Rabindranath's personal influence as a teacher could not militate against the vested interests and the inertia of an actually established mode of thought and action. He had thus failed badly in reforming the system which he had so vehemently criticised in his educational schemes.

In the fourth place, the idea of nationalism according to Rabindranath was responsible for most of the evils of our school society. "Nationalism" writes he "is a great menace. It is the particular thing which for years has been at the bottom of India's trouble",[10] and he has, therefore, severely denounced, "nationalism" taking the word in its narrower sense. When, however, we consider the tremendous importance of possessing a national spirit in the light of our experience of Western life and culture we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that our ideal for the education of our future generation should be as broadly national as is found in the West.

Under a foreign regime nationalism had no meaning whatsoever to an average Indian child and was no doubt responsible for so much unrest; but it must not be forgotten that whatever the drawbacks of the system might be it was the idea or the sense of nationalism that has produced such an enlightened public in the West which is keenly sensitive to its civic duties and rights under the existing political system. To the same idea we may justifiably ascribe the wonderful organization and discipline that penetrate the social fabric of the modern civilized world.

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9. Adapted from author's, *Physical Education*, pp. 118-121.

10. Tagore, Rabindranath, *Nationalism*, p. 111.

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It again explains the zest to live freely, fully and abundantly so markedly conspicuous in our Western brothers. Nay, it is also responsible for the phenomenal success and progress which the Occident has recently made in art, literature, physical science, and in all other allied subjects.[11]

In the fifth place, the scheme of rural reconstruction is not comprehensive enough to meet the needs of the country. Both the students and the peasants should live as abundantly as is done in the advanced countries of the West. Our educational system should be so planned, not only to bring about the necessary "rural re-construction", but also what is called "mental re-construction". For instance, all attempts to remedy the evils of rural life will not fructify unless the entire outlook of our peasantry is changed. It is far better to attain a decent standard of living than to lead a life of mystic faith in the hope of getting redemption in the world to come through self-denials and privations voluntarily experienced for an unknown and unseen cause.

To sum up, we are inclined to believe that our rising generation should be inspired with a new hope and a new urge to lead life not exclusively under the benevolent influence of nature, but in harmony with the modern intensely competitive scientific world. We, however, admit our difficulty in harmonising both the views. On the one hand, we cannot regard education in our *Ashram* entirely as a means for inner happiness which was once the goal of our life; and, on the other, we cannot advocate Chicago system of including all the purposive worldly activities as a means for educating our "young masters". Time and our own experience will, however, determine how far we should depend on the one or the other.

11. Summarised from the writer's, *Educational Theories and Development*, pp. 120-50.

REVIEW OF THE 26TH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The 26th Exhibition of the Indian Academy of Art opened by the Maharaja of Burdwan on the 15th December, has valiantly maintained a high standard in all sections of the show—though the quality of individual exhibits—depend entirely on the chance contributions of different artists who have sent pictures from different parts of India—the contributions of which cannot be controlled but can only be accepted or rejected by the Selection Committee—according to the merits of individual pictures. It must be said that this Exhibition fully maintains its All-India character—though the contributions from Bengal—appear to predominate—though not in the actual numbers of local exhibits. During the last few years, not only in the Calcutta Exhibitions, but in all local centres at Bombay, Delhi, Madras and other regional centres, the imported fashion of painting pictures in the Modernistic manners—imitating the language of the Post-Impressionists, Cubists, and Abstractionists—has invaded, all coteries and groups. But a group of Indian painters has deliberately adapted an anti-national pose, and, is asserting with dogmatic persistence that Indian Art *shall not be Indian* in its language, technique, inspiration or subject-matter. This attitude is based on the false assumption that there is no such medium—as the language of Indian National Art—and that the Modern Artists in India should only speak in the international Esperanto in the absurd Abra Cadabra of modern European technique completely ignoring the various dialects of Indian Painting in which the Indian nationalist artists have produced unsurpassable masterpieces in the native Indian tongues, in Classical and Mediaeval Painting. According to the absurd logic of these denationalized Modernists—our national regional

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Lady with Flower
By Lalu Prasad Shaw

poets and writers have and had no right to express themselves in the well-developed regional languages of the Hindi, the Guzarati, the Tamil, the Kanarese, the Orissan or the Bengali. Sri M. V. Seetaramiah, the noted Kanarese poet, should not have chosen the Kannada language, Padma-Vibhusana, Maithil Saram Gupta, should not have chosen his native Hindi language nor Tagore should have chosen his native Bengali-tongue—but should have written in French, German, or Italian as one of the recognized *Lingua Franca* of international communication. Rabindranath expressed himself in his national Bengali dialect and attained an international fame and status which no "Ism"-Painters of India has ever attained. Since our great national poets had not adapted any international language, according to these Moderners,—they are traditionalists and reactionaries with no place on the map of international culture—which our "Ism"-painters arrogantly claim by virtue of their borrowed feathers extracted from Gangin, Picasso or Matisse.

Unfortunately the contemporary interpreters of the National Language of Indian Painting are not producing much distinguished works to follow on the footsteps of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose.

Though several well-known veterans are represented in this Section—Dipen Bose, Indra Dugar, and Radha Bagchi, excepting the latter's powerful portrait of "Nandalal," no distinguished contributions are in evidence. Rajput manners are well-represented in several new and original experiments—Sudhansu Roy's 'Horse', Prabhu Panwar's "Stealing of Curds" and Khodidas Paramar's "Arjun and Chitrangada", Sridhar Rao's "Tulasi Puja", and S. Thakkar's "The Whole Truth", symbolizing the essence of Motherhood, are very distinguished contributions to the Indian Section. Barindra Niyogi's 'Monkey'—in the Japanese manner—deserves high praise.

When one has not attained maturity in the language of Indian Painting it is safer to confine oneself to copying recognized old masterpieces.

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Side of Nature
By Suresh Chandra

On this safe path two artists have presented beautiful copies of old Masters. Thus, Vasana Mitter's creditable presentation of a well-known Rajasthani theme "The Prince at the Well" will extract high praise.

The training in mastering the conventions and technique of the Raja Ithani Kalam is sure to be fruitful in her later endeavours. Several artists in the Indian Section have, much to one's regret, caught the infection of modernistic manners, on a false ticket of progress. For an Artist happy in the language of Indian Painting to ape the temperament, the agitation, and cheap technical stunt of the 'Ism'-Painters is to sacrifice his great Indian heritage of the qualities of respectful restraint and spiritual serenity.

We now turn to the Section of Oils, appropriately placed at the beginning of the show. This is a section which happily appeals to persons of normal vision accustomed to admire beauty in the correct and truthful representation of the forms of Nature—a manner of presentation now very much ridiculed by the moderners as "academic," "conventional", and "old-fashioned". That academic painting and truthful representation are still worshipped in progressive America has been recently demonstrated by the fabulous price paid in New York for purchase of a not very distin-

A Profile in Steel
By Robin Roy

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guished specimen of the world-famous Dutch Master—Rembrandt.

In the present show—academic painting in oil is worthily represented by Atul Bose's excellent portrait of "Sir J. C. Bose", excellently characterized and excellently handled by delicate touches. This fine specimen is ably supported by several well-executed portraits—two contributed by the skilful brush of Kishory Roy—studying two phases of human face "Old Age" and "Childhood" both of remarkable dignity. The possibilities of portrait-painting are very well-demonstrated in Mrs. Mackenzies "Nicholas," Jagadish Roy's "Portrait of a Lady," and Kala Soshi Banerji's able study of "Brother and Sister" and Assis Mitter's little masterpieces; "A light in the Shadows." M. Powle's "White Skirt" is qualified by the merits of simplicity and restraint. Landscape is not well represented in Oils. Kulkarni's "Boat" is a halting performance easily eclipsed by K. M. Das' accomplished presentation of a "House Facade."

Ravana-O-Jatayu
By Dipen Bose

As usual—the most provocative and challenging section is the one dedicated to the Moderners and the Progressive,—who have wantonly destroyed all academic rules and conventions and are seeking Creative Values on the path of distortions, exaggerations and abstractions. It is a highly mixed fare full of both praiseworthy and blameworthy experiments, full of "lights and shadows," literally and figuratively, for the successes and failures are equally balanced. It is unfortunate that most of our Indian modernists are blindly imitating the formulas and patterns of modern Western Painters without assimilating their fundamental principles. Most of them are tiresome repetitions of rectangles and parallelograms, without any fruitful dissection of forms to unravel, the basic secrets of construction and creation. Yet, there are several shining highlights which catch the eye and move the mind by their stirring rhythm and resonant colours. The dominating piece is Deva Kumar Roy's "Kite" a resounding symphony of pink and blue—which in spite of its obscure symbolism will extract admiration. Equally enigmatic is V. Srikantha's "Dream Girl" a powerful experiment in abstraction—culminating any suggestion of "Dream" or of "Girlhood." A more convincing study is Paramar's excellent study of a "Bull," a vibrating vision in blue is of remark-

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Self Portrait
By Muralidhar Tali

able effect. Other attractive pieces are Mazime's "Classical Music" and Kulkarni's "Madonna.' Deva Kumar Roy Chowdhry's "Smoking" is a masterly combination of realism and abstraction. Anil Bhattacharyya's "The Essentials" is an eloquent symbol of the vanity of human beauty mocked by two horrifying human skeletons. Raza who won laurels in Paris is well-represented by a study of "House tops" of which his reticence is more expressive than others' verbose descriptions.

But the peak of the show is represented by the exhibits of the Sculptures' Section. Both the variety of treatment and diversity of mediu wood, stone, and metal—the section is full stirring pieces—with numerous original co positions which invest the exhibition with gre significant values.

In the medium of wood there are three r markable pieces each differently treated. Nani Kumar's "Two Friends," is a simple yet eloqu pair, marked by praiseworthy originality. L original but of profound appeal is Ma

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Taluqdar's "Bull," borrowed from Mahenjo-Daro. Raghat Kanoria's eloquent interpretation of the anatomy of "Calf" is a masterly presentation in Bronze, deserving the highest praise. But in sheer originality and power of expression through abstract means Kumar Robi Roy's "Profile in Steel"—is the best piece of work in any medium.

By its varieties of exhibits, the present Exhibition will provide instructive lessons to all classes of persons and help them "How to look at pictures—and profit by them."

In a country of apalling illiteracy the educative value of Exhibitions cannot be overestimated. For pictures provide knowledge without tears and wisdom without the aid of printed books.

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN INDIA

By B. B. LAL,
Director, School of Archaeology, New Delhi.

Just a couple of years ago, an archaeologist of international fame, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, observed: 'Today no part of the world is better served in archaeological matters than is the Republic of India.' And indeed this handsome tribute was no exaggeration, for, as in other walks of life, so also in archaeology, India has made considerable progress since Independence. The spade has brought to light several new aspects of ancient Indian civilization, besides adding more details to the already-known ones.

To look back into the dim past, when man was in a purely savage state, hunting animals with the help of stone tools and living either in caves or on open terraces of rivers; recent explorations have brought to light several new sites of this period, the more prominent being those in the Sub Himalayan region of the Punjab and in various river-valleys of Rajasthan, Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and northern Maharashtra. While the Sub Himalayan sites, with their typical pebble-tools, show a relationship with those in south-eastern Asia, the others recall similar sites in southern and eastern Africa.

A most recent excavation, by Dr. R. V. Joshi and Shri M. D. Khare, of a cave near Hoshangabad in Madhya Pradesh has shown that it was occupied as late as the microlithic period, when tiny stone-tools of fine workmanship had replaced the bigger and cruder ones. At the close of the Stone Age stands the cultural equipment unearthed by Shri T. N. Khazanchi at Burzahom near Srinagar in Kashmir. The people now used, besides polished stone axes, bone harpoons, awls and needles. They prepared their own dwellings, domesticated animals and possibly carried on agriculture.

Getting out of the Stone Age, one's attention is atonce drawn to the excavations at Alamgirpur in Meerut District of Uttar Pradesh and at Lothal in Ahmedabad District in Gujarat, conducted respectively by Dr. Y. D. Sharma and Shri S. R. Rao. While the excavation at Alamgirpur has shown that the Indus Valley Civilization did in fact extend much beyond the confines of that valley, the excavation at Lothal has added quite a few new items to our knowledge.

Dock-Yard Excavated

Thus, apart from bringing to light several structures and antiquities, the excavation has laid bare a dock-yard, 218 metres long and 37 metres wide, connected by means of a 7-metre wide channel with a now-dried-up river, which itself is hardly a few kilometres off the sea. While seals of Indus civilization found, years ago, at several sites in Iraq had hinted at the possible trade connections between India and western Asia during the third millennium B.C., the discovery of the dock-yard at Lothal now

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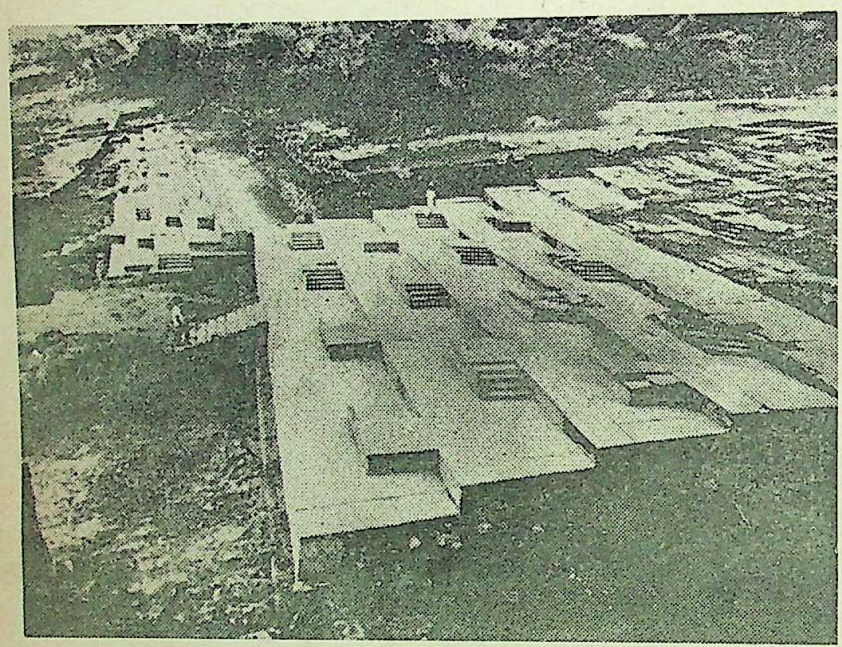
indicates the *modus operandi* of this trade. One can now visualize small boats, such as are in fact depicted on the Indus seals themselves sailing along the coast of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, carrying cotton goods, spices, etc., from India and bringing in return cosmetics and the like from western Asia. Indeed, the Sumerian records of a comparable date refer to such a trade between that country and the East. Another new feature revealed at Lothal relates to the brutal parctice. In some of the excavated graves two bodies lay together. Thus, if anthropological examination shows that in these cases the persons buried were each a male and a female, we might be having here something of great socio-religious import.



A Bathing Ghat built in the early centuries A.D. unearthed at Nagarjunakonda (Andhra Pradesh)

Another Indus site where excavation is presently being conducted for the training of students of the School of Archaeology is at Kalibanga in District Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan. The site consists of two mounds, a smaller one on the west and a bigger one on the east, which pattern is characteristic of both Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro where the smaller mounds have turned out to be citadels and the larger mounds the towns in general. Further, the lay-out of the streets at Kalibanga—north-south and east-west —is also reminiscent of the lay-out of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Kalibanga is immensely rich in antiquities, but a find of outstanding importance is a potsherd, the inscription of which clearly indicates that it was written from the right to the left.

It has been believed by some that the Indus civilization came to a sudden end. The excavation at Lothal, however, has demonstrated the slow yet certain devolution of that civilization and combined with the evidence from Rangpur, another neighbouring site, has shown that many an item of the succeeding chalcolithic culture of Central India and the northern India Deccan may not entirely be unrelated to the civilization.

Influx from Iran

Chalcolithic cultures have been laid bear at several sites, the more noteworthy among them being Navda Toli, Parkas Bahal, Nagda, Tripuri, Nasik Jorwe and Nevasa, excavated variously by Drs. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao, M. G. Dikshit, S. B. Deo and Sarvashri B. K. Thapar, M. N. Deshpande and N. R. Banerjee. The excavation of Navda Toli has compared some of the pottery-types and painted designs from that site with those from Iran and is inclined to believe that a large influx of people took place from that country into India about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., which is the date obtained for the lower levels of the site by Carbon-14 tests.

In Southern India, Sir Mortimer's excavations at Brahmagiri, in 1947, had given a clear definition to the Polished Stone Axe Culture in that area. The recent work at Piklihal and Utnoor by Dr. F. R. Allchin of the Cambridge University in collaboration with the Government of Andhra Pradesh, and at T. Narsipur in Mysore by Dr. M. Seshadri, has added much valuable data to our knowledge, demonstrating a two-way cultural traffic between South India and the northern Deccan. The remains at Utnoor have been dated to *circa* 2000 B.C. by a radio-carbon test.

Proceeding from the somewhat impersonal story of prehistory and protohistory to that

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early history itself, we find two great cities, Kausambi in Uttar Pradesh and Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh, known to have been the capitals respectively of Udayana and Pradyota in the 6th-5th centuries B. C. The Lord Buddha is known to have visited the former site and stayed at a place called Ghoshitarama; and indeed an inscription discovered from the excavation helps us clearly to identify the place. At both Kausambi and Ujjain the excavators respectively Shri G. R. Sharma and Shri N. R. Banerjee, have unveiled mighty defences. Made of mud, the defences were further strengthened with burnt-brick revetments, which at the former site can be seen even today soaring to a height of over 13 metres.

The well-known site of Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh is awaiting submergence under a dam. The salvage operations over here, under Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, with general guidance from Shri T. N. Ramachandran, have brought to light a large number of *stupas*, monasteries, a citadel, a bathing-*ghat* and last but not least an amphitheatre—all assignable to the early centuries A.D.

At Ratnagiri in Cuttak District of Orissa, where excavation has been carried out by Mrs. D. Mitra, a large monastic establishment of the Mahayana cult ascribable to the early medieval times has been unearthed.

This brief survey shows that quite a substantial ground has been covered during the past few years. However, much more remains to be done before we can hope to have a really comprehensive picture of Indian archaeology.

(Courtesy: *A.I.R.*)

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'THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF BUDDHISTS'

FROM 10th November, 1961, PHNOM-PENH, the Capital of Cambodia, was the cynosure of the world for Delegates went from different parts of the world to attend the Sixth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, which began its sessions on the 14th November, 1961. The Central Airport of PHNOM-PENH was gaily decorated with the National and Buddhist Flags. During the night the central and other parts of the city were flood-lit. Everybody in the city was conscious of this historic conference and greeted them with the words 'Long Live the Buddhist Session.' All this gaiety was because the Cambodian Government with His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the Chief of the State had made elaborate arrangements to play host to all the Delegates. The Government had accommodated about 150 Delegates representing nearly all the Buddhist organisations of the world in the most modern hotels in PHNOM-PENH also an official car was put at the disposal of each Delegation with an A.D.C. to look after it.

For this historic conference the Prince Norodom Sihanouk had constructed a Hall with a modern auditorium with a seating capacity for 1000 people equipped with modern air-conditioning arrangements. Amongst the important delegations were that from Japan headed by the Rev. Riri Nakayama, the Chinese delegations headed by Mr. Chaopu-Chu, the Ceylonese delegation by Mr. W. P. Daluwalla, the Hawaiian delegation headed by Mr. I. Mayabara, the American delegation by Dr. George Fong, Hong-Kong delegation by Mr. K. S. Fung, the Singapore delegation by Miss. Pitt, Swedish delegation by Mr. Cerutti, the Russian delegation by Mr. Delikov, and other delegations from England, Germany, Holland, North and South Vietnam, Pakistan and India.

On the morning, the conference began its opening session with His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the Chair. Ven. Bodhivarsa Mahathera, the Lipa-Sangharaja, administered Panchasila. It was followed by the impressive speech by the H. R. H. Prince which inspired the delegates. The President of the W.F.B.U., Mr. Chan U Ton of Burma, conducted the session. Messages were read from the heads

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of the states and even President Kennedy of U.S.A. had sent his greetings to the conference. The message of the Vice-President of India was read by the Ven. Bhikkhu Aniruddha, leader of the Mahabodhi delegation. Shri Kishore Charan Law, the member of the governing body of the Mahabodhi Society, was also a delegate to the conference. Shri Law read a message on behalf of the Mohabodhi Society—"It is with great pleasure that the Mohabodhi Society sends its blessings to the Sixth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists which is to be held in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia, from the 12th to the 22nd November, 1961, under the patronage of the government of Cambodia. It also gives its sincere thanks to this host country for holding this august conference here and for the kind invitations extended to all delegates from different parts of the world.

Left to Right: Dr. M. Ghosh, Mr. V. S. Kamboj, Rev. Aniruddha and Mr. Kishore Charan Law

"The urgent necessity of OUR MASTER's teaching is keenly felt in the present world which is passing through a period of suspicion, fear and insecurity. There is cause for anxiety not only in the Western World but also in the Buddhist World. It hopes that this conference will resolve to find out ways and means to promote peaceful co-existence and brotherhood among nations."

"It also wishes to mention that it will be celebrating the Birth of the Buddhists' Revival in India and the founder of the Mahabodhi Society, on the 17th September, 1964, and kindly request all delegations to co-operate and hold this event to commemorate the great Buddhist leader who devoted his life for the cause of Buddhism."

"Again it wishes this conference success by the blessings of the Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha."

The Maharajkumar of Sikkim, the President of the Mahabodhi Society, read the message of his father, H.R.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim. After the reading of the message the morning session closed.

In the afternoon the session began with the administration of Panchasila by the Ven. Sangaraja of Cambodia. The session was devoted to the reading of the messages and reports by the leaders of the regional centres. Later the delegates were divided into four committees, namely, Education, Humanitarian, Dharmaduta and Steering to discuss the draft resolutions on the following way :

On the first morning, the session began with the administration of sermons by the Ven. U Thillila of Burma, which was followed by a short discussion. In this session the Prime Minister of

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Cambodia delivered his message to the delegates and was followed by the readings of reports of the regional centres.

There were many delegates from many countries in this committee. Several Resolutions were adopted together with the Resolution on the Birth Centenary Celebrations of the Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala which was proferred by the leader of the Mahabodhi Delegation, Bhikkhu Aniruddha. It was unanimously passed after initial discussion. The Education Committee was headed by Miss Sett Cheir Hu and the Humanitarian Committee was headed by the Rev. Riri Nakayama. The President U. Chan Htoon headed the Steering Committee with Mr. Inonu.

On the 16th morning, the session began with panchasila administered by the Ven. Nyanaponika Thra which was followed by an illuminating speech. The morning and afternoon sessions were devoted to reading of the reports and the committee meetings were held respective to finalise the resolutions which were to be presented on the closing day.

On the 17th, the closing day, the morning session was devoted to the Steering Committee meetings.

In the afternoon, session began with the administration of Panchasila by the Ven. U. Vimala of Germany. The Head of the Committee proposed the resolution of their respective committees. The resolution to celebrate the Anagarika Bhikkhu centenary was passed unaniomusly. This session closed at 9.30 p.m. On the 18th, the delegates united at the Royal Palace, the Royal Silver Temple and the Museum. In the evening H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk had arranged a party in honour of the delegates and this was followed by a Royal Ballet.

On the 19th and 20th, the delegates were flown to Angkor Wat by Royal Air Force Planes, were they visited the world-famous temple built by JAYAVARAM VII about 700 years ago. On the 22nd, the delegates witnessed the boat-festival and the water-floats in the night was an impressive one. At night the delegates were given audience by Her Majesty the Queen. It was followed by a grand dinner party given by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk which closed the Sixth Conference. The delegates thanked and expressed their gratitude to the Royal Cambodian hosts headed by his Royal Highness Prince Norodom.

—Maha Bodhi Society of India

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TOURISM—A NEW SOURCE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

By R. S. KAUSHIK, M.A., M.Com., LL.B., Ph.D.

Tourism, of late, has emerged as a potential source of foreign exchange to Asian countries. At the present juncture, India's economy is striving hard towards achieving a self-generating developmental stage and the part played by all those industries which serve to add to foreign exchange reserves is nothing but praiseworthy. Although a nascent industry, tourism promises to set up an impressive record in India as a redeeming source of foreign exchange. The number of tourists visiting our country has been increasing every year as will be evident from the following figures.

Year	Number of tourists	
1953	28,060	,, ,,
1954	39,333	,, ,,
1955	43,645	,, ,,
1956	68,880	excluding Pakistanis
1957	80,544	,, ,,
1958	92,193	,, ,,
1959	109,464	excluding Pakistanis & Tibetans
1960	123,045	,, ,,

In 1959, tourism rose from the seventh position to the sixth position as foreign exchange-earner and in 1960, it achieved the fifth position. If the same tempo is maintained, it might probably rank in the near future as the fourth next only to tea, jute and cotton textiles. In 1958, tourist industry in India earned Rs. 17.15 crores worth of foreign exchange. In 1959, this figure rose to 19.1 crores and in 1960, to Rs. 21 crores. Besides earning foreign exchange for the country, tourism serves yet another important pur-

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pose of promoting better understanding between the peoples of the world.

Unfortunately, this important industry is not being paid the necessary attention that it deserves. India is losing millions of dollars because of the inadequate attention paid to this industry. During 1959, a total of 109,464 foreigners visited India, the increase over the previous year's figures being no less than 18.7 per cent. Mr. S. N. Chib, Director General of Tourism, believed that the rate had become stabilised at about 17 per cent but this hope is belied by the official figure of 1,23,045 visiting India in 1960, which is an increase of less than 13 per cent over the previous year. Poor publicity, insufficient facilities and unnecessary restrictions are the major obstacles in the healthy growth of tourism in this country.

It is a well-known fact that the amount of money spent on publicity has a direct bearing on the number of tourists visiting a particular country and thus on the earnings derived from the tourists. Hawaii, for example, with a population of 5,00,000 spent $8,00,000 in 1956 on publicity in U.S.A. and earned $65 million, and Ireland with a population of 29,09,000 spent $3,19,868 on publicity in 1956 and earned $11 million. The Government of India spent Rs. 35 lakhs on tourist publicity in 1956 and earned Rs. 15 crores worth of valuable foreign exchange. In 1958, Rs. 20 lakhs were spent on publicity and the number of tourists visiting India was 92,193; in 1959, the amount spent was 35 lakhs of rupees and the number of tourists went upto 1,09,464 while last year the amount spent on publicity rose to Rs. 46 lakhs with the resulting high number of tourists touching the figure of 1,23,045. Millions of travel-loving people from America and Europe are turning to the East because most Americans regard Europe 'an Old Hat.' American traveller is tired of Europe—which he has visited a dozen times. India lies in the middle of the round-the-world trip. But we have to find an answer to the question why most American tourists come as close to India as Bangkok and Hongkong and then pass us by. In 1955, approximately 43,000 tourists visited India whereas 1,03,000 visited Japan. The foreign exchange earned by India that year was Rs. 10.14 crores as against Rs. 21.45 crores earned by Japan, an Asian country which offers similar attractions of the East. Out of the 1.5 million American tourists, seven lakhs went to Europe, 75,000 to Pacific area and East Asia and only 27,174 came to India in 1960. Americans spent nearly 950 crores of rupees on tourism and it is estimated that the amount will be three times greater in 1965. But according to statistics available, they spent only 1/200th of the total amount in India—a mere begatalle. There is a tremendous potential that can be tapped by stepping up our publicity drive in America. Our efforts in this direction are far from being adequate. In the whole of America, we have only two tourist offices, one in New York and the other in San Francisco. There should be at least twenty. In fact, tourism has become a highly organised industry and requires a special technique for its expansion.

The proportion of tourists entering India was approximately 61 per cent by air, 31 per cent by sea and 6 per cent by land in 1958. The development of fast jet air services is tilting this ratio in favour of air transport. There have been frequent complaints from foreign tourists visiting this country by air, about the inconvenience that they have to face here. Those who travel must be prepared to face the inconvenience, was and still continues, to be the attitude of officials in India. The realisation of the importance of tourism to the country has helped in improving the situation to some extent but the aims of what IATA calls 'facilitation' have yet to be achieved. A number of countries in Europe and America have reciprocal agreements on the non-requirement of visas. Can the same not be followed by the countries that met at ECAFE Conference at New Delhi recently? Most aircraft operating within Europe no longer have to carry 'Passenger manifest'—this expensive and time-consuming document. The tourist card has certainly done a great deal in relieving the difficulties of travel. As pointed out by IATA's Director General in his report presented to the 14th. Annual General Meeting of IATA, held at New Delhi, in 1958, the facilitation in Asia does not have many bright spots.'

It was brought to the notice of the Lok Sabha Estimates Committee on Air Corporations (1956-57) that custom procedure at the Indian

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airports was particularly irritating to foreign passengers. It was a general experience that as compared to custom handling at modern airports abroad, the custom handling at the international ports in India left much to be desired. A particular complaint in this connection is that custom officials at the airports who have to do an unpalatable job, can do it less unpleasantly. The number of immigration, custom and health clearance formalities on arrival at airports in India, in view of the large and slow moving queues, do much to discourage this type of traffic from finding its way to this country. The time gained in speed is offset by the delay in carrying passengers from city offices to airports and in 'processing' through custom, passport and health formalities. A tourist who goes back in the spirit of contentment is virtually a salesman of India's tourist industry. The visitor from abroad has to be welcomed as a guest and a friend and should not be treated as a potential criminal or a nuisance.

Administrative formalities should be cut down to the bone. Paper work should be reduced and the procedure of custom, immigration, public health and other authorities should be streamlined. Acceptance of oral baggage declaration and abolition of tax-clearance certificate may be adopted. The tourist should be 'processed' in the country with minimum delay. Formalities of arrival may be as far as possible be performed in the air before actual landing. Operators may carry in the aircraft all the necessary forms for those disembarking in India so that they may be filled in at leisure during the flight. This will save considerable time on the ground between landing and clearing the passenger to their hotels. Health requirements are more stringent in India than in other countries for no particular reason. The certificates are not generally issued at the place of innoculation which means calling at another official at some other place. Thus the tourist concerned finds that he has lost nearly a whole day of his stay procuring documentation which in other countries, he is not required to do.

It will be interesting to examine the position of hotels as they are today and what facilities and assistance the hotels will require to meet the development of tourist traffic. There are about 11,000 beds in the hotels available in the whole country. While the tourist traffic to India had increased by 500 per cent during the last six years, the total accommodation capacity during the same period had increased only by 30 per cent. At least 100 beds should be added by the end of 1962. There are at present 136 hotels which have been inspected and approved by the Director of Tourism. Of them, not more than five or six are de-luxe hotels and twelve or thirteen first class hotels. Most of the other approved hotels are what in other countries are known as 'three star hotels.' The de-luxe and first class hotels are known as 'five and four star hotels.' Tourists want middle-class hotels which can provide air-conditioning facilities. Incidentally, air-conditioning plants, below seven ton capacity, are manufactured in India. It is true, that the tourists come to India not for living in luxury hotels but they must be provided with a reasonably comfortable accommodation. India needs 'two star hotels' which a charge of Rs. 15 to 17 a day. Incentives in the form of long term loans, building facilities and tax exemption should be granted to attract capital to this industry. The official hotel standards and the Rate Structure Committee (June, 1958) recommended :

> "For the rapid growth of the hotel industry which is essential for the quick development of tourist traffic, adequate financial assistance in the shape of loans, grants and subsidies should be available to the hotel industry. A fund of Rs. 10 crores should be created for advancing loans at low interest and easy terms of repayment to deserving hoteliers since financial assistance is of utmost importance if more hotels are to be constructed and maintained in the country."

There is also a great need of supplementing accommodation like rest houses and dak bungalows. The Government should build medium-class rest houses at small places of tourist interest. It is an investment to enable to earn more foreign exchange.

Another problem is the poor accessibility of some places of interest. Most tourist centres are not linked by adequate air services. Owing to the shortage of time on their disposal, the overseas tourists have perforce to travel by air if they are to cover all the high points in the vast land. Since

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they can only visit a few places by air, the itineraries of tourists visiting India have thus a certain amount of monotony. Since it has a direct bearing on earning, it is necessary to continue opening up new areas of interest by extending air services. The tourist department has acted rightly by paying IAC subsidies for air-linking some tourist centres.

While much has been done on a national basis for wooing more tourists, promotional tourism can be better attended to on regional basis because when a tourist comes to the East, he covers in his itinerary not only India but four or five countries. It has been found that tourist promotional activities of one country benefit its neighbour and the potential advantage of Government action by countries geographically close to one another such as India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan is quite obvious. The ECAFE seminar in New Delhi, held in April this year, was the first serious attempt on the part of Asian Governments to pay necessary attention for selling tourism on scientific basis.

Special festivals for tourists should be arranged at big cities by the tourist department. Polo matches, flowers shows, tatoos and other cultural functions should be held. A special calendar of events should be prepared and distributed all over the world. India and other Asian countries have publicised 1961 as 'Visit Orient Year'. Railways, Indian Airlines, Shikar Out Fitter's Association, Hotels and Restaurants Association of India have offered rebates on their scheduled rates. On a conservative estimate we expect about 1,40,000 foreign tourists to visit India this year.

Confusing rules about prohibition add to the bewilderment of the tourist. The sort of incident, involving a well-known film star who was arrested in 1959, must have dissuaded many foreigners from visiting the country in spite of explanations and apologies offered by us. Prohibition rules should not apply to tourists. No form filling should be necessary. A visitor's permit to purchase alcohol which should be made available to him at reasonable price should be automatic. Prohibition affects industry in yet another way. As pointed out by Michael Overman Public Relation Officer of Hotel and Restaurant Associati of India, the most decisive factor affecting ho rates is prohibition. To quote him "Profits fro the sale of liquor are so attractive that a redu tion in hotel rates resulting in higher occupan ratio and consequently a greater regular sale liquor can be and usually more than offset additional profits from the bar. Where there no prohibition, it is a good business to low hotel rates artificially. Since the vast majority the world's hotels are permitted to sell alcoho beverages freely, these artifical rates are tak as norm."

Again to call foreign tourists to India a not to allow Indian tourists to travel abroad not at all a sound policy. Indian tourists shou be allowed to travel abroad with more liber facilities of foreign exchange as this will serve publicity abroad to some extent. Indian touris meet foreigners and delight in telling them abo India by painting the picture in bright colours. The human form of personal propagand is indeed a most effective advertisement.

Stressing the need to improve and expan facilities for tourists, Mr. Brancker, Traff Director of IATA beautifully summed up t position at the 12th Congress of Internatio Union of Official Travel Organisation held Washington in these words :

"If you invited a guest to your house a told him when he arrived, that you were ve sorry as there was no bed available, you wou soon lose your reputation as a host. . . . . If y ran a shop and put a guard on the door and i sisted that every customer not only produced certificate of good conduct but was also d infected before he came in, you would not any customer. But some countries still treat th tourists in much that way. Similarly, no one w really believe that you want visitors if y make them spend a day getting visa—somethi that costs time as well as money."

Better sales and marketing organisation a a fairer deal to clients through avoidance of i some travel barriers would certainly gener more traffic and earn much-needed dollars the country.

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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE BRITISH INTERPRETATIONS, 1947-57 : *By Shri Ram Sharma. Gyan Mandir, Gwalior. 1961. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 10/-.*

Public opinion on home as well as on foreign affairs in a modern democratic State is a very composite factor comprising numerous and even contradictory strands of expression, and yet it is one of those imponderables of history shaping the destines of nations for good or for evil. The present monograph, which is the outcome of over two years' hard work by the author as an internal student at the London School of Economics and Politician Science between 1956 and 1958, deals exhaustively and critically with various shades of British public opinion towards India's foreign policy and neutralism (or more correctly non-alignment) during the fateful first decade of her independence. A glance at the short bibliographical note at the end of the work shows that the author has drawn chiefly upon an enormous mass of clippings from British dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies, quarterlies and other periodical publications as well as the organs of all the leading British political parties for the above period. To these have to be added a large number of quotations from the utterances of Indian and foreign publicists. This huge material has been utilised by the author into a very thorough and well-digested as well as impartial study of a difficult subject. Some idea of the scope of this work may be formed from an analysis of its six sections. The first section deals with the emergence of the concept of neutralism in the post-war period so as to give an international setting to the Indian policy. The second section consists of two chapters, one elucidating the principle of neutralism from the Indian standpoint and the other giving its various interpretations by the British public. The third section analyses the rationale of Indian neutralism and in particular the Indian principle of co-existence and criticism of the same by the British public. The fourth section explains India's attitude towards regional pacts of both the great power-blocs and India's attitude towards Western aid to other lands. The fifth section describes in great detail British reaction towards India's relations with the two leading nations of each power-bloc, while the sixth and the last section summarises the attitude of some representative sections of the British public towards India's policy of neutralism. It will be seen from the above that the book covers even a wider field than that suggested by its title.

While we have nothing but praise for the high standard of the author's performance, we cannot but regret the poor quality of the paper as well as the want of a list of printing mistakes, of a complete vocabulary, and of an index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HUMANITY AND GOD : *By Sri Ranjit Kumar Bakshi. Published by Alpha-Beta Publications. Price Rs. 5.75 nP. only.*

The book under review comprises nine chapters and such topics as Religion, Language, God, Money and Government have been discussed.

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Even a cursory perusal of the book would leave one wondering as to the exact purpose that prompted the author to write this book. He attempts at something great but he lands in the ludicrous. He ventures on great ideas with immature quibblings and the subline is completely lost to him as well as to his readers. His utterances lack logical sequence and his use of a wide range of undefined terms does not help us in any way. In his zeal to tell us something new he gives us all sorts of preposterous propositions in the name of new thinking. Let us quote a few lines :

"None should be blind to the fundamental fact that when one group of people does not come to know about another group of people, there cannot be any cause of friction between them . . . . conflicts can arise between people who know each other and so the larger the circle of acquaintance, the larger is the scope for conflict." (p. 58). The meaning of the above-quoted extract depends on how do we understand the meaning of the word 'know'. Students of philosophy may well remember that 'knowledge' has been taken at least in three different senses. Moreover, *Upanishads* told us that true knowledge reveals the identity of individual beings as spirit. When we know the 'other' as a monad it would be quite easy to live in universal brotherhood and avoid conflict. Mr. Bakshi harps on a different note without explaining how does he understands the meaning of the word 'know'. Mere knowledge of other people that they exist or they live in a particular way does not inspire any conflict. Conflict must always presuppose a clash of interests, be that ideological, economical, sexual or territorial. We must bear in mind that negation of all knowledge of other people would have made communication difficult. Mr. Bakshi unwittingly commits himself to a position akin to that of Leibnitz, who, under similar conditions of windowless monads, had to seek the intervention of Godhead for communication between the individuals. Of course, the author of the book under review merits no comparison with Leibnitz, as he has neither any metaphysical background to write on such topics as God, Religion and the Individual nor any logical training so essential for writing such books. This observation is based on the empirical evidence so blatantly apparent in his writings.

The author should have taken pains to go through the available standard works on the topics he discussed in the book under review. To be original one must know what his predecessors did before. A mere jumble of some unexamined propositions does not give us a coherent whole and an intellectual discourse should not have been undertaken in this haphazard fashion.

We recommend a rewriting and a thorough revision of the book in the next edition.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDY

BASOHLI PAINTING : *By M. S. Randhawa, D.Sc., I.C.S., Text 125 pp., 42 Full size Colour Plates. Published by the .Publication Division, Government of India, September, 1959. Price Rs. 35/-.*

We must accord a hearty welcome to this sumptuously produced, richly illustrated volume on the Basohli School of Painting, one of the earliest phases of the Hill School of the Punjab Himalayas, first discovered by Ajit Ghose,—a famous collector and connoisseur of Indian Painting. Such an expensive publication at a comparatively cheap price has only been possible by the generosity of the Government of India, very few private publishers could have undertaken such a costly venture. Our thanks are also due to the author for assembling in this book from various collections, a number of new, little-known, documents which will greatly help the study of the very interesting branch of Indian Painting. With some exceptions (Plate 3) nearly all the colour reproductions are happily successful—and call for a word of warm praise for the Indian colour printers. A few specimens of Kulu, Nurpur, and Chamba miniatures have been cited to illustrate the influence and extension of the style in neighbouring areas. A very instructive page (26) has cited 18 examples of 'Basohli Faces'—and an illustration of the Tarai Characters (used in inscriptions) are very useful aids to scholars for which the author deserves high praise. A great masterpiece, hitherto unknown, 'The Birth of Evil' (Plate 4) presents the School in a surprising style—different from the known manners. Other outstanding examples are offered on Plates 28, 36, 37, 38, and 14. The last from the Treasury-well a collection is a sparkling gem in a subdued melody—which the discriminating connoisseur has to pick out from the crowd of examples in the conventional Basohli manner. Plate 36, 'Love Lady'—is another masterpiece, appropriately printed on the cover. The example from Samar Gupta collection (Plate 1) which was long ago reproduced in the pages of the *Modern Review*, is one of a very few examples of 'Pure Landscape' known in Indian Painting. Of examples of vibrating rhythm and dynamic movements, Plates 13, 15, 19, and 37 are significant specimens. There are a few lapses in attribution : Plate 33 wrongly labelled as 'Ra

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Raga' is actually 'Desakh Ragini'. Plate 13, wrongly related to *Bhagavata Purana*, is really an illustration of a stanza of *Gita-Govinda*, *Dasa-Avatara Stotra* (1.8). It is unfortunate that by unhappy strategy a word of praise has been sought through the back-door by printing Muluk Raj Anand's comments on an 'After Word'. We could have understood Sri Anand as a joint author, but in the present situation, the reviewer must, with great respects, ignore his 'Notes on the Pictorial Situation ?'

The author has been misled by Archer in attributing the Rasa-manjari piece to 1685, ignoring the inscriptional evidence of 1694, cited by Hirananda Sastri.

We earnestly invite our Modernistic Painters to carefully study and derive inspiration from these Basohli Masterpieces, instead of apishly imitating the mannerism of French Moderns. The Indian Models will provide the most educative instructions—in 'Modernity' not to be gleaned from any Moderns of Europe.

We have no hesitation in recommending that Mr. Randhawa's excellent monograph should be in every Library and in the hands of all artists and connoisseurs.

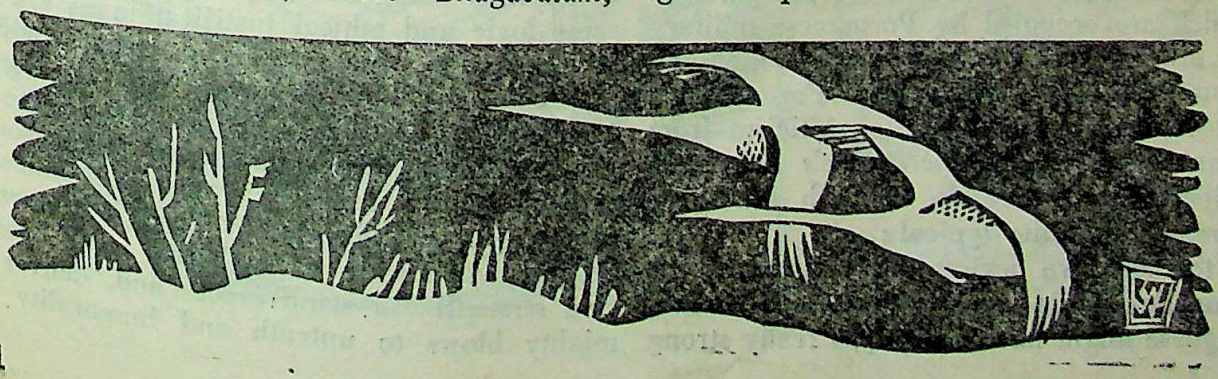
O. C. G.

BENGALI

KALKI GITA: *By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Dharmachakra, 211A, Girish Ghosh Road, P.O. Belurmath, Dist. Howrah, West Bengal. Pp. 220, Price Rs. 2.50 nP.*

As an author of religious manuals, both in Bengali and English, Swami Jagadiswarananda is well-known throughout Bengal and other parts of India. His Bengali rendering of the *Gita* and the *Chandi* are widely read all over Bengal and his English translations of the *Chandi* and the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* are quite popular in South India. In the book under review, the learned author exhaustively collects all important announcements about *Kalki* in the *Mahabharata*, *Vishnu Purana*, *Devi Bhagavatam*, *Kalki Purana*, *Srimad Bhagavatam* and other ancient scriptures to show that *Kalki's* advent is imminent and substantiates his logical conclusion by quoting the memorable prediction of Swami Bhairabananda, a Siddha Yogi, still alive. Both of them boldly assert in a prophetic vein that *Kalki*, the only uncome *avatara*, will appear like Krishna in Mathura twentyfour years hence in a pious Brahmin family in 1985 A.D. In this book short lives of Swami Bhairabananda and Mahagouri Saraswati as well as the story of Kala yavan mentioned in the *Bhagavatam* are immensely interesting and informative. The author rightly remarks that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the world-famed Vice-President of the Indian Republic, was the first in our age to utilise the name of *Kalki* as the significant title of his thought-provoking book published several decades ago in the 'Today and Tomorrow' series of London and insightfully discussed the future of present civilisation. According to all Hindu scriptures, *Kalki*, the last of the *Ten Avatars*, will come at the close of Kaliyuga and establish peace and piety in Indian Society. Even a Jain scripture passingly mentions the advent of *Kalki*. The *Bhagavatam* clearly foretells that when the yellow panic and peril will loom large in the Indian horizon, *Kalki* will be born and riding on a white horse and holding a sword in his hand will destroy irreligion and impiety. Just now when the yellow peril is at the door of India, scriptural forecast does synchronise with the author's prediction. Jayadeva, the immortal poet-saint of Bengal, devoutly sang in his famous Sanskrit hymn to the *Ten Avatars* in the twelfth century A.D., the auspicious advent of *Kalki*.

In the appendix the author who is an accepted authority on the *Gita*, discusses the final ascent of man repeatedly mentioned in the *Gita* with various quotations from all available commentaries on the same. Such a profound and penetrative study of the *Gita* is hardly found nowadays. It throws new light on the philosophy of the *Gita*. For sake of wider circulation, this book should be rendered into Hindi, English and other languages and preserved in Public Libraries.



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Indian Periodicals

China

Discussing India's many problems *Vigil* writes in its Dec. 9, 1961 number :

China in her latest notes is not only insulting, but bluntly threatening. If our soldiers dare defend their own borders, she will send hers down to the southern foot-hills of the Himalayas in Assam, repudiating the MacMahon Line and occupying the entire NEFA region. It sounds as though we are entirely at her mercy and holding the Himalayas by her grace in the Eastern region. On the West, she is intriguing with Pakistan and contriving further mischief. Though facts and figures, history and tradition, are all against her, she had armed her officials with bunches of quotations from the loose talks of our Prime Minister whose immaturity in negotiations of this kind and the habit of talking airily on matters of national importance without any knowledge of details have always created problems for our officials. It was the same story of a wrong map in Berubari with the warning boldly printed on its face that it is not to be used officially, ignorance of the recommendations of the S.R.C. Report in Assam that no less than 70 per cent entitles a language to be a state language, refusal to look into details in the Canal Waters Treaty, the fancied picture of not a blade of grass growing in the Himalayas anywhere in Ladakh, and the border between India and Tibet remaining always "somewhat" obscure. Naturally, the Chinese now take what they like, hold what they take and threatens to take what she has not taken and accuses India of agression ! She has the initiative everywhere and everytime. We have the privilege of talking our heads off.

Goa

Portuguese India, or rather, those parts of India which are occupied by Portuguese military forces in order to make several hundred thousand Indians subjects of the Republic of Portugal, has drawn much comment and severe criticism from the Indian Press. The *Chowringhee's* comments on the liberation of Goa, in its 24th December 1961, number are quite typical :

Left to their own devices and assisted by the treacherous Pakistanis and the perfidious British, the Portuguese might have built up a really strong military organisation in Goa, in another cou of months or so; and, if that had come smoothly, India would have had to fight for months or years instead of as many hours, liberate the Goans from Portuguese imperialis Fortunately for India, the Portuguese were fool enough to be aggressive even before they had bu up their forces sufficiently and their acts aggression drew the attention of the Governme of India to what was going on in the heart India in the name of maintaining *status* q without reference to the obligations that governments had, to maintain law and order a to govern the territories entrusted to the humanely, justly and within the limitatio created by modern civilisation relating to ci liberties and the fundamental political rights the people. The Portuguese had an idea that ju because their forefathers acquired Goa in 15 A.D., they could go on as their forefathers ha done 450 years ago. They had convenient forgotten that they themselves had during the la hundred years or so, overthrown their own ki and established a republic. They had forgotte too, that a republic in Portugal also automatical created republican governments in the Portugue territories outside Portugal. Portugal could n accept a certain code of political ethics and contradict that code by their behaviour in the so-called overseas territories. The territories a monarchy, may logically have monarchi forms of government; but the territories of republic cannot logically have forms of gover ment which are contrary to the principles republicanism. If the Portuguese thought th could impose a Salazar Type of tyranny ever where in the name of the Republic of Portug they knew its dangers too. For a dictatorship fascistic tyranny has no ethical justification n any political logic to support it; and anybo at anytime could overthrow it anyhow with same logic and ethical justification as are fou in Salazar's tyrannical excesses. Individu politicians may quail at the sight of truth a justice and fear to take action in the name of that humanity has called good for reasons expediency; but that would not grant immortal to a great political evil. Truth and moral cellence will always triumph and weak knees w find strength to stand erect and, deliver th mighty blows to untruth and immorality wh

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establish *Dharma* in its own place at all times. We congratulate our political leaders, who have been squeamish and hesitant in the past to take up the sword for the defence of the oppressed; but have at last found courage and strength and the light of wisdom to guide them in the path of justice and true chivalry. They have strayed from it again and again and have landed us in utter misery and distress by permitting Britain to create a Pakistan and by tolerating the rape of Kashmir and Tibet by Pakistan and China. And we have suffered and still hoped that the light of true political wisdom will eventually burn brightly in their hearts and show them the true path of universal justice and perfect *Satyagraha*. We are glad that our hope has proved to be justified at least in the case of Goa. We are also very happy that 650,000 Indians will no longer be the slaves of the Portuguese, whose misdeeds in India, Angola, Mozambique and other places are a disgrace to European culture and civilisation. We are not surprised that certain reactionaries in the U.S.A., the U.K. and in certain other countries have found it heart-breaking to see the immoral pride of Portugal reduced to dust by the armed forces of India. To these aggrieved persons we would say that the Indian army has done a great service to Western Civilisation by cleaning up one of their dirtiest stables. Portugal has been no credit to the West during recent centuries. If the 4th Indian Division had done some good to Western countries by fighting Hitler; the 17th Division should deserve no less credit for uprooting the Salazar regime from Goa. We deeply mourn the death of eight brave Indian soldiers who laid down their lives for the freedom of the people of Goa. We convey our heartfelt sympathy to the family members of the departed heroes and we sincerely hope the Government of India will be lavish in their help to the dependants of those who have made the supreme sacrifice for freedom and liberty. All glory to the Indian Army, Navy and Air-Force, which have proved their merit and might by the swiftness of their action and by the records achieved in cutting down losses and suffering to the lowest minima.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bertrand Russell on Khrushchev's Letter

Bertrand Russell writing in the **New Statesman** analyses the mental processes of the two groups of statesmen who are driving the world into a nuclear war. He says: "All friends of peace have been profoundly shocked and discouraged by the Soviet Governments' resumptions of tests culminating in the explosion of the 50-megaton bomb. Mr. Khrushchev maintains that all this is done with a view to preserving peace. This, of course, is nonsense. But it is much to be feared that the West will react by very similar nonsense. On 22nd October, four members of the Committee of 100, of whom I was one, delivered a statement signed by the Rev. Michael Scott and myself at the Soviet embassy protesting against the explosion of the most powerful nuclear weapon ever yet tested. Somewhat to my surprise, I received a long letter from Mr. Khrushchev, very similar to the letter from him to certain Labour M.Ps, which was published on 31st October.

"The statement to me contains the usual mixture of truth and falsehood which we have learnt to expect from statesmen of either side. Its criticism of the West are, to a considerable extent, justified. Its defence of the Soviet Government is almost entirely unjustified.

"Mr. Khrushchev deplores, I think rightly, the West's tardiness is agreeing to negotiations about Berlin. He omits to mention that the Russian proposals for solving the Berlin question would involve so great a gain to the Russian side that the West could not be expected to agree. He omits, also, to emphasise that, from the first, the Russian proposals have been backed by military threats. He points out, I think truly, that in a nuclear war, Britain would suffer more than either America or Russia, but he is wrong in thinking that this sort of argument promotes pacifism in Britain. He says, "We are carrying out experimental blasts and improving our weapons so that mankind may never experience the horrors of nuclear war." Exactly the same sort of thing is being said in America.

"It is scarcely possible to believe that such sentiments are sincere on either side. Each side proceeds on the assumption that itself loves peace. Each side proceeds on the assumption that itself possesses infinite courage. Each side's bluster, in fact, produces bluster on the other side, and brings war nearer. If Mr. Khrushchev really believes that the explosion of his 50-megaton bomb is going to cause a love of peace in the West, he must possess a far smaller knowledge of human nature than it is easy to suppose credible. All those of us in the West who are working to prevent a nuclear war are reduced almost to despair by the recent atrocious actions of the Soviet Government, while, on the contrary, those in the West who desire a nuclear war are encouraged by every crime and folly of which the Soviet Government is guilty.

"Mr. Khrushchev says, 'The source of international tension and the arms race is the policy of the Western powers.' This is only half the truth. When Mr. Khrushchev professes that he wishes to avoid 'the horrors of nuclear war' he is only half sincere. There is something else that he wishes much more, namely, the avoidance of the tiniest concession on the part of the Soviet Government. There is some reason to fear that a correlative feeling exists in the West. It cannot, therefore, be said honestly by either side that it considers nuclear war the worst possible disaster.

"The last paragraph of Mr. Khrushchev's letter advocates general and complete disarmament. The United States Information Service has issued a pamphlet called **Freedom from War** with a foreword by President Kennedy. The proposals contained in this pamphlet are admirable. So, are Mr. Khrushchev's proposals for general and complete disarmament. Since both sides advocate the same thing, it might be thought that it would be brought about, but no one supposes that it will be, because no one supposes that either side sincerely desires it. Certainly the explosion of 50-megaton bombs is not the way to bring it about.

* * * *

"If war to be avoided, both sides will have to cease from finding fault with each other, even when the fault finding is justified, and will have to abandon the language of threats. We shall not be driven to mend our ways by Soviet threats. Nor will Russia be driven to mend her ways by threats from our side. Threat and counter-threat is not the way to peace."

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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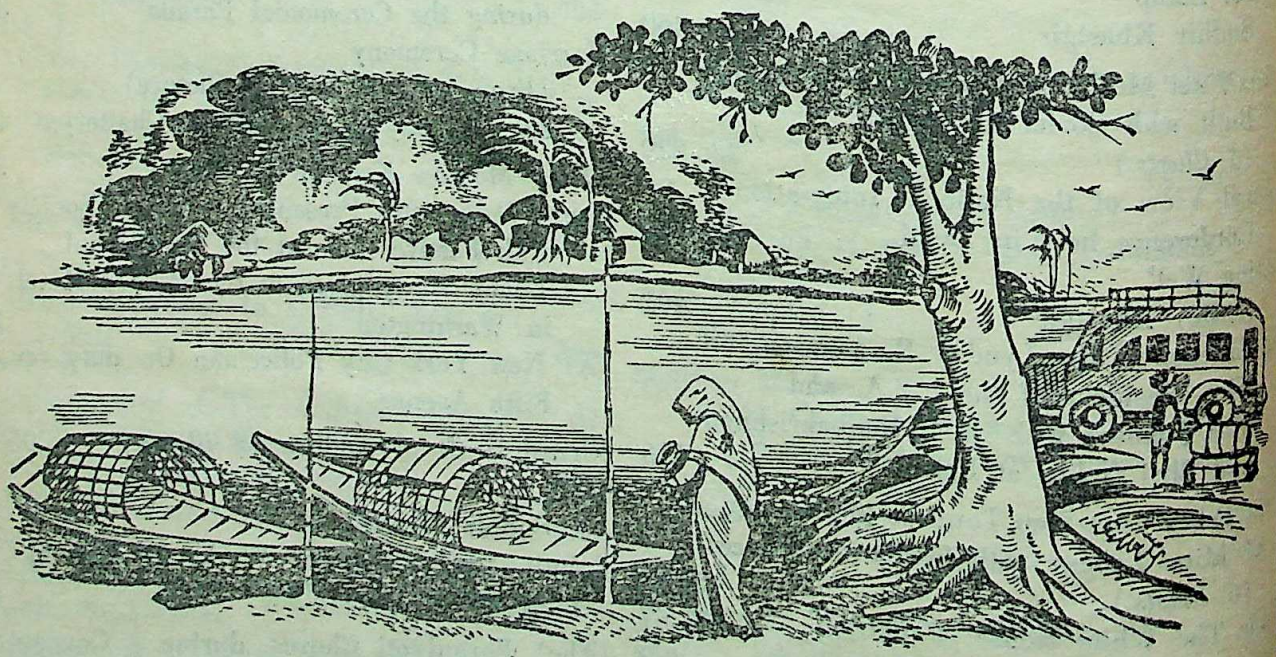

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৮৪৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ বিরাটায়তন

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ব্যাসদেব কৃত মহাভারত পুরাণ-ইতিহাসের অন্তর্গত হইলেও, কাব্য হিসাবে ইহা মধুরতম। বস্তুতঃ মহাভারতের মত বিরাট গ্রন্থ আর দ্বিতীয় নাই। একসঙ্গে সহস্রাধিক চরিত্রের যথাযোগ্য মর্য্যাদা দান কম কৃতিত্বের কথা নয়। অপূর্ব্ব ইহার আখ্যানভাগ। তেমনি অপূর্ব্ব চরিত্র-বিশ্লেষণ। রাজনীতি সমাজনীতির গূঢ়তত্ত্ব ও তাহার অনুশীলনী ইহাকে আরও গুরুত্ব দান করিয়াছে। বস্তুতঃ, ব্যাসদেব শাস্ত্র-সাগর মন্থন করিয়া অমৃত পরিবেশন করিয়াছেন। 'যা নাই ভারতে, তা নাই ভারতে' এই প্রবাদবাক্যটিই মহাভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ পরিচয়।

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আজ মুখে মুখে এই মহাভারত সর্ব্বত্র প্রচারিত। ইহার ফল একদিকে যেমন ভাল হইয়াছে তেমনি মন্দও হইয়াছে শতগুণ। মূল কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত আজ নানা কারণে বিকৃত—যিনি যতটুকু পারিয়াছেন, তিনি ততটুকু আপন মনোমত রচনা ইহাতে সংযোজন করিয়া দিয়াছেন। এই প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি ও ভুল পাঠের পুনরুদ্ধার করিতে আজ পর্য্যন্ত কেহই সাহসী হন নাই। তাই রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত এই মহাভারতের এত সুনাম।

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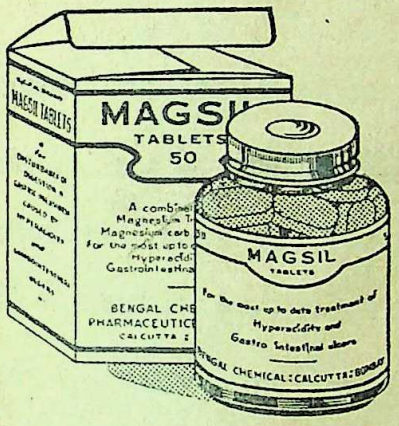

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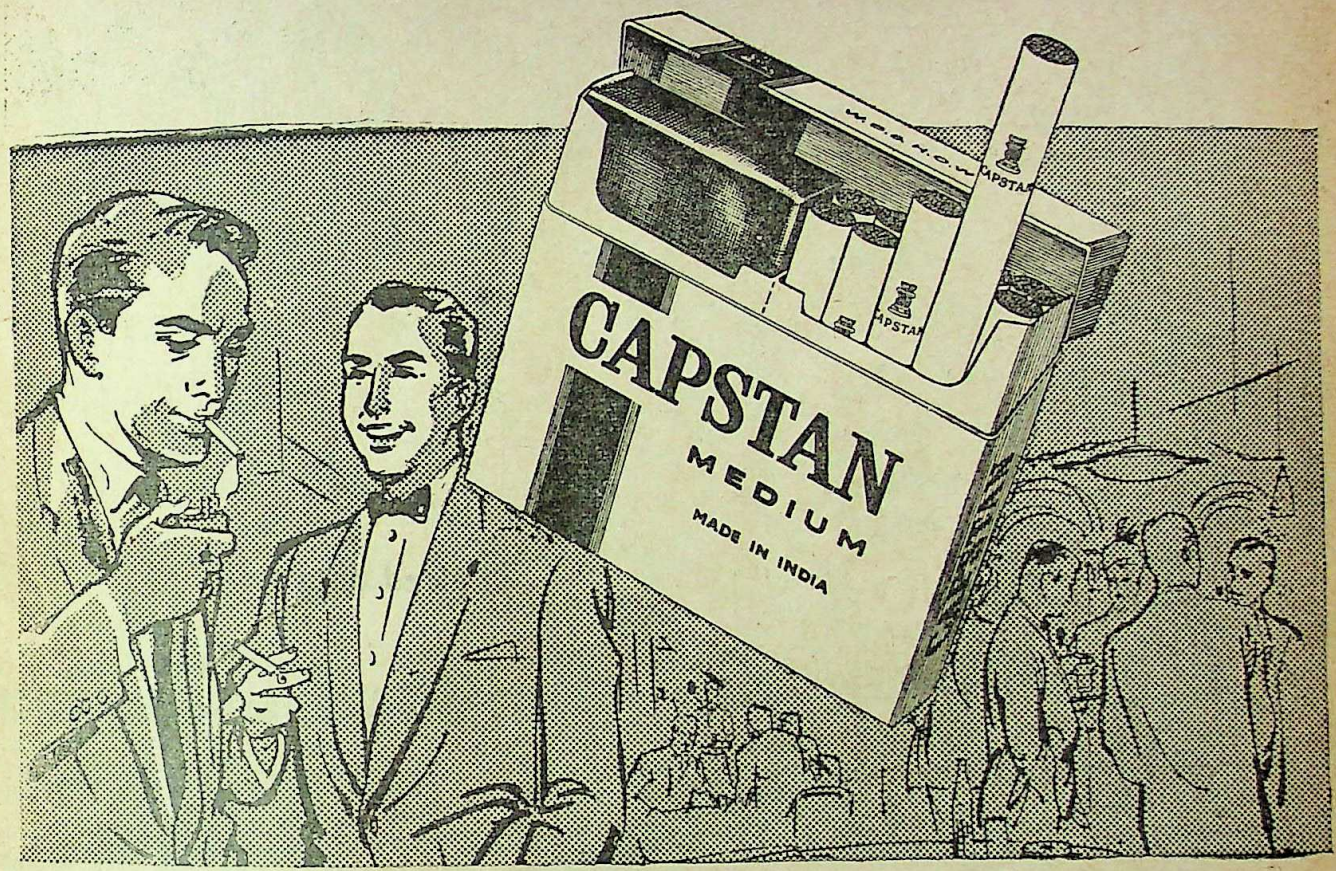

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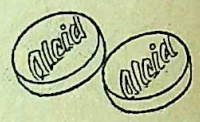

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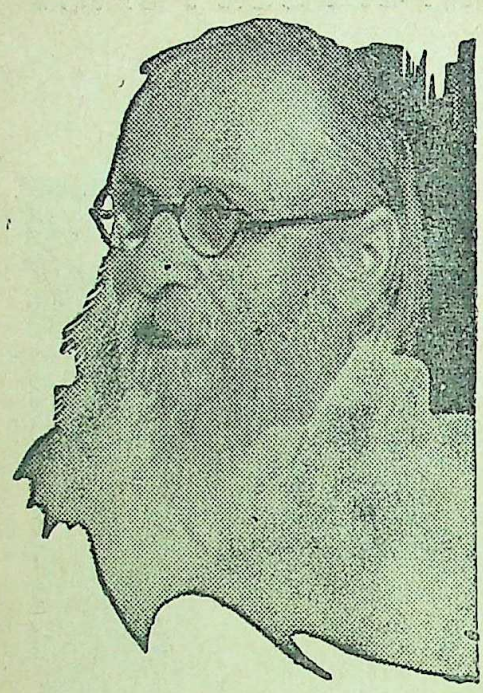

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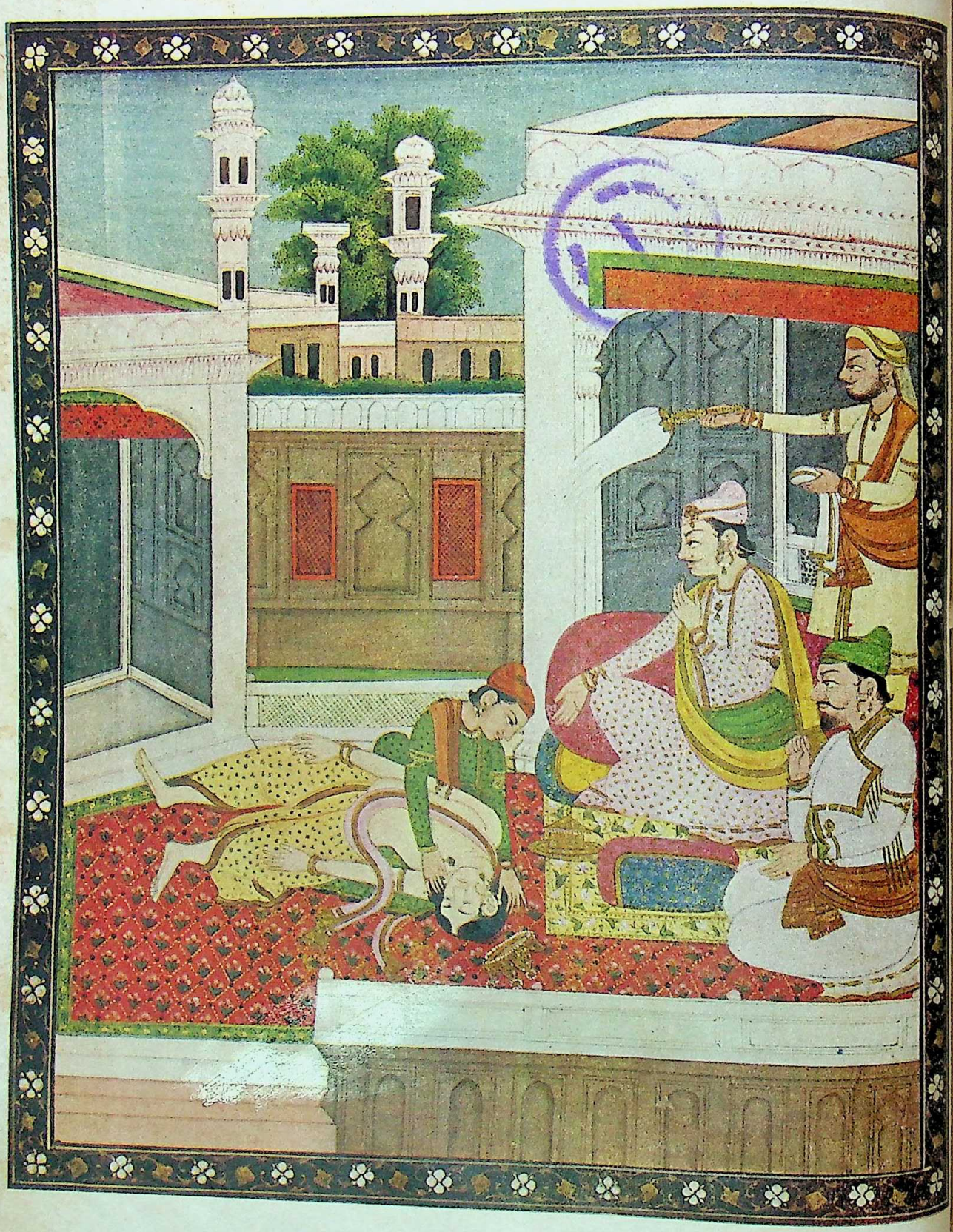

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Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

The World

At the close of the last year, the points of international tension were at South Viet Nam and Laos in South-East Asia, in Congo and Algeria in Africa. The Goa incident was over and only the echoes of the cries of rage and frustration at the forcible extinction of the last vestiges of colonialism in India raised by the British and the Americans, could be heard. Berlin with its Wall was still a major problem, but the highly critical stage had relaxed somewhat, due to the easing of pressure tactics by Mr. Khrushchev. In the Americas, Cuba was gradually being transformed into a Communist State and the aid to it by the Soviets was being stepped up, in the terms of arms and technical equipment. There was a change-over in the Dominican Republic, where the process of cleaning-up was proceeding, seven months after the assassination of the Dictator Trujillo, who had held the little State in his iron grip for 31 years. The erasing and obliteration of every memorial, or memento of the dead dictator was going on there at the close of the year.

At the beginning of the New Year, there were hopeful signs about the solution of the impasse in Congo, though trouble was freshly started by another rebellious group, this time under a different leadership, that of Gizenga. Mr. Tshombe, on the other hand, seemed much more reasonably inclined. The part played by the "behind the scenes" villains of Big Money, however, was still very much in evidence.

In Algeria, the underground forces of the French terrorists, had stepped up their campaign of violence and intimidation. The O.A.S., the not-so-secret army and colon combination known as the **"Organisation de l' Armee Secrete"**—was gradually spreading its tentacles all over the area, with active aid and co-operation of the civilians and the police. Salan, the Head of the organisation, was supposed to be in hiding, but he was readily available for newspaper and T.V. interviews. Indeed, for all practical purposes, he had taken over the Government of Algeria, through intimidation and active co-operation of all Europeans, civil or in the police.

Salan has not succeeded as yet in carrying out his nefarious plans to transport the movement to France, though over 400 plastic bombs have been exploded in Paris and the provinces. The greater majority of the French people in France itself are against the O.A.S., as a recent opinion poll showed, the working class being overwhelmingly and vehemently against it. But in the balance, the fate of the Algerian question depends on the response of the army at the final show down, which is not very far off, as was announced by Louis Joxe, Minister of Algerian Affairs, in the third week of January. Without active army aid the O.A.S. cannot fight the F.L.N., the moslem nationalist organisation.

There was further relaxation in the Berlin situation—though very slight in extent—due to the pulling back of armour from the crucial position in the Friedrich Strasse passage way, by both the U.S. forces and the Soviets.

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In the Congo, 3,000 rebel soldiers were loose with machine-guns and other arms. They were from Gizenga's Central Congolese army. They were moving about murdering innocent people, without any reason whatsoever, excepting that the victims were whites.

The Kashmir Question

At the time of writing these, the news has come from the U.N. headquarters that the U. N. Council is to discuss the Kashmir question on the 31st of January. The actual report is to the following effect :

Sir Patrick Dean, British President of the Security Council, was reported yesterday night to be proposing that the 11-Nation Organ meet on Wednesday morning (15-30 GMT) on the Kashmir Issue.

Informed sources said Sir Patrick was making the proposal to other members of the Council following a request by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistani Resident representative, that the council give "immediate consideration" to the issue.

Sir Zafrulla told reporters that declarations which had been made by Indian leaders caused "grave apprehension" with regard to the maintenance of peace between the two countries.

Asked if Pakistan feared that India would take action in Kashmir, similar to that in the Portuguese enclaves, Sir Zafrulla said he was not making such a charge.

"What I am saying is that the same sentiments are being expressed and that this creates a sense of crisis and foreboding, and this is coupled with the deployment and redeployment of Indian forces which creates this situation."

When a correspondent noted that the Council had not intervened in the episode of the Protuguese enclaves, the Pakistani delegate said that because the Council was unable to take action in one case it should not be concluded that there was no hope of action in another.

"This is a long-standing dispute with which the Security Council had struggled for years, and the matter was adjourned to enable the United Nations representative (Dr. Frank Graham) to make another effort" he said.

"The U.N. representative, at the end of his last report, suggested that the parties might try the way of negotiations, and the parties did tr At any rate, the President of Pakistan tried Sir Zafrulla said.

Sir Zafrulla Khan has trotted out all th old talk about people's will etcetera, whi carefully keeping clear of the facts abo Kashmir and Pakistani aggression. Speaki at Bombay on January 30, Mr. V. K. Krish Menon, the Union Defence Minister, p forward the Indian view-point with clarity

The Union Defence Minister, ruled o plebiscite and mediation as solutions to deci the future of Kashmir.

'As long as there is a Government in th country worth its name, there will be no plebi cite to decide the future of Kashmir,' Mr. Men said.

The Defence Minister, who was speaking a a meeting held under the auspices of the Bomba Andhra Mahasabha to observe 'Martyrs Day,' sa that talks of plebiscite and mediation we tantamount to equating the aggressor with th victim. Mediation on the issue was impossib because there existed today no country in th world with power to mediate which was als impartial, Mr. Menon added.

Referring to the efforts of Pakistan and he allies to raise the Kashmir issue again at th Security Council, Mr. Menon expressed surpri that Pakistan should have at all gone to th Security Council 'because nothing has taken pla in the last four or five years which will sho up Pakistan in any better light.'

If at all anything had happened, he sai 'It is that Pakistan has been guilty of violatio even of the cease-fire line and violations o some occasions of even the Indian borde Pakistan's story in Kashmir during the last fe years is one of loot and pillage and violatio and sabotage.'

Mr. Menon who dealt with the dispute i great length said that Sir Zafrulla Khan, th Pakistani representative, had first denied that th Pakistani Army had taken part in the aggressio of Kashmir, but later on the U.N. had found o this to be a 'lie.' The same Sir Zafrulla Kha said Mr. Menon, was then forced to admit th presence of Pakistani Army on Indian territor in Kashmir.

Mr. Menon said that India went to th U.N. because of her anxiety to maintain peac

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and it was this anxiety that made us accept a cease-fire line. But now it was being made out that this was some sort of a boundary, a proposition which would be unfair to India.

It was true he said, that "some 13 years ago India had agreed to a plebsicite but those who talk of it today seem to forget that there were other conditions which India had made at that time. Those conditions included the withdrawal of the Pakistani Armies from those parts of Kashmir which Pakistan had invaded and occupied."

In this connection he pointed out that "legally, morally and politically, the U.N. had recognised the fact that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir was Indian territory, *i.e.*, areas included the Pak-occupied areas."

Mr. Menon went on to point out that "India could not agree to plebiscite for a variety of reasons, one of them being that Pakistan had not kept up her part of the bargain—namely withdrawal of her troops from Kashmir."

Pointing out that two elections had already taken place in the Indian side of Kashmir, Mr. Menon stressed "that the people of the Pakistan-occupied areas would have taken part in these elections, if Pakistan had not prevented them from doing so."

Referring to Sir Zafrulla Khan's statement in New York that Pakistan was prepared to negotiate on the 'existing basis,' Mr. Menon observed that India was prepared to honour all her international commitments. But there will be no negotiations on the basis of surrender of our sovereignty. Pakistan has been adjudged an aggressor by the U.N. What is there to negotiate he queried.

It was also being said that in view of Goa and because 'same things are being said in India now' Sir Zafrulla Khan had expressed anxiety.

Mr. Menon asked, 'What have we said about Goa except that we were prepared to negotiate a settlement?'

Mr. Menon said, 'Have we ever violated Pakistan borders or even given succour to anyone who is not friendly to her? Take the case of Afghanistan, with whom we are very friendly and with whom Pakistan is having troubles. Have we ever done anything that would add to her troubles?'

Sabotage by Pakistani agents 'supplied with Pakistani money and carried out by Pakistani-trained personnel' has been taking place at the rate of 90 cases every year, on the Indian territory in Kashmir. 'We have discovered bombs in mosques and temples with Pakistani markings,' obviously placed to inflame communal passions within India. We have taken precautions and thus prevented trouble. But that does not mitigate Pakistan's guilt.

Pakistan has 40 Divisions of her Army in Kashmir and large concentration of troops on the cease-fire line. With this show of force Pakistan talks of plebiscite. If there is a plebiscite there will be free expression of will only on the Indian side and not on the other side, asserted Mr. Menon.

Mr. Menon also referred to the statement of President Ayub Khan recently that Pakistan would not wait to consult her allies to use the arms received by her as aid, against India.

Mr. Menon said, 'all along we have been expressing anxiety on Pakistan being given arms aid by the West. But they (the West) would not hear our plea.'

Mr. Menon was quite right when he said that "there was no country to-day with powers to mediate, which was also impartial." The world has indeed come to this pass, thanks to the Cold War and the mass alignments on both sides. If any illustration were necessary of the world situation, then the reactions to the Goa liberation might be cited as an example. The world was indeed divided in two broad groups, one against colonialism in any shape or guise and the other "our ally, right or wrong"!

It is because of this state of affairs, that the question of Indian sovereignty and the U. N. declaration that Pakistan was an aggressor, are being deliberately overlooked by Pakistan's "half-friends" and "quarter friends"—who are anxious to prove that they are full friends. And it is against this background that India's "unwillingness to accept mediation by a third party in any form" has to be viewed. Pandit Nehru is reported to have replied to that effect to President Kennedy's letter offering the good offices of the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black, to settle the 14-year old dispute. Pandit Nehru's letter is said to have been clear on the matter of sovereignty. It is reported that —while appreciating the motive behind Mr.

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Kennedy's suggestion, the letter is stated to have given all the basic aspects of the Kashmir dispute and pointed out that Kashmir's sovereignty legally rested with India. This position had also been accepted by the United Nations. It would, therefore, be difficult for India to accept any suggestion for arbitration or mediation in the matter of a territory over which India's sovereignty has been quite clear legally and morally.

Regarding direct negotiations the letter is understood to have made mention of Mr. Nehru's visit to Pakistan in September 1960, his expression of willingness to negotiate all outstanding issues between the two countries and his invitation to President Ayub Khan to visit Delhi to have talks on those issues.

It is becoming increasingly clear to all Afro-Asian nations—with the exception of the two Moslem states linked with the West —that justice, fairplay, and **Truth** have different connotations, according as the interests of the Western group and their Eastern satellites are concerned. This has been made transparently clear in the reactions of the Western group's press, after the Goa liberation.

We, in India, are accustomed, through long experience, to the deliberate distortion of truth in the British press—with a few notable exceptions—in any presentation of a case where the interests of Britain are concerned, directly or indirectly. Indeed, we may say that we are accustomed to the workings of the mind of a certain type of Britisher—the pukka Sahib type—with a suave and polished exterior **but** with black treachery, malevolence and insatiable rapacity for gain at the cost of the weak Asiatic or African at heart. We know that type is now in power in Britain and, therefore, the ebullitions of the conservative press of Britain was treated here with the contempt it deserved. The reaction of a certain section of the European press was also regarded by us in the same light. But the reaction in the U.S. press was a revelation.

We know that there is a certain section of the U. S. press that always presents news from Asiatic and African countries with a very pronounced slant. The weekly news magazine **Time**, for example, dresses and decorates Truth always, like in a strip tease act, where Eastern and African news are concerned. This behaviour on the part of that section of the U.S. press has been anything but helpful to U.S. foreign affairs missions. We would go further and say that papers like the **Time** have substantially helped the Soviet's propaganda by the blatant distortion of news from Asiatic and African sources. Soviet's propaganda is not very effective by itself, in this part of the world, but when it is substantially helped by the reaction to black untruths in such prejudiced U.S. papers, it becomes far more potent.

We are not concerned, therefore, when the reaction in that section of the U.S. press follows suit to the British exhibition of temper at the foiling of another trap against the Indian cause. But when sober papers like the **New York Times**, start deliberate distortion of truth, we begin to lose faith where the U.S. press is concerned. And because the American peoples are most dependant on such newspapers for news about the Orient and Africa, we also begin to doubt the impartiality of the U.S.

To illustrate our point, we quote in **extenso** from the **New York Times**, Week's Review edition, dated December 24, 1961. Writing on the crisis in the U.N. and U.S. affairs, editorially it says :

This has been an insistent question in U. S. foreign policy : In the effort to achieve world peace, how much reliance shall be put on the United Nations and how much on the strength of the U. S. itself and its North Atlantic Allies ?

Last week the issue was sharply accented because the U. N. had arrived at a moment of deep crisis in three critical areas :

There was **the crisis of the Congo**, where the U. N. effort for peace again hung in the balance, with the secessionist Katanga President Moise Tshombe first professing willingness to yield to the Central Government, then hinting strongly he would renege.

There was **the crisis of Goa**, seized during the week by India along with other Portuguese enclaves on her coast. The U.N. failed to act, and that failure raised the prospect that a combination of Communist and Afro-Asian nations would block

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U. N. action against aggression except from the West.

There was **the crisis of the U. N. treasury,** running deeply into debt because of the Congo operation and the refusal of many nations—Communist, Western and others—to help meet the cost. The U. N. moved to stave off bankruptcy—if only temporarily—by selling bonds.

And in elaborating the crisis over Goa it further says :

One of the major voices of the post-war era has been that of Prime Minister Nehru, seeking to apply to international disputes the Gandhian principle of achieving ends by non-violent means. "My whole soul reacts against the idea of war anywhere," he told the Indian Parliament this month. Yet when the Kashmir dispute flared between India and Pakistan in 1947, Mr. Nehru did not hesitate to use armed force to take half the contested territory.

Last week Mr. Nehru laid himself open to a fresh charge of not practising at home what he preaches abroad. Despite appeals a fortnight ago from President Kennedy and U. N. Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, for continued efforts to solve the Goa dispute by peaceful means, India seized that Portuguese enclave in what appeared to be a well-prepared military operation.

The prize itself was slight, in material terms. Established on India's west coast by Portuguese colonizer Alfonso d'Albuquerque in 1510, Goa and the tiny nearby Portuguese enclaves of Damao and Diu have the area of Rhode Island, a population of 650,000 (half of them Hindus, a third Roman Catholics). The major economic assets are a fine harbor and a small iron mining industry.

Goa's real importance to India has been psychological. The enclaves have been hated reminders of the colonial past, an affront to Indian pride. Over the years India has been demanding that the Portuguese withdraw.

The invasion was announced at 12-30 A.M. on Monday in New Delhi by Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, who is also India's chief delegate to the United Nations. Mr. Menon said, the action was ordered because of Portuguese "provocations" and a breakdown in administration within Goa—charges which had been made during the preceding weeks of border incidents and which Portugal had denied. Indian Army forces drove into Goa from three sides; other troops entered Diu and Damao. The small Portuguese garrisons offered little resistance; casualties were light. Within forty-eight hours it was over; the enclaves had been "returned to the motherland."

The reasons cited by Mr. Menon sounded hollow to Western observers; for the real reasons for the invasion they looked elsewhere. One conjecture was that Mr. Nehru wanted to reassert his leadership with African nationalists who had been left cold by his preaching of non-violence. Another was that he wanted to rob the Indian Communists of the Goa issue in the general elections coming up in February. A corollary to this theory was that he sought to enhance the reputation of his protege, Mr. Menon, who is running for re-election to Parliament.

Still other conjectures were that America's recent refusal to side with Portugal on colonial issues within the U. N. had encouraged the Indian Cabinet to act; and that Mr. Nehru wanted to divert domestic attention from Chinese Communist incursions into northern India.

In the West, the Indian action was generally viewed as a shocking violation of what India stood for, but in Moscow and Peiping and in most Asian and African countries it was hailed as another defeat for colonialism.

The U. N. was, therefore, doomed to inaction. The West proposed a Security Council resolution "deploring" the Indian use of force and calling for a cease-fire and negotiations. This was opposed by Russia (a veto) and the three Afro-Asian members of the Council (United Arab Republic, Ceylon, Liberia). Plans to place the proposal before the General Assembly were abandoned when it became clear that the Afro-Asians—who now form half of the Assembly's membership—would vote against it. India, in the words of a Western delegate, had "got by with it."

It will be seen from the above quotation, how the **New York Times** has tried to build a case against Pandit Nehru—and by implication against the Indian nation, although Pandit Nehru is **not** a dictator like some of the pets of the U.S. Government. It has

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deliberately tried to put in the position of an aggressor in the Kashmir affair, although it is known to all who value truth that it was Pandit Nehru who took the case to the U.N.O., and Pakistan was adjudged the aggressor in that case. The U.N.O. is located in New York and the **New York Times** cannot plead ignorance.

Necessary Evil

President Ayub Khan, whose country is a member of both the S.E.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O., has termed the other associates of those organizations and the patron and mainstay of both the groups, the U.S.A., as being "half" or "quarter" friends, during the question and answer meeting at Mardan on the 20th January. But, he hastened to add, Pakistan not having any full friends, it must not lose the half or quarter friends. He also said that the allies of Pakistan, in those organizations were a "necessary evil."

The **Statesman** of January 21, carries the following two news items regarding President Ayub's remarks at the Mardan meeting and the meeting at Sukkur held previously :—

Karachi, Jan. 20.—President Ayub Khan said today that Pakistan would not hesitate to use any of the arms now in her possession in case of an emergency, reports PTI. He was speaking at a question-answer meeting at Mardan in the former North-West Frontier Province.

Radio Pakistan quoted President Ayub Khan as saying that Pakistan would not seek anyone's advice, and would take suitable measures in such an event. If someone got angry at that, Pakistan would not care, he is reported to have said.

Sukkur, Jan. 19.—President Ayub Khan said here today that Pakistan did not want to use the U.N. for propaganda purposes as India was doing, reports Reuter. He added that Pakistan's actions on Kashmir would be based on "justice and fairplay."

The President said, India wanted "to grab and devour" Jammu and Kashmir and with that end in view was carrying on "all sorts of false propaganda."

Asked by reporters whether he would permit the raising of volunteers for an emergency, President Ayub said Pakistan's armed forces were strong enough to face any eventuality. He hoped that Pakistan's "unstinted support" of the Arab cause would continue to be reciprocated by the Arab countries.

The remarks made in the Sukkur speech was in reference to the request made by Ayub Khan to the U.N., for the question of Kashmir to be taken up at the Security Council of that body. President Ayub evidently thought that he would be able to cash in on the wave of indignation amongst his allies which followed the liberation of Goa. unfortunately for Ayub's rosy dreams of success in this blatant attempt to use the Security Council as a cat's paw to pull the Kashmir chestnut out for his country, the members of the Security Council refused even to put it on the agenda before the elections in India were over. The majority of the members, outside the Western Bloc know the truth about the case, although Britain—and lately the U.S.A. press—have persistently tried to confuse the issues, and the Soviets have declared that they would veto any proposal for re-opening the Kashmir question in the Security Council. Hence these outbursts on the part of the Pakistan dictator.

The threats and sabre-rattles of Pakistan coupled with the moves made by her patrons, seem to have tried even Pandit Nehru's patience too far. There has been the publication of a pamphlet—inadequate and incomplete—regarding the Kashmir question, by the India Government, and statements by Pandit Nehru and the official spokesmen on the antics of Pakistan and her allies. The speech, by Pandit Nehru, at Ferozepore on January 24, was a clear indication that Pandit Nehru's patience and powers of forbearance were badly strained. Pandit Nehru said :—

"It was our misfortune that India was partitioned and Pakistan was made. It could not be helped and we accepted it.

"After this we wanted that friendship and good relations should develop between us. This unfortunately did not happen.

"On our part we tried our best to have friendly relations with Pakistan. But the rulers of Pakistan always talked in terms of conflict and hostility with India. It appears that the

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have no other profession except having hostility towards us.

"We are having our five year plans and progress is being made here all round. But in Pakistan you find mostly this talk of conflict with Hindustan. They sometimes bring in Kashmir. They don't seem to calm down or become normal at any time."

Shri Nehru then posed a question: What is our reply to Pakistan?

The Prime Minister himself answered it by saying: "Our reply is that we will not go to war with them. If they (Pakistan) start a war, then we will meet it fully. But that is another thing."

The Prime Minister said that India had to keep an army here because it did not trust the intentions of Pakistan.

"I still hope that a time will come when the rulers of Pakistan will see that they are following a useless course. Sometimes you get fed up of this attitude of perpetual hatred and hostility of Pakistan towards India.

"We have repeatedly said that we do not want war with Pakistan. But at the same time, we will not be cowed down by any threats."

Shri Nehru said in a voice of exasperation, "The rulers of Pakistan have not understood this basic thing."

Nehru said that the Indian communal parties were to blame to some extent for this hostile attitude of Pakistan to India. These Hindu communal parties indulged in tall talk and stated that they wanted 'Akhand Hindustan by merging Pakistan with India.'

Warming up and thumping the railing of the rostrum Shri Nehru said: "This is an impossible thing. It is improper and useless talk. It only gives an opportunity to the rulers of Pakistan to say 'look, India wants to eat us up.'

Shri Nehru firmly declared: "We do not want to take Pakistan. Even if they (people of Pakistan) want to come and join India, we will not take Pakistan."

Condemning communal parties Shri Nehru said that it was very amazing that the communal parties had so little intelligence. They talk irresponsibly all the time. They talk sometimes of attacking China and sending the army there or somewhere else. The people should beware of communal parties and communal propaganda. These parties talked in a manner to incite passions and create disunity among the people. They had no relation with economic affairs or development or planning.

Pandit Nehru might well have said, with a considerable amount of justification, that Pakistan came into existence as a necessary evil—necessary for the complete liberation of India from the clutches of the British "die-hard" politicians. There was a Socialist Government in power in Britain at the time of our Independence, but the permanent cadre of British officialdom was dominated by men of imperialistic ideology and they tried to stall off the day of India's liberation by playing up the Moslem League against the Indian National Congress. The double game was apparent to the leaders of the Congress and they decided to choose the lesser evil—of partitioning India. The story is old and is regarded as an accepted measure of bitter medicine which had to be swallowed in order to save the whole country and the nation from chaos and anarchy.

The events after the partition, particularly the accession of Kashmir to India and the veiled Pakistani incursion—under the guise of a tribal foray into that peaceful area—which later developed into regular war of aggression by Pakistan are all recorded chapters of the history of that period of transition. Pakistani forces were well on the run before Indian arms when Pandit Nehru had a brain-storm and in a fit of quixotic internationalism decided to place the case of Pakistani aggression before the United Nations organization. Ever since that day the "half-friends" and "quarter-friends" of Pakistan have been trying to double-cross India. Pakistan's—that is Ayub Khan's grievance is that they have not yet succeeded in working the swindle!

Goa, Liberation and After

The following news was in the daily press on the 20th of January. The fullest report was in the **Hindu**:

New Delhi, Jan. 19. Prime Minister Nehru has written a personal letter to President Kennedy reiterating that India's foreign policy had not undergone any change following the Indian action in the erstwhile Portuguese colony of Goa, reliable sources said here today.

Mr. Nehru was understood to have explained

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to President Kennedy India's position with respect to Portuguese colonialism in this country. He reportedly made it clear that Goa, which was part of India, was an internal problem and had nothing to do with India's foreign policy.

Mr. Nehru's letter to President Kennedy is understood to be a lengthy one running into nearly ten pages.

The letter supplements Mr. Nehru's talks with the U.S. Ambassador in New Delhi, Mr. J. K. Galbraith, on the issue. Mr. Galbraith had a meeting with Mr. Nehru immediately after the Goa operation and again just before the Prime Minister left for Patna to attend the Congress session.

The Prime Minister's letter to President Kennedy, according to official sources, became necessary in view of strong public and newspaper reaction in America against India's action in Goa. The letter was sent to Washington last week.

Official sources here explained that the letter of the Prime Minister to President Kennedy was on the lines of public statements made by Mr. Nehru at Patna during the annual session of the Congress. Mr. Nehru had repeatedly emphasised that the Government's foreign policy had not undergone any change on account of the action of Goa.

Mr. Nehru said in his letter that the situation would have become very dangerous to the security of India if Portuguese colonialism had been allowed to continue. India had to deal with the situation before it developed into a grave threat to India.

The Prime Minister's letter was also understood to have made it clear that India's policy of peace and friendship would continue and affirmed the Government of India's strong support to the United Nations. He also said India would continue to press for peaceful settlement of all international issues.

The Prime Minister apparently made an impression on President Kennedy who during his Press conference last Tuesday refused to concede to a questioner that India's action in Goa constituted a "double standard." Mr. Kennedy told his questioner that it was not just one issue but a whole variety of things which should determine whether there was a double standard or not.

We hope that the letter did have the effect on the Chief Executive of the U.S.A. as is indicated in the report. Mr. Kenn was a keen student of Eastern Affairs, p to his becoming the President of the Un States, and he has brought a fresh and flexible mind to bear on matters concern friendly but neutral nations.

We do not find in the report mention of the fact that the Indian pe with all the different shades of polit opinion were practically unanimous on point that fourteen years forbearance a long enough period in all conscience, any further delay would have had disastr consequences, particularly because of ports about Portuguese machinations aga the Indians, in and out of Goa.

Nepal and India

At the time of writing these, we find the **Statesman** a report to the effect the Government of India has sent a com nication to the Government of Ne objecting strongly to the anti-Ind speeches being made by Dr. Tulsi Giri, Nepalese Foreign Minister.

Dr. Tulsi Giri has accused India trickery and has used undignified langu towards Mr. Nehru, according to that rep

Dr. Tulsi Giri previously accused In of supporting the rebels in Nepal. This categorically denied by India previous This protest by India is, therefore, second one amongst the accusations insinuations by this person.

We do not know what this Dr. G imagines he will gain—or his master gain—by such wild and wooly behavio But Nepal has been in a curious state since King Mahendra took the adminis tion of his kingdom in his own hands. **Hindu** of January 21, carries a special art written by Shri K. Rangaswami which worthy of record in this context. We produce it below:

A meeting between King Mahendra of N and Prime Minister Nehru is expected to place in Delhi soon after the latter is free his preoccupation with the general elections India. The initiative for such a meeting has taken by the Nepalese King who thinks that exchange of views with Mr. Nehru on prob of mutual interest is overdue.

Ever since the King took over power

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self after dismissing the Koirala Ministry he has not formally visited Delhi although he has met Mr. Nehru for brief moments when he passed through Delhi. From the King's point of view the immediate problem is to restore the personal friendship with Mr. Nehru and get him at least to agree that the two countries can co-exist despite different political set-ups. If India could welcome co-existence with military and Communist dictators she should not find it very difficult to get along with a monarchy in Nepal particularly when the latter is anxious to maintain friendly relations with her by reason of history, geography, religion and culture. There is also the 1950 treaty by which India has a special responsibility for the military security of Nepal and it is not now the intention of the Nepalese King to seek a revision of this treaty.

Mr. Nehru's sharp comments made at the time the Koirala Ministry was dismissed have been construed by the King as unfriendly and far in excess of what the situation merited. When the King arrested Mr. Koirala and his Cabinet colleagues he was not sure how his people would take it. But he soon found that popular reaction was less strong than he had anticipated. If the threatened hunger-strike by Mr. Koirala had come about immediately after his arrest it was possible that the King might have found himself under pressure from several quarters to retrace his steps at least partially. But Mr. Koirala went on a fast three months after his arrest and then he abandoned it when small things like newspapers and letters were allowed to be received by him. This situation did not reveal Mr. Koirala as a leader of firm determination and strength of purpose.

The democratic movement in Nepal does not have deep roots and slipping back into the kind of regime that prevailed under the Ranas has not led to any serious mass upheaval. Recently there have been incidents in several places in Nepal which could be described as demonstrations against the King's rule. The King seems to be convinced that these incidents are centrally organised and directed from outside Nepal. The Nepalese leaders, Subarna Shumshere and Bharat Shumshere, who are now in India have issued statements giving the impression that mass rebellion has almost broken out against the King. But few in Nepal consider that these incidents have anything more than nuisance value at the moment. Communication is difficult in Nepal and ideas take much longer to spread. All these factors have perhaps filled the King with a certain amount of confidence in himself and the destiny of his dynasty. It is not considered unlikely that in this frame of mind the King might even release Mr. Koirala sooner than most people expect. But observers who have closely watched the King do not get the impression that he is in a hurry to share power with the people's representatives.

How far the agitation by Nepali leaders from India would create serious trouble inside Nepal is difficult to assess. There is no doubt that in the Terai area adjoining the Indian border there will be more excitement than in the Kathmandu valley. The King would like the Government of India to put a stop to the activities of Subarna Shumshere and Bharat Shumshere. But the Nepali Congress leaders have friends in the Indian National Congress from India's pre-Independence days and it would not be easy for the latter to become indifferent suddenly to their friends across the border. India would grant political asylum to anyone and speeches by the latter against the King's regime could not be prevented. But India, as in the case of the Dalai Lama, would not allow Nepali refugees to form an exile Government and organise violent activities from Indian territory.

There are those who advocate that the Government of India should come out openly on the side of popular forces in Nepal. There are at the same time those who urge that the Government of India should extend firm support to the King at least to prevent him from being swayed by Chinese influence. This suggestion promptly provokes irritating comments in official circles. They smell blackmailing tactics in this approach. If the argument is that the King might tend to lean more heavily on the Chinese if India did not co-operate fully with him, then the reply is that the King is free to do what he pleases. It is confidently felt that in the event of any upheaval in Nepal, the King must inevitably take refuge in India where he has vast investments and property. Few would expect the King to seek political asylum in China. Official circles point out

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that this attempt to play off India against China is ridiculous and would leave India entirely cold and unmoved. Occasionally the King's Ministers step out to offer their mediation in the settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. But this has only provoked amusement in Delhi and on one occasion Mr. Nehru made the caustic comment that so many people volunteered to settle India's problems.

There have been some differences between India and Nepal over the latter's agreement with China for the construction of a road from Lhasa to Kathmandu. The Nepalese have explained that the King, during his visit to Peking, was pressured by the Chinese to agree to the proposal. On an earlier occasion when Mr. Koirala, as the Prime Minister, went to Peking he would not commit himself to any Chinese suggestion and gave the reason that he must consult his Cabinet. But no such excuse was available to the King as he was supreme in his country. Then it was explained that the Chinese would not build any motorable road but only improve the mule track on mountain ranges. Why the deal was entered into has never been adequately explained. There was no prior consultation with India. There is no doubt that there is a desire to give pinpricks to India and it was in some ways thought that the road construction would hurt India. Perhaps there is also a desire on the part of the present regime to show that it could achieve spectacular things compared to popular ministries. In any case the agreement is there and it would be implemented as any undue and inexplicable delay would give the Chinese opportunity to say that Nepal was frightened of India's frown. Nepal being an independent country and proud of her rising importance on the international stage must adhere to the agreement. Although the Government of India have conveyed their dissatisfaction with the agreement there is no particular concern from the military or other viewpoint. India's line is that basically the two countries must remain friendly to each other and that nothing should be done by Nepal which would threaten Ind security. The 1950 treaty must continue operate and Mr. Nehru's declaration that attack on Nepal would be an attack on In would stand. If there is agreement on these b issues no difficulty will be experienced—few ex any difficuty here—in arriving at mutual und standing and establishing friendly relations.

Prachya Vani Mandir's Achievememts

The celebrated Prachya Vani Mandir Sa krit-Pali Players' Troupe staged in the South North of India successfully a new Sanskrit dr called Vimala-Yatindram by Dr. Jatindra B Chaudhuri based on the life of Sri Raman Acharya. In the South the play was staged Madras "Satyagriha" on the 25th December, in Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, on 27th December, under the auspices of All In Vaisnava Conference and Sri Aurobindo Ash Authorities respectively; in the North, the s Sanskrit drama was staged in Vrindaban In tute of Oriental Philosophy in the East-W Spiritual Values Symposium held under the pices of UNESCO and Central Government. lucid Sanskrit style of Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri excellent acting of Prachya Vani Troupe c vated the hearts of all. After the staging of play, Sri Patanjali Shastri, President of Cen Sanskrit Board, Sri Bhuvaneswar Prasad Si Chief Justice of India, Rev. Father de Smet Rome, Sri Bon Maharaj, Sri Bhaktivilas Ti and other celebrated persons spoke highly of achievements of the Prachya Vani and the b tiful acting and Sanskrit pronunciation of Troupe. We wish the Prachya Vani greater s cess in all its pioneering attempts for the spr of Sanskrit Learning in particular and Ind Learning and Culture in general.

We would also laud the encourage offered by the UNESCO for such praisewo efforts for the revival of interest in our an classics.

THE EDITO

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HOMAGE TO THE MEMORY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By SAINT-JOHN PERSE

(Nobel Laureate for Literature 1960)

To associate French thought in commemoration of Rabindranath Tagore, is to give witness to French fidelity to the highest conceptions of a universal humanism.

The greatness of Tagore for us, lies in the essentially humane preponderance in his spiritualism. His brow is yet alight with twin qualities of nobility; Poet, he has known how to hold aloft his dream—which is his birthright, without allowing himself to be distracted by the Man of his time. His poetry is ageless and unconfined to any abode, burning in the steps of Man's Eternal Search, among familiar streams and earthy slopes where the darkness of Man is shed aside.

He was aided by an infinite Presence all around him; but there also lay the persistent insistance of an infinite desire.

And it was therein where was his noble manner of being and loving, blending youthfulness with age of souls. The glory of the Poet was that he lived in his verse, and that fully with the integrity of himself as Man and Living Being.

To us, men of the West, he came carrying this "Gitanjali" from which "l'offrande lyrique" (the lyrical offering) wafted a freshness and fragrance which seemed to have come from a great tree of Asia. This fragrance seemed still to be permeating the sensitivity of the English of the translator, who was Tagore himself. It was a very pure art which was weilded there, in the ineffable, and which gave the possessions of the soul the highest place in the being; a most gentle modulation of all being, like a mystical breath.

His far away voice was near to us; his song of Asia's man was a song all about us. A similar breath riffled all the leaves of the same Tree, and the summer monsoon, which haunts the native land of the Poet, raised its habitual plaint so far as to reach our ears.

The French ear was prompt in being able to discern from all it heard, to identify what was more precious than exoticism: a new intonation of the Universal soul.

It was thus that, with Tagore, the human sovereignty of the poet blended with his creation.

He sat amidst us like the host in the fables, clad in white raiment and bearing a message. Rarely has a more beautiful face been shaped from human clay. He spoke to us like a musician as well as a philosopher, with that strange softness in his regard, which comes only from souls of the loftiest order. He was surrounded by a legendary aura of grace. And from this legend, we would treasure this . . . . that his poems singing with a spirit eternally young, might anonymously meet again the humble lips of the living . . . .

And so, Tagore, host of a day, appeared to us somewhat like a mythical figure, at the crossroads of two worlds and two ages. Expressing himself, in turn, both within and outside the century, he is for us at the same time, the embodiment of the Poet of ancient times, under the double crowns of Aede and the Sage.

But even though he was concerned about the eternity of Man, he was no less anxious about the Man of his times. His journey to Europe is a proof in the action as well as of the thought. It was also a witness to the ardour of his patriotism; and as well, to the urgency of a message that required all his reasoning to give clarity to events.

* * * *

It was in London, prior to the First World War, that a young French interlocutor, his junior by nearly thirty years, heard him express himself on the future of the Western world.

In a quiet house in South Kensington, we discussed contemporary history in an

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amicable manner. An epoch of power and prosperity sunned itself in the warmth of an incomparable summer. Factory blast furnaces were smoking all over Europe; the arts were being united with the sciences in the same lustre of showiness; and on the anvil was being forged the iron of the Western man . . . . Tagore spoke to me of his inquietude.

This haunting was heavy with menacing materialism, from an industrial civilisation on which depended the fate of the world. He warned about the double peril this incurred: by human collectivity in its international cohesion and by man himself, in his integrity.

Whither then to look for the corrective? Towards which recourse to turn, when, for him, the stake was nothing else but the safeguarding of the spiritual in the human complex? The pragmatism of the Anglo-Saxon did not seem to him to offer any succour. His distrust of French intellectualism was no whit less, as he misunderstood it to be comprised of an extreme form of human exigence. But he knew what a long tradition of moralists and humanists had fed the French soul, what form of a natural liberalism had fashioned the social vocation of France, and that a part of the French man always moves in the universal Man. He also appreciated the human mind and open spirit of the great representatives of French Indianism.

He desired to make sure of a premier access to the French literary milieu. I was able to take him over to the friendly aid afforded by Andre Gide, whose role as translator, was able to function, in his favour, like that of a Baudelaire for an Edgar Poe or a Gerard de Nerval for a Goethe. This was to limit his first French audience to the choice of an elite. However, this medium was so restrictive from the point of material and publicity advantages, that Tagore did n wish to have another such. There w nothing then which foretold that in h would be a Nobel Prize winner.

I never saw him again after the w From China, where I was at the time wh he visited Japan, I learnt through frien of all that radiated from this towering mo personality on his way to the Americ Travelling again towards the Man of t West, he stepped this time from West East, in reverse of the great pilgrims ancient Central Asia. Poet, concerned the soul and unity of man, he voyaged aw at the same pace, towards the other sph of the Western civilisation: bearer of t same message of unity, of the same entre for Man and for the defense, within m of the real elements of human greatness.

Behind him, upon the immemorial ea of India, washed by so many storms, and t so many treads of bare feet, where dest still revealed herself to be grappling wi history, many forebodings were coming which were not unlinked with the fate the Universal Man.

* * * *

Long after his death, and upon the ru accumulated after a second World W measuring the reach of this prophetic voi we can take up with Tagore, tacitly, t same interrupted dialogue.

This meeting of Asia which took pla with the man of the West, we treasure Tagore, poet, remains. France renders h fidelity to him again in all that he loved her. And the great Pilgrim of India takes his path amongst us once more.

Of this voice which was his and whi we recognized so soon, its cadence mak itself heard as yet within the heights of t Soul of our times.

By Courtesy of the French Cultural Centre.

(*La Nouvelle Reveue Francaise,* 1st November, 1961).

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DISARMAMENT AND ATOMIC WEAPONS

By PANNALAL DHAR, M.A.

DISARMAMENT has been the fondest dream of man through centuries of the history of mankind. The ship of Disarmament has sailed through the high tides and low tides of international politics, and as an ideology has actuated men to strive for peace. At one time it was identified with pacifism specially during the period of Hadrian and Antenine Emperors (A.D. 117-192). This did not mean that they had abolished war altogether. On the contrary, according to historian Gibbon, they preserved peace by being "as little disposed to endure as to offer an injury" to the bordering countries. At one time Disarmament meant demolishing the existing fortifications as in the city of Riga in 1304, in the city of Dunkirk in 1713 and in Liege in 1715. In 1774, Turkey was forbidden to maintain fortifications in Crimea. The Great Lakes were demilitarised in 1817, the Canadian-American border in 1818, the Black Sea in 1856, and the Ionian Islands in 1863. The Swedish-Norwegian border was demilitarised in 1905, the Rhine Frontier in 1919, the Gulf of Finland and island of Spitzbergen in 1920.

All these instances cited above were each an imposition by the victors on the vanquished nations or on the weak countries by the strong. In ancient times Rome destroyed the power of Carthage in 146 B.C. by forcing drastic Disarmament. In later times, Napoleon forced Prussia to limit her army to 42,000 men. After the First World War the Allies imposed drastic disarmament on vanquished Germany and it was again repeated after the Second World War. The success of unilateral Disarmament, however, depends on continuous implementation of the terms of the treaty. This in turn requires continuous vigilance against evasions. The victorious nations being more occupied in the internal reconstruction of their countries after each war, continuous exercise of vigilance is not practically possible. Sanctions against detected evasions may not also become desirable due to changes in international situations. Thus Germany after the First Great War could secretly resort to evasions when other countries were not looking. And when international situations turned in favour it resorted to open evasions.

Unilateral Disarmament cannot thus be continuously enforced against the vanquished countries. It cannot also be adopted by any country voluntarily without seriously jeopardising its own security. General Disarmament has, therefore, become the crux of international peace organisation in the 20th century. Historians, however, point out that the idea of General Disarmament first occurred to Tzar Alexander I in 1816 and Prince Matternich also wrote on the subject. The Vienna peace system of 1815 succeeded in prevailing upon the major states to reduce their armaments voluntarily. In 1831, Peru and Bolivia concluded a peace treaty limiting their armed strength. The question of Piedmontese Disarmament led to the war of 1859.

The ideology of General Disarmament continued in international politics at times receiving impetus and at other times discouragement. Thus in 1870 Bismarck opposed British proposals for Disarmament on the ground that a continental power needed forces to defend its frontiers though an insular power, meaning Great Britain, could disarm without prejudice to

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its security. In 1877, Russia went to war on Turkey's refusal to reduce her armed force. The first Hague Conference of 1899 outlawed aerial bombardment, the use of poison gas and the use of certain types of projectiles. In 1902, Argentina and Chile agreed to limit their naval armaments. The Second Hague Conference of 1907 ended in failure because of Germany's refusal to limit her fleet. The Washington Conference held in 1921-22 succeeded in limiting naval armaments fixing battleship strength among Britain, U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy in the proportion of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75. Agreement was also reached in respect of aircraft carriers and the size of cruisers to be restricted to below 10,000 tons but not on the number of such cruisers. In the Geneva Conference of 1927, the Great Powers failed to come to an agreement on limitations for smaller warships below 10,000 tons. Another Geneva Conference held in 1932-34 floundered on the twin question of international supervision and distinction between the offensive and defensive weapons. Meanwhile, the Fascist powers started arming to the teeth and this led to the Second Great War.

As war is fought with arms, General Disarmament has been hailed as a means of securing lasting peace on the ground that a war between disarmed nations is technically impossible. But this argument is fallacious since the American Civil War was fought between completely disarmed belligerents. Moreover, there are certain types of small and light weapons like machine-guns, the use of which cannot be banned, but with which wars may first start. Lord Robert Cecil's thesis that all offensive weapons should be reduced failed on the ground that in actual practice there cannot be any clear-cut distinction between offensive and defensive weapons. And so long technical and industrial inventions cannot be totally banned secret weapons will always be produced and such civil installations erected which can be switched over from the production of peace goods to that of military equipment at a short notice. Exercise of effective control over armaments requires inspection which is not possible without the employment of a large body of scientists, and without seriously curtailing the sovereignty of nations. Control of such key-industries having war potential like aluminium, steel, ship building and aircraft building will seriously affect the interest of nations in the reconstruction of their own countries.

Thus General Disarmament has not yet been made a practical proposition though as an ideology it has survived the vicissitudes of centuries of international politics. Never before the nations have more steadfastly followed the maxim of Vegetius "SiVis pacem para bellum" that is, if you want peace prepare for war. In their pursuit of this ideal the nations are guided by the historical truth that a strong and well-armed power was never attacked. War, therefore, remains as an ever present danger. The situation has become complicated because of the inventions of nuclear weapons. Never before in history a tiny atom presaged the doom in store not only for the present but also for the future generations of mankind. The magnitude of nuclear dangers was neither perhaps visualised when Einstine wrote his famous letter to Roosevelt nor could it perhaps be presumed when the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

The bomb has, however, acted as a double-edged weapon for, on the one hand it served to bring the Great War to close but on the other it released the dangerous forces of brinkmanship which have produced everything short of war by creating a continuously agonising situation in which mankind has been thrown into hourly expectation of nuclear war. The idea of Disarmament was so long related only to conventional weapons which produced no danger in peace nor affected the civilians in war. The nuclear weapons have, on the other hand, become a menace to the present as well as to the future generations of mankind whose genetics are affected by radiation in peace as well as in war. In its effects, the nuclear weapons do not make any discrimination between combatants and civilians and affect not only those who are born but also those yet to be born. Mankind is thus faced with a new kind of problem which was never faced before. The question of Disarmament has accordingly assumed a new significance.

The atom bomb is not a poor man's weapon

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For its production a nation needs a large output of electric powers, an industry to produce precision instruments, an advanced chemical and electronics industry, supply of atomic raw materials and above all a large number of atomic scientists assisted by a larger number of skilled men and engineers. Moreover, either heavy bombers are necessary to deliver the atomic missiles on their targets or long range guided missiles will be necessary. Obviously, a poor nation cannot afford to have all these and so only the Big Powers can possess the nuclear weapons.

Every nuclear invention however, involves tests and experiments. These tests are dangerous to mankind not only to its present generation but also to the future. The radiations have both somatic and genetic effects on man. It was, therefore, felt that some sort of a moratorium should be agreed upon in regard to nuclear tests. The three Big Powers, namely, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. agreed on a *de facto* moratorium which prevailed for nearly three years till the end of October, 1961. Within this period no atomic tests were carried out with the exception of four in Sahara staged by France who was, however, not a party to the moratorium.

While the U.S.S.R. has exploded the bomb contaminating the atmosphere, the U.S.A. has recently announced her intention not to carry out any tests in the atmosphere unless of course it is forced on them in the interest of national security or world peace. It is a great relief to learn that there will be no race in nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Nevertheless the moratorium having once been violated, there is no guarantee that violations will not be repeated by the U.S.S.R. The question of nuclear tests and Disarmament, therefore, has become all the more important.

The U.N's General Assembly of 1958 urged the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and the U.K. to negotiate a Tests Ban Treaty with international control. The problem which was encountered was first to determine the nature of such treaty and secondly, the details as regards the personnel to be in-charge of control, inspection and executive operations of the proposed treaty. The problem was also whether the treaty should be concluded with or without moratorium. It was agreed, however, that the supreme organ of the treaty would be the Control Commission besides which there will be an executive. According to the Soviet proposal the executive would consist of 3 representatives,—one each from the NATO, the Warsaw Pact and non-aligned countries to act on the basis of unanimity. The Western Powers however proposed that the executive will be a single neutral administrator removable by the decision of any 7 of the 11 members of the proposed Control Commission. The Control Commission in their proposal would consist of 4 representatives from Western Powers, 4 from the Soviet Bloc and 3 from non-aligned countries. The Western Powers also proposed that half of the inspection teams would consist of neutral nations and the oher half to be evenly balanced between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. with the provison that the nationals of a country being inspected could go only as observers without authority to report and nationals of a country could not be at the heat of control posts if such posts are located in their country. The U.S.S.R. was not agreeable to allow non-Soviet nationals to inspect control posts in the U.S.S.R. on the ground that they will be used as instruments of espionage. The U.S.S.R. also held the view that control without General Disarmament will not solve the problem at all. In other words the U.S.S.R. urges a treaty of General Disarmament first to be followed by agreement on control and ban on nuclear tests.

It is, therefore, a moot question as to whether first the tests should be banned to be followed by General Disarmament with controls and inspection or vice-versa. This question apart, enforcement through inspection would be full of difficulties. Nuclear facts admit of elastic interpretetions which may go against reaching unanimous opinions and evaluations. Reliable inspection today will depend on control of Uranium and Thorium mining but while mines can be effectively camouflaged against detection of other materials at a future date could also serve as atomic raw materials without the knowledge

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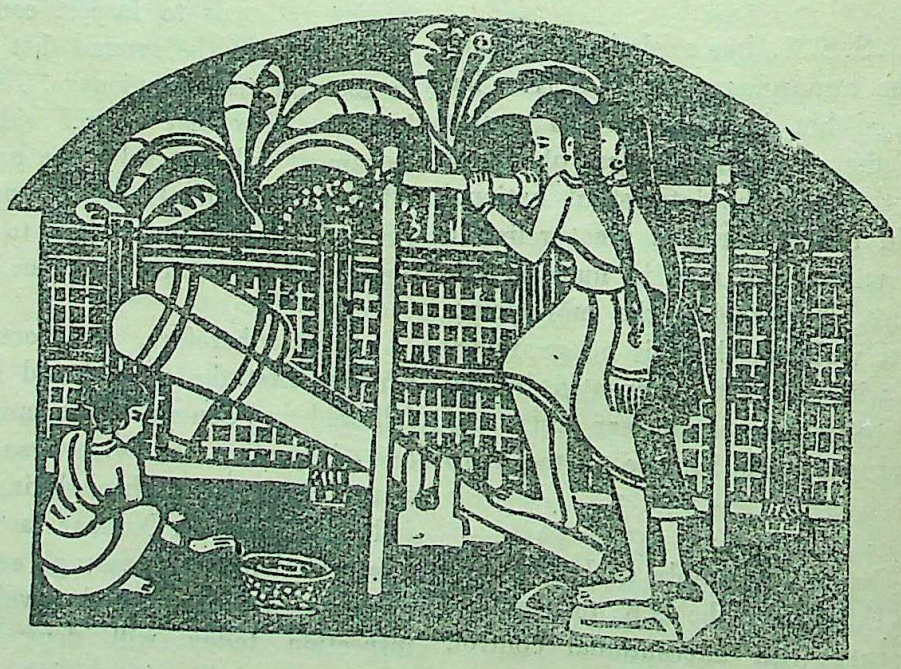
of the inspectorate. Moreover, thorough inspection will mean that nations must handover the results of all nuclear researches to the inspectorate. But this may be resented as incompatible with state-sovereignty. Moreover, inspection to be effective, requires access to all industrial plants and this may not be agreed to by all nations. Inspection would also require information and intelligence which can only be obtained through the co-operation of the native populace. Such co-operation is obviously impossible to get in view of the existing laws of nations of espionage and treason. Moreover, such an inspection can be conducted only by scientists and according to an estimate prepared by the Lienthal Committee, inspection of only one diffusion plant will require as many as 300 inspectors. Nuclear tests and experiments may also be carried out in such a way that the same may be mistaken for earthquakes as the explosion of the Russian Megaton Bomb was originally mistaken for such. Again if manufacture of nuclar weapons is banned by Disarmament and if some count abide by the ban and the others do not, vi tors will continue to increase their advantage advanced knowledge over the non-viola endangering the security of the latter. Inspect will achieve nothing except detecting the vi tions. For there can be no effective sanct against nuclear violators by non-nuclear n violators.

One thing is, however, certain. More t will mean more inventions and more inventi will mean more varieties of nuclear weap This will make inspection and control m difficult and so also Disarmament. While t nations will continue to disagree on methods control, inspection and the composition of t control Commission and the Inspectorate, th is no disagreement over the danger of nucl explosions to mankind. That is why India h always urged the powers to agree to a moratori on atomic tests. For after all first thing sho come first.



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NATIONAL INTEGRATION

A Study of Its Administrative Aspects

By SUBHASH CHANDRA MEHTA, M.A., M.D.P.A.

I

We have been accustomed, of late, to hear the slogan "national integration" side by side with "economic and social planning" and "non-involvement" in foreign policy. National integration is nothing less than the unification of a people divided from one another by innumerable castes, three or four major religions, by at least three cultures, and by about 15 languages—not to speak of centuries old mutual suspicion, distrust, animosities, even hatred. The problem is to make the peoples, so diverse and divided, one people, politically united, patriotic, living and working for the country as a whole, subordinating the interests of class, community or culture to the interests of the country. "My country," and "the interests of my country above smaller interests of my family, or caste or community" must become the basis of conduct of every citizen. We have to make Indians out of Malayalis, Punjabis, Bengalis, Assamese, Hindustanis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Gujeratis, Maharashtrians and Kashmiris so that freedom and independence of the country may not be lost.

It is no easy task, but even with the dividing influences and tendencies in our country, which it is no use crying over, for they are hard facts, we must try to strengthen the forces that unite the people. As the best way of dealing with wasting diseases is to strengthen the body, the best way of curing India of the consequences of fissiparous tendencies is to strengthen the body-politic by fostering the forces that unite. The administration has an important role to play in this matter and it is to this administrative aspect of national integration that we propose concentrating our attention in the present study.

II

Strong Central Government

The precious legacy from the British of a strong Central Government should not only be cherished but also strengthened. But if it is to be strong, all superfluous departments like those of Education, Health, Agriculture and Industry which, under the constitution are primarily and principally the concern of the State Governments should be lopped off, and these subjects committed to the care of a single department of National Welfare, as in the U.S.A., to administer the grants and subsidies from the Central Government to the States and the work of research, co-ordination and stimulation on these subjects of administration.

If the Central Government were restricted to the administration of the truly central subjects like Defence, Foreign Affairs, Internal Security, Trade and Commerce, National Communications, it would be a really strong Central Government. Restraint is the secret of strength in Governments as in individuals.

The All-India Services

The Constitution provides for two All-India Services, the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. The Parliament is empowered under Art. 312(1) to create new All-India Services common to the Union and the States on a resolution of the Rajya Sabha supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting declaring that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest to do so. The *raison d'etre* of creating All-India Services, is that officers, on whom the brunt of the responsibility for administration will inevitably fall, may develop a wide All-India outlook.

The States Reorganisation Commission recommended that in the interests of 'correcting particularist trends and also in securing greater inter-State co-ordination for the efficient implementations of All-India policies,' about 50 per cent of the new direct entrants in any cadre of All-India Services should be from outside the

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State. This recommendation has been accepted by the Government of India in principle and though no rigid rules have been framed, it is kept in view in making allottments to the State cadres of the I.A.S. and I.P.S. The Government has also accepted in principle the S. R. C.'s recommendation concerning the requirement of one-third of the number of High Court Judges from outside the State.

The S. R. C. had also recommended that the Chairman and members of the Public Service Commissions in the States should be appointed by the President. Unfortunately this suggestion was rejected by the State Governments. Should this be accepted, it would become difficult for the Ministers to push members of their caste and community into posts for which they are not fit, to the frustration and discontent of members of minority communities, who may not have any god-fathers in the Government.

Another important recommendation of the S.R.C., related to the creation of All-India Engineering, Forests and Health Services on the plea that the Central and State Governments have to work in very close co-operation in executing important development projects, which necessitates that technical personnel should be recruited and trained on a common basis and that they should have uniform standards of efficiency and also the feeling of belonging to common and important cadres. It is a happy sign that very recently Parliament has, though after a period of about six years when this recommendation was made, approved of a resolution of the Government for the creation of these three All-India Services. These services should be constituted without any further delay.

At the recent National Integration Conference views were expressed strongly that in the interest of greater uniformity and cohesion of policy, education should be made a concurrent subject, or at least for administrative purposes, an All-India Educational Service, should be constituted. The desirability of creating this service is a matter deserving immediate attention.

The S. R. C. had also emphasised that unless the system of rotation to and from the Centre was observed on a regular basis, the advantage in the matter of developing an All-India outlook will become illusory. It is deplored that at the present there is a marked tendency among the public servants, particularly to at the senior level to get themselves posted at the Centre and then to 'stick on' to it. Every effort is made to foil an attempt of posting them back to the States. This trend needs to be checked at the earliest.

Equality of Opportunity in Matters of Public Employment

The Constitution guarantees equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of public employment except that the State may provide for reservation of posts in favour of Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 16 of the Constitution provides; (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State; (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment of office under the State.

The Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957, bans all domicile restrictions, which had previously existed in some States for purposes of recruitment except in certain specified areas.

Unfortunately domicile restrictions on public employment of an indirect form have been placed in some States by insistence upon a degree or diploma conferred by educational institutions located within the State or recognised by it or by providing that the candidate must possess an adequate knowledge of or take a competitive test in the regional language. The Punjab Public Service Commission, for instance, requires every candidate for the Provincial Civil Service to take examination in two papers of Hindi and Punjabi of the degree standard which in effect means of barring all non-Punjabi candidates from competing. Even a large number of Punjabi candidates belonging to the Hindi region of the State find themselves in an extremely disadvantageous position. Likewise many other States have made Hindi a compulsory subject for competitive examinations which amounts to the complete exclusion of non-Hindi speaking candidates.

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The S. R. C., found that in one State domicile rules were applied not only to determine eligibility for appointment to the public services but also to regulate the awards of contracts and rights in respect of fisheries, ferries, toll-bridges and excise shops. The State Governments and Local Bodies have generally shown a marked preference for residents of their States in the matter of employment and this has at times created considerable resentment among non-residents.

Recently with the rapid expansion of public sector enterprises, the question of recruitment of personnel for them has become a matter of great importance. The Central Government formulated in mid-1960 a policy for recruitment to public undertakings after consultation with the managing directors and general managers of the major projects, keeping in view the issue of reconciling the claims to employment of the people of the State or region where the undertaking is located with the undertaking's needs of technical and managerial skill to run it efficiently and effectively. Under this new scheme, local people are recruited almost as a matter of fact in the labour force and to clerical and administrative posts carrying a salary of less than Rs. 350 per month. For posts with salaries ranging from Rs. 350 to Rs. 650 per month, candidates from all parts of the country are eligible and these posts are advertised nationally but other things being equal local people are preferred. For the higher managerial and technical jobs, recruitment is through an All-India competition and solely on merit. A representative of the Government of the State in which the central undertaking is located is associated with all selections made by the undertaking. This naturally results in a certain amount of bias in favour of the local candidates. Steps should, therefore, be taken to discourage considerations other than merit.

Preferential Treatment to the Weaker Sections in Public Services

The Constitution provides for reservations in appointments in the public services for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward classes. The Government of India's policy in the matter has been to reserve for Scheduled Castes 12½ per cent of all vacancies filled by direct recruitment in the case of posts and services recruitment to which is made on an All-India basis by open competition; 16 1/3 per cent in the case of similar vacancies filled directly or otherwise; and for Scheduled Tribes 5 per cent of all the vacancies filled by direct recruitment, by open competition or otherwise. The Central Government, however, does not make any reservations, in the services for the 'other Backward classes'. Similar policies have been evolved by the State Governments in the matter of reservation and they have made provisions for 'other Backward classes' also. In some departments of the Centre as well as the States, the reservation has been extended even to promotions. The Railway Ministry has been reserving 15 per cent of promotions to the Scheduled Castes.

The reservation of appointments and promotions in the services for Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward classes, which is intended to provide for their rightful share in administration, contains within itself a basic contradiction; it tends to create vested interest in backwardness and aggravates class and caste consciousness as these groups are classified on the basis of castes. Reservations in matters of promotion is very often responsible for extensive heart-burning and discontent. It is evident that for everyone who is promoted purely on a caste basis, there may be ten or more who feel that their merit had been unjustly ignored. If a number of such cases of preferential treatment takes place, it is conceivable that the consequence will be the creation of a very considerable army of disgruntled and demoralized officials who can be a serious liability to the administration. In recent years, there has been a growing recognition that backwardness should be defined in terms of economic and cultural criteria. The Estimates Committee has recommended that weaker sections of the society should be determined on the basis of economic status and educational and social backwardness. The Study Group on the welfare of the weaker sections of the village community has, in its recent report, defined the weaker sections as families whose annual income is less than Rs. 1,000. Priority assistance has been recommended to those families whose income is less than Rs. 250 per year. Families whose income is less than Rs. 250 per year are classified as 'destitutes'. It

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is time that a more rational criteria of backwardness be evolved. However, till the present policy of reservation on the basis of caste is continued. it is necessary to fix the percentage of reservation differently for different services and posts. In regard to Class I and Technical posts, candidates from the backward classes with the requisite qualifications may not be available. If the present quota is to be made up, the percentage of reservation in Class III and Class IV services should be proportionately increased.

Official Language

To try to make Hindi emotionally acceptable to all before it becomes a springboard for upward mobility is to put the cart before the horse. Once Hindi joins English at the pinnacle of pre-eminence, the non-Hindi-speaking people will learn it with increased enthusiasm. Gradually a basic knowledge of Hindi may be made compulsory for the Central Services and as a factor in promotion from regional to central services. But a non-Hindi-speaking person must not be at a disadvantage as against a Hindi-speaking person.

A beginning has been made in the Government of India towards the use of Hindi in addition to English for the various official purposes. All ministries have been requested to make arrangements for :—(i) issuing government resolutions hereafter in Hindi also; (ii) for ensuring, as far as possible (a) that by the end of 1961-62, all Hindi letters are replied to in Hindi and (b) that by the end of 1963-64, Hindi is used in addition to English, generally for correspondence with States which have adopted Hindi as their official language; (iii) for headings of forms, registers, etc.; (iv) for noting on files as an experimental measure in selected sections in the Secretariat where the bulk of staff has a working knowledge of Hindi; (v) for noting, on files, where feasible, also in the local offices of Central Government Departments which are situated in Hindi speaking areas.

The Presidential Order of April 27, 1960, also provides that :

An optional Hindi language paper may be introduced in competitive examinations for recruitment to All-India Services and Higher Central Services. Candidates selected on the res of the competition who qualify in this pap may be exempted from appearing and passing the Hindi departmental test after recruitment. recruitment to public services under the St Government also language should not be a b Besides the official language of the State, opti should be given of using English or Hindi as t medium of examination. A test of proficiency the official language of the State may be h after selection and before the end of probati Moreover, degrees or diplomas granted by universities or institutions recognised by t U.G.C. should be accepted in all States for pu poses of recruitment.

Inter-State Relations

Two main causes of tensions in inter-st relations have been disputes about state bou daries and about the use of river waters or t execution of river projects in one State for t benefit of the other. The Zonal Councils provi a useful agency for inter-state co-operation. Th can discuss and make recommendations with r gard to any matter of common interest in t field of economic and social planning or ques tions like border disputes, linguistic minoriti inter-state transport, etc. Provision also exis for the holding of joint meetings of two or mo Zonal Councils. Some of them have in rece years taken decisions in matters of raising com mon police forces and their training, and co ordination in the matter of development power. It would be, perhaps, useful to set up inter-state Council under Article 263 of th Constitution for :

(i) Inquiring into and advising upon di putes which may have arisen between States;

(ii) Investigating and discussing subjec in which some or all of the States, or the Uni and one or more of the States, have a comm interest; and

(iii) making recommendations upon an such subject.

Economic Planning

Planning has created some new tensions, re sentment and dissatisfaction among the States

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the matter of allocation of Plan resources, location of training institutes, priorities about new industrial projects, etc. The competing claims of the different States, particularly economically backward States, are creating great tension. The National Integration Conference held recently recognised, the importance of regional balance in economic development as a positive factor for promoting national integration. The conference felt that a rapid development of the economically backward States and regions in any State should be given priority in national and the State plans at least to the extent that a minimum level of development is reached for all States within a stated period. This suggestion needs effective implementation.

These are, in short, some of the administrative aspects of national integration which need serious consideration. The move to shift some of the offices of the Central Government from New Delhi to other parts of the country, whose location is not so essential in the capital, if encouraged, could be another step in the same direction. High degree of integrity of civil servants with an unbiased approach to every problem on its merits is no less important.

NATIONALISM AND PROSPECT OF CIVILISATION

Prof. C. L. CHAKRABORTTY, M.A.

It is well-known that the 15th Century Renaissance hurled Europe into the throes of a series of religious, social and economic revolutions. The intellectual movement led human minds to be critical of existing religious practice and profession. For, religion being the dominating factor, and change in the social set up in the light of new thoughts necessarily encountered opposition from the supporters of the existing institutions, leading to the great schism between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. In the course of the struggle, the religious questions receded into the background while the social and economic questions assumed greater importance. As a matter of fact, the feudal economic structure of Europe had been changing slowly long before the outbreak of the religious quarrel. Small factories were appearing and assuming greater importance in the economy of various European countries since the middle ages showing thereby signs of rift in the prevailing economic system. Merchant middle class began to extend their trade and commerce first internally and, after the geographical discoveries, internationally. They were beginning to amass great wealth and hence sought power by controlling the state apparatus while the feudal lords wasted their wealth and energy by quarreling among themselves. The Catholic religion frowned upon these new developments and got determined to stamp them out while Protestantism became the refuge of the emergent forces. These phenomena would explain why the religious quarrel was ultimately transformed into a struggle for economic and political supremacy of the middle class. Thus Europe took a step towards the development of Capitalism over the disintegration of feudalism.

In the social and political spheres these struggles ushered in unprecedented developments in that the European society freed itself from religious obsessions and medieval obsolencence. Scientific inventions and speculations developed with concomitant effects on technological progress; realism became the predominant feature of arts and literature.

Politically, the medieval concept of universal empire was beginning to be replaced by the formation of nation states. After the conclusion of the Hundred Years War between England and France a faint glimmer of nationalism was discernible in both the countries. This process was further accelerated in England by Wycliff and his followers in their attempt to free the English

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religious institutions from the domination of Rome. The translation of the Bible into English intensified the process. Through subsequent phases of the history of the country nationalism continued to gather momentum till it became a dominant force with the defeat of the Armada in the reign of Elizabeth. Another commercial state of Europe, Holland, also made headway towards forging a nation state as a result of their long drawn struggle and ultimate victory over the tyranny of Philip II of Spain. France also was marching forward to power and statehood through the struggle for national unification by reducing the power of the feudal lords since the reign of Louis XI. It is clear, therefore, that European nationalism emerged out of religious conflicts, deriving its main support from the middle class who favoured it as they could realise that strong national states would be helpful to their commercial aspirations. They also supported strong centralised monarchies that would lay the foundation of national unity on a solid basis. Such was at least the state of affairs upto the 17th Century. But there was no fixed principle and whenever in the subsequent period the middle class thought that the monarchs were not acting to augment their interests, they stood against them by invoking the ideal of democracy and clamoured for representative governments. And in this attempt they unconsciously strengthened nationalism by carrying its ideals amongst the masses, thereby broadening its sphere and making the people articulate and relatively conscious participants in every urgent social issue. Prof. MacIver aptly commented that "The sense of nationality could not develop until men learned their participation in a common life, in the service of which authority was maintained and justified."[1]

II

"Nationalism as we understand it is not older than the second half of the 18th Century. Its first great manifestation was the French Revolution, which gave the new movement an increased dynamic force. French Revolution which was initially a liberal movement for social, economic and political reforms and for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, took a violent turn due to the inflexibility of the reactionary ruling class. The whole movement then came to be dominated by the extremists who were determined to overhaul the entire system. When the 'emigres' began to conspire with the European monarchs to overthrow the Revolution the passion of the third estate rose to a fever heat resulting in the ascendancy of Jacobinism. No longer the Revolution remained an internal affair of France but assumed a European character in that the Jacobins got determined to carry the idea of the Revolution across the frontiers at the point of bayonet partially out of zeal and partially for their very survival. The sense of a supreme national danger bound the French people closely inbibing a sense of extreme nationalism which is termed by Prof. Hayes as Jacobin or militant nationalism. It was intolerant of any dissent and fanatical in its zeal.

The common men of Europe who were oppressed by the feudal lords and feudal kings were not as yet animated by nationalism and patriotism. Hence to them the Revolutionary armies under Napoleon appeared as liberators, rather than as conquerors or oppressors. But paradoxically enough with the change of situation the same force generated nationalism in the minds of the people who subsequently grew conscious of a sense of national humiliation. Now Napoleon appeared not as a liberator but as a tyrant. The hide-bound reactionary monarchs of Europe began to realise the hopeless condition and, willy-nilly, had to introduce various reforms and share power though in a very restricted manner, with the third estate. When Napoleon introduced the continental system thereby ruining the economy of Europe and rode roughshod over the sentiments of the people of Spain and Portugal, nationalism asserted itself and roused the people of every rank to make it a common cause so as to reassert their nationa

1. *Modern State*, p. 123.

2. Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationali*
p. 3.

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dignity. And the ultimate defeat of Napoleon was crystallized into nationalism throughout Europe.

It should be noted that modern nationalism was accompanied with democratic ideas which gradually animated the people of every section in shaping the destiny of respective nations. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries since the leadership of the government and society was the prerogative of a particular class nationalism and patriotism were confined within a narrow circle while the masses were merely the beasts of burden. The French Revolution caused a great change. But by the peace settlement of Vienna the powers sought to put Europe back to this condition again denying the people of the rights for which they had so stubbornly fought. In spite of initial success in suppressing democratic revolutions in Germany, Eastern Europe, Italy, Hungary and so on, the reactionary powers of Europe had to conpitulate before the rising tide of patriotism of different nationalities of Europe. The ideal of nationalism and the principle of nation states triumphed in most of the European countries. Nationalism thus became a moving and creative force which penetrated into every sphere of human society : politics, economics, arts and literature. In fact, in many respects it also became a religion that roused the passion of the people ; later on interested circles fanned this passion and drove Europe gradually towards a fearful destiny.

As we have already noticed, the idea of nationalism, followed in the wake of economic and political revolutions, heralded the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie were in the vanguard of the democratic movements that continued unabated roughly from the latter part of the 18th Century, because of the fact that up to a particular stage democratic slogans, rights and privileges coalesced with their economic interest, i.e., expansion of capitalism. But as soon as they were secure in power and privilege they forgot the ideal of liberal nationalism of Bentham, Guizot and Mazzini. The nationalist sentiment came to be exploited to their economic ends which ultimately gave it an aggressive character. The newly industrialised countries such as Germany and Italy started looking around for colonies, so also England and France, the old colonial powers, came forward to share in the loot. This led to imperialistic rivalries resulting in partition of Africa and Asia. The European nations, nonetheless, knew no satisfaction and in their bid to get bigger and bigger shares ultimately got involved in what was called the first global war. Thus nationalism which was a vehicle of human progress up to a stage, now became a tool in the hands of the reactionary war-mongers and chauvinists ; the plea of economic crises and national emergency made their in-roads into the democratic rights of the people.

While tracing the emergence of aggressive nationalism it must also be noted that a few advanced thinkers, like Grotius, Bentham, etc., tried to impress upon the politicians the necessity of international codes of behaviour and understanding. But all these had no major or immediate effects in an atmosphere surcharged with greed and hatred. In spite of the realisation of the fact from time to time that international cooperation was necessary for the preservation of human civilisation the idea did not percolate either to the scheming politicians or the masses who were being fed by the chauvinistic glorification of nation states. So the people of different states continued to slaughter one another in the name of patriotism.

III.

History moves independent of the will of any individual or group and this was borne out by the fact that the aftermath of the First World War brought forth such unprecedented and unimaginable forces on the surface as was least expected by the imperialist powers. One was the Socialist Revolution in Russia and the other was the rise of nationalism in Asia—the former holding a threat to the capitalist system by encouraging the working people to launch revolutionary struggle for the establishment of their democratic and economic rights, while the latter animated the people of Asia to emulate the progressive movements of the West which enthused them to end the imperialist domination by waging

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relentless struggles against it. And in the course of such struggles, as Sardar Panikkar has pointed out, "the development of nationalism in Asia as an overriding loyalty to the state embodying a continuous tradition and supposed to represent a single people . . . . arose out of resistance to foreign rule."[3]

The period intervening between the two World Wars was a period of shrinking of democratic rights and the growth of what Prof. Hayes called an "integral nationalism" that was intolerant of all opposition and criticism and intensely militant in its fervour and thoroughness. The Western democracy was in mortal fear of communism which provided them with a handle to crush the democratic rights of their own people. Similarly, Communist Russia was afraid of capitalist encirclement and conspiracy to inspire counter-revolution which made their proletarian dictatorship very rigid at the cost of the freedom of the people. The result was that everywhere the 'Leviathan' raised its head ominously. The Western democracies in their dread for communism encouraged fascist dictatorship in Germany, Italy, Spain and reaction everywhere. This proved that they were not so much worried about the preservation of the democratic ideal as the maintenance of the system which ensured their privileges at any cost. The League of Nations to which the weaker nations were looking for justice was soon turned into a platform of power-politics and international rivalry. Yet nothing could save them, for the second global war, like the previous one, drove imperialism to fight rear-guard battles. So far as Asia was concerned, the Second World War helped its freedom movement further as the hold of the imperialist powers over their colonies slackened and in many cases they had to made compromises with Asian nationalism in order to enlist the support of the people of these countries in their war efforts. On the other hand, a vast area of Europe and the Far East went over to the communists. All these happenings have their concomitant effect on the state which to-day, has grown authoritarian encouraging thereby aggressive nationalism further. Everywh the totalitarian tendency is manifest un various pretexts. While scientific a technological progress point to the neces of political and economic fusion of the wo the age-old traditions are pulling it be ward. And in effect, "modern national signifies a more or less purposeful effort revive primitive tribalism on an enlar and more artificial scale."[4]

IV.

The basic idea of nationalism,—the l of one's country and preparedness to ma supreme sacrifice for it at the time of gr crisis, dates long back into the past. Wh different tribes fought among themselves retain what they considered to be th traditional rights they fought with no l exemplary patriotism than the modern ma When Greece was threatened by the Persia the same spirit bound the Greek sta together to save their Hellenic culture fr the barbarians. Nationalism arose, the fore, from the natural fact of one's love one's country and environment and fr this narrow beginning it started its tortu march forward until it became a gre force of history and civilisation by t eighteenth century. At different phases history different elements helped its dev lopment, such as, race, religion, langua the fear of foreign invasion or dominati by a foreign power—each in its turn help expand the sweep of nationalism. To-da of course, it is difficult to attrib nationalism exclusively to these facto including the possession of sovereign st as an indispensable pre-requisite. The co cept has come to assume a dynamic imp in that even the Jews, who have neither homeland nor a state of their own, form nation because of the very feeling nationalism that has been moving the towards a cherished goal. Prof. Las therefore, says that it, "is essentially spi tual in character."[5] Spenglar also shar

3. *Asia and Western Dominance*, p. 320.

4. Hayes, *Evolution of Modern Nationali*
5. *Grammar of Politics*, pp. 219-20.

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somewhat similar views. Therefore, the idea today cuts through the affinities of race, language, narrow tradition and so on. The modern states like the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., India, Pakistan, justify the present trend.

Nationalism, as we have examined it, helped broaden and enshrine human rights, liberated the people from thraldom, vindicated human dignity and encouraged their cultures. On the other hand, it has also created great internal and international problems.

It has already been noted that modern nationalism was accompanied with industrialism and democracy which upto a stage worked well towards the integration of different European nationalities. But later on it created various problems; since the existing democratic institutions were chiefly the preserve of the dominant class, it could not cope with the economic demands and political aspirations of the majority of the people who now became immensely conscious of their rightful place in the life of the nation. And as a result society was divided against itself; labour trouble started and the vast army of unemployed filled these countries with dangerous possibilities. Industrial capitalism could not solve these, while socialism held out the beacon of hope to the people which taught them to think in terms of two nations in every country—'haves' and 'have nots'. This introduced a definite breach in the hitherto monolithic character of the modern nation states. Socialism rejected nationalism as such but championed the cause of proletarian internationalism even though it remained chiefly in the realm of an ideal.

The Western democracies were inextricably involved in the system, hence they had to stop the progress of socialism, which held out a threat to their domination, by embarking on international wars thereby diverting the attention of the people from social maladies.[6] War exercises human passion to a fever heat, creates narrowness in human mind and gradually dehumanises them. War, similarly, encourages the baser elements of nationalism to such an extent as to make all progressive movements, temporarily at least, inadequate to tackle it and this is borne out by the fact that the socialists who were opposed to the First World War in the initial stage, became its rabid supporters in the course of its progress. How strong has been the influence of nationalism will be clear when we look at the fact "that such originally non-nationalist doctrines as economic liberalism and Marxian socialism have been altered in practice until they have come to partake of nationalist character."[7]

"Industrialism", wrote B. Russell, "has in various ways contributed to the growth of nationalism, while it has for the first time in history produced the technical possibility of a supra-national government for the whole world."[8] But the vested interests everywhere are putting hindrances in the way of evolution of nationalism to internationalism by exciting national pride and prejudice. Even though at critical moments nations often sit together to solve outstanding international problems, yet such attempts have failed to produce any lasting effect. "So long as the majority of civilised mankind continue to feel that their only social obligation is to their own country, and that for its own advancement they are justified in inflicting any degree of damage upon people of other countries, so long no diplomatic arrangements or political reforms can produce a tolerable world."[9]

The problems posed by nationalism, therefore, must not be viewed in isolation but as a world problem, hence to be tackled in their totality. Mere granting of national independence to the subjugated countries as the solvent of international conflicts, as some suggest, also holds no truth when we recall the instances of freed nationalities coveting the territories of other people and

6. Vide, B. Russel, *Selected Papers*, (Modern Library), pp. 261-62.

7. Hayes, *Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, pp. 296-97.

8. B. Russell, *Selected Papers*, (Modern Library), pp. 261-62.

9. *Ibid*, p. 260.

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persecuting them on that score. Poland bears testimony to this contention, for, after the attainment of her own freedom, she launched attacks upon Soviet Russia, taking advantage of its weakness, for some territorial gain. Therefore, so long nations move with the ideal of Frederik the Great, "Take whatever you can if you are not obliged to give back," so long there can be no end of bickerings.

If it is agreed that human civilisation is worthwhile saving from complete disintegration, a rearrangement, to begin with, of the entire economic postulates of the modernnation states is necessary, for, with "economic nationalism" is inextricably bound up all questions of political nationalism which "under the present condition with the main trend of human affairs, which is away from isolation towards interdependence . . . . Democracy and industrialism, the two forces which rose simultaneously with nationalism and spread with it over the world, have both today outgrown the national connection."[10]

All these facts nations may ignore at the peril of human civilisation especially when the destructive potentialities of modern warfare have grown so alarmingly vast. Nations either must live together or destroy one another. That the willingness to live together is still there is evident from the occasional diplomatic conferences and meetings of the Heads of States and the presence of the U.N.O. to hold the ring in the strife. Whatever might have been the limitations, an organisation like the U.N.O. is in perfect tune with modern developments. Even though it may sound like metaphysical speculation at this stage, the future of humanity seems to depend upon the merging of nations. But that would be a far cry until the problems of economic exploitation, both internal and external, by the industrially advanced countries could be solved on an egalitarian principle. Similarly, the recognition of the right of national self-determination of all oppressed nationalities is also a necessity of the greatest magnitude so as to lesson the international tension and fuse human community into a harmonious whole.[11] If human affairs would be thus properly arranged and narrow elements of passion, prejudice and selfish economic motives could be banished from the relations of international communities, it could then be conceivable that nationalism and internationalism would no longer remain antagonistic, but would rather evolve out to be complementary to each other. And as a first step towards this a workable hypothesis of world government, based on the principle of federalism should be arranged, otherwise the problem posed by nationalism will engulf the entire edifice of human civilisation built with the toils and tears of centuries.

Such then being the desired ideal, the advanced-minded people of every country must work untiringly for its achievement. But the actual condition is quite different. Admittedly, when international relations are examined in the light of the present rivalries amongst the nations, all probabilities of amity fade away. Like individuals nations also seem to suffer from narrow selfishness and greed ; it appears as if the basic instincts make nations hostile to one another. As such all talks of merging of nations or organisation of a world government are ostensibly shorn of realities. In fact, there is no getting out of this rut and even a great historian like Toyenbee has to look, perhaps out of desperation, for the advent of another Christ for the salvation of humanity.[12]

Yet, however, this is a superficial view. History furnishes us with enough evidence that more than once human spirit asserted itself when different civilisations at different times were going to be overwhelmed by the deluge of barbarism. Since the beginning of the disintegration of the Roman Empire down to the wars of the present century we find, over and over again, ample evidence in support of this contention. Nobody, it is true, can correctly visualise what lies in the womb of the future ; it is past experience that helps us to construct a plan of hope and promise, for

10. Hans Kohn, *The Ideal of Nationalism*, pp. 22-23.

11. See, Lenin, *Selected works*, pp. 270-71.

12. See, *Civilisation on Trial.*

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despondency will only spell disaster. Keeping this in mind it may be expected that the nations will feel the urge from within for coming together being impelled by the very instinct for self-preservation and sink all their outstanding differences as soon as they would feel how insignificant and helpless they are today amidst their own creation of destructive forces. This very consciousness introduces a new element which would probably inspire the spirit of man with the desire to live and let live. And in this way a new world may emerge in which even if nations continue to exist as categories of variegated culture, they are likely to merge all their exclusive interests with a view to enriching the common interests of human civilisation through a common international organisation. Man must, of necessity, fulfil his destiny by properly organising his affairs by his own initiative and resolve the contradiction between the scientific and technological progress and the inertia of obsolete traditions, instead of looking on helplessly for the intercession of a prophet or a messiah for his salvation.

SYRIA AFTER THE SEPARATION

By CHANAKYA SEN

THE political life of Syria has always been marked by torpid restlessness. In this respect Syria has had much in common with pre-De Gaulle France. Between 1948 and 1955, Syria had fifteen Cabinets, five *coup d'etats*—three of them in a single year, between March and December, 1949. There were three Cabinet changes in 1948—on August 19, August 23, and December 1; three again in 1949, in May, August and December; once in 1950, in the month of March; thrice again in 1951, in August, November and December; once in 1952, in June; and thrice once again in 1954, in June, on October 14 and October 31; and twice in 1955, in February and September.

All the five *coup d'etats* between 1948 and 1955, were engineered by the Army. The *coup d'etat* of March 30, 1949, was followed by two more in the same year, on August 14 and December 19. There was another *coup d'etat* on November 28, 1951 and still one more on February 25, 1954. The leaders of these army movements were General Husni Zaim, Colonel Hinawi and Colonel Shishakly.

In the 1955 elections Shukri el-Kouatly was elected President. He had gone in self-chosen exile to Cairo and had witnessed the 1952 Egyptian revolution and how it was trying to work out a new society. In the 1955 elections the Baath Socialists had acquired a position of vantage and they had joined coalition government with other liberal parties. It is this coalition which gave Syria political stability for a fairly long period of more than three years. During the Suez crisis the Syrian Government stood firmly by Egypt. Not only did it give total moral support to Egypt, the Syrian pipeline through which oil from Iraq flows to the Mediterranean ports was cut at several places and completely immobilized, even at considerable loss to the Syrian exchequer. And it was during and after the Suez crisis that the idea to join Egypt in a bigger Arab State took shape in Syria.

The United Arab Republic project was born not in Cairo but in Damascus. Many explanations have been offered for this sudden change in the Syrian outlook. One common explanation is that the Syrian Communist Party, numerically the largest in the Arab world and the best organized, was emerging as a formidable force and the Nationalist and Baath Socialist leaders thought that the only way to curb the Communist influence was to join hands with President Nasser. This, however, appears to be only a partial explanation. There is no reason to doubt that in Syria there was a high tide of Arab nationalism in 1957 and 1958. A highly emotional people always ready to fight for a cause, volatile in character and restless in spirit, the Syrian people were suddenly fired with a dream of a United Arab Nation and they determined to be the first Arab country to merge its entity into a bigger Arab entity. The dream of a United Arab land

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has run through the history of the Arabs for many centuries. Even under the Ottoman Empire the geographical unity of the Arab world has been maintained. It was only after the First World War that Britain and France joined together to carve the Arab homeland into several separate political states. The history of Arab division, therefore, is not more than fortyfive years old. And yet the nation-states had taken such strong roots that all Arab endeavour to merge national frontiers ended in failure. The Syrians in a moment of emotional exuberance decided to give the lead.

The movement for the merger began in Syria in 1957. There were physical as well as other difficulties for the merger; but the Syrians were ready to surmount them. There are no land frontiers between Egypt and Syria; they are separated by a hostile Israel and can communicate only by sea or air. The economy of the two countries is substantially different. Egypt with a larger population and a smaller cultivable area is more industrialized; Syria was more or less an agricultural country, its economy largely controlled by a small number of rich families. Agriculture was to a large extent mechanized but economic power was concentrated in a small coterie of landed capitalists. Politically also Syria was much less stable than Egypt. Unlike Egypt, Syria had a powerful middle-class, politically conscious but almost always dissatisfied with the existing state of things. It is these factors and also the widespread Western propaganda that Egypt under Nesser was out to grab the other Arab countries, that President Nasser was hesitant about the merger proposal when it was brought to him in Cairo by a powerful Syrian delegation in 1957. The issue was debated for several days. President Nasser insisted on a full democratic process—adoption of a merger resolution by the Syrian Parliament, its ratification by a joint session of the Parliaments of Syria and Egypt and the final approval of the merger plan by a plebiscite throughout Syria. All these points were readily agreed upon. The Syrian Army gave its full support to the merger and after it had been approved by the Syrian Parliament, the proposal was ratified at a joint session of the two Parliaments in Damascus on November 18, 1957. Within three months United Arab Republic was formally inaugura

It lasted nearly three years. For the world this period was momentous and even Civil war broke out in the Lebanon, a revolt overtook Iraq, and political tension in Jordan Saudi Arabia heightened. The Arab kaleidos underwent startling and momentous chan The sum-total of these changes was resurg of nationalist forces. Even in the backward k dom of Saudi Arabia, the King had to introd for the first time, certain financial and poli reforms. In the Lebanon, a new nationalist re came into power after the withdrawal of American troops. In Jordan, however, K Hussein was able to maintain his regime British help, but there were deep layers of p tical unrest under the placid surface.

In any historical assessment of this per the constructive role of what has come to termed as Nasserism has to be acknowledged. philosophy of President Nasser spread throu out the Arab world. Contrary to what West propaganda would have the world believe. movement proved a positive force lending weight in favour of stability in one of the m restless areas on the earth. Relations between U.A.R. and Iraq were not, of course, happy this did prevent the realization of greater more substantial Arab unity. But the most standing achievement of this period was two-f In the political sphere, it was marked by a d sive retreat of Western imperial influences in Arab world and by a general Arab opposition indigenous Communism; in the economic fi new conceptions of planned reconstruction a certain socialistic bias took shape in the m Arab countries. For historical and other reas all the new Governments in the Arab coun had a military character; it was the Army acted as the spearhead of the great change these countries. Democracy of the Western or of the type that is known in India was not troduced either in the United Arab Republic Iraq, although in the latter country poli parties were allowed to function. But within limitations of one-party rule and what was cally an enlightened military dictatorship. reaching reforms were introduced in econ

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covering both industry and agriculture, in the political structure and also in the administrative machinery. For three years the Arab scene was free from crises arising out of external influences. Arab strength and influence in the international community went up.

The conception of Arab unity, however, failed to register further progress. It should be noted that the need for Arab unity had been felt not only by the Arabs themselves but also by the British in the later 'Thirties and during the Second World War.' It was the British who had conceived of and brought into being the Arab League. The idea of the Fertile Crescent—a kind of federal union of Iraq, Syria and Jordan—also originated in London. The British had realized that the division of West Asia into a number of rival Arab countries was detrimental to the security and stability of a vitally strategic region. Nuri es-Said of Iraq, who was during his lifetime the staunchest friend of the West in the Arab world, had worked tirelessly, although in vain, for the realization of the Fertile Crescent.

The merger of Egypt and Syria, it should be understood, was not at all in the line of the Fertile Crescent unity conception. For one thing, Egypt, belonging geographically to the continent of Africa, has not historically been like any other West Asian Arab country. Unlike Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the Lebanon, Egypt has a deep African consciousness. It has always been proud of its ancient civilization, a synthesis of Roman, Greek, Islamic and many other influences. For a period of eighty years, the British had kept Egypt isolated from the Arab community. Even during the Ottoman Empire, Egypt had been more or less a sovereign community where the writ of the Governor ruled.

The merger of Syria and Egypt was the result of a popular upsurge: the Fertile Crescent concept sought to unite the ruling dynasties and cliques of two Arab kingdoms and an Arab Republic. The dissolution of the United Arab Republic showed that even the Syrian-Egyptian merger did not have a strong enough popular base; that middle-class and military rivalries were still rampant and that the Arab had to go a long way before national frontiers could be liquidated. Some sober thinking in Egypt has followed Syria's secession. The Egyptian Press taking its cue from President Nasser's refreshingly candid broadcasts following Syria's defection has been discussing the problem of unity from an altogether new angle. There are two trends of Arab unity, it is now admitted; one tries to unite the reactionaries, the defenders of privileges and profits, and the other, the people. The merger broke down because the Government of the United Arab Republic had failed to consolidate the Syrian people's support in its behalf. President Nasser in one of his broadcasts listed several errors committed by the Government while building the structure of the U.A.R. The first error, he said, was the compromise made with the reactionaries. This point has to be better understood. As already stated, one of the compelling factors for the merger was the fear of the Syrian nationalists and Baath Socialists of the rising influence of the Syrian Communist Party. President Nasser had already suppressed the Communist Party in Egypt and had reduced its influence to practically nothing. He had even more than one public quarrels with Mr. Khrushchev about his handling of the Egyptian Communist Party and he had bluntly told the Soviet Prime Minister not to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs. One of the first actions taken by President Nasser after the merger was the suppression of the Syrian Communist Party. This made the Communists an enemy of the U.A.R. from the very beginning. The Syrian Communist Party with a membership of 8,000 is considered to be the most well-organized in the Arab world; it counts on the sympathies and indirect of a fairly large segment of Syrian intellectuals. The offensive taken against the Communists encouraged the rightist leaders of Syria who thought the merger would safeguard their interests. With his characteristic liberalism President Nasser not only allowed the rightist elements to function freely in Syria as well as in Egypt, he appointed several of them to Cabinet posts in Damascus and Cairo. When the U.A.R. Government started introducing agrarian and other economic reforms in Syria it began to meet with opposition from these rightist elements. Ultimately the opposition grew into hostility. The agrarian reforms were introduced rather mildly soon after the merger. Some 300,000

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families received cultivable lands from the Government. But no attempt was made to break the huge land estates. When Nasser tried to break up these in 1960, he met with surprisingly strong opposition from many Syrian political leaders whom he had considered to be men of progressive outlook. A political crisis was engineered in Damascus by the big landlords in the spring of 1960 and there was clandestine propaganda that Nasser was exploiting the Syrian economy for the benefit of Egypt. This propaganda demoralized large sections of the Syrian middle-class who were psychologically unprepared to accept the leadership of Egypt in the practical running of government. Nasser sent his Army Commander-in-Chief and most trusted colleague, Field-Marshal Amr, to Damascus to personally supervise the reforms and to gear up the administration. Field-Marshal Amr in his report to Nasser disclosed that a great many of the land deeds transferring land to peasants had been faked, that in practice the land reforms had bogged down because of corruption and hostility of the implementing officers. On the other hand, whatever reforms had been genuinely introduced had created a new spirit among the Syrian peasants. Nasser's industrial development plan for Syria also created problems. He wanted to develop the new industries in the public sector whereas Syrian businessmen and capitalists preferred to have the new industries in the private sector. A real crisis developed last July when the U.A.R. nationalization law was extended to Syria. Syrian banks and insurance companies were nationalized along with similar institutions in Egypt. This was too much for the conservative sections in Syria. Nasser also made certain administrative mistakes. To give only one instance, he allowed Col. Seraj, Syria's Minister of the Interior, to grow into a small tyrant. Seraj was in charge of the police and intelligence apparatus in Syria and in the name of hunting down the Communists he had built for himself the status of a little Nasser in Syria and had become extremely unpopular. When this was found out Seraj was transferred to Cairo, made a Deputy Prime Minister and given no portfolio. He became a bitter opponent of Nasser. The same Seraj had only three years ago refused a bribe of two million dollars from the King of Sa Arabia to assassinate Nasser. Seraj had inform Nasser previously of the plot and the disclos of it was one of the most sensational episodes the Middle-East for many years.

The army *coup d'etat* of October 28, ca as a complete surprise. The fact that it could hatched and executed in total secrecy showed what extent Nasser and other Egyptian Gove ment leaders had been isolated from their ev while Syrian colleagues and friends. The man w was appointed by Field-Marshal Amr as his m trusted assistant was himself one of the pri authors of the plot. When the rebellion broke o and Amr found himself "arrested" in his offi in Damascus he was taken completely by su prise. The *coup d'etat* was led by the army. B the army preferred to act from behind the scen It was able to count upon a large number conservative political leaders, the most promine of whom were Ali Sabri, who was Prime Mini ter before the merger and Mamoun Kuzbari, reputed lawyer, who became the Prime Mini of the new Syrian regime.

Rising in revolt the Army took over its o headquarters, the radio station, the telegra buildings and a few other public offices. In th it was following the traditional pattern of Syri *coup d'etats*. When Nasser received the news Cairo he was more surprised than shocked. had reason to believe that large sections of t Syrian people were against the coup; in fa there were demonstrations in several Syrian tow especially at Aleppo which was a strong pr Nasser centre. In Damascus, however, things we comparatively quiet and the Army had t situation more or less under control. In respon to an S.O.S. from Field-Marshal Amr, Nass sent a contingent of paratroops to Latakia po There was a brief skirmish. It did not, howev take Nasser more than a couple of days to reali that he could not put down the coup with serious military engagements with the Syri army. The loss of Syria was a terrible blow n only to the cause which he held dear, the cau of Arab unity and strength, but also to his pe sonal position and prestige in Egypt and in t Arab world. But in that moment of agony took a decision which was hailed all over t

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world as an act of true and great statesmanship. He refused to be drawn into a military conflict with Syria. With his shrewd political sense Nasser at once realized that an outbreak of war between Egypt and Syria would not only alter the entire political situation in the Middle East, it would also offer the external powers the opportunity they had been seeking for three years to return to the Middle East in a position to intervene effectively in Arab affairs.

The first countries to recognize the new Syrian regime were Turkey, Jordan, Iran and the Kuomintang regime in Formosa. They were followed by Saudi Arabia and some more small nations allied to the Western powers. As soon as the regime was able to take over without bloodshed the Communist countries also rushed with recognition. They were followed by the Western powers. President Nasser decided not to oppose Syria's admission to the Arab League as well as to the United Nations, but he withheld his own recognition of the new regime unless it was approved by the people of Syria in a plebiscite. He took the position that since the merger had the overwhelming support of the Syrian masses, it was the people of Syria who had to register in a free vote their disapproval of the merger.

The leaders of the Syrian *coup d'etat* were officers of the army. But they set up a civilian facade and as already stated were able to get the active support of the majority of the rich landlords and the passive blessing of the Baath Socialist and Nationalist party leaders. The first few days of the new regime were marked with considerable political and ideological confusion. Prime Minister Dr. Kuzbari made no secret of his opposition to the social and economic reforms introduced by President Nasser. But his first statements met with such immediate popular opposition that he reversed his stand and said that the major reforms would be left undisturbed. The nationalization of banks and insurance companies was, however, reversed. On the political front Dr. Kuzbari announced that he was in favour of Arab unity on the basis of Federation of the different Arab States and this was immediately welcomed by the King of Jordan. The Lebanon as well as Iraq maintained correct attitude towards the new regime. It took the Prime Minister of Iraq about eight weeks to sign an economic agreement with Dr. Kuzbari's Government.

Soon, however, differences broke out in the Army junta which had engineered the *coup d'etat*. The junta consisted of six right-wing officers. The first differences broke out over elections. The leaders of the coup had promised free and unfettered elections in the shortest possible time in order to secure popular approval of the separation. In the army a fairly large number of young officers were, however, followers of Nasser. About a week before the elections the leader of the coup, Colonel Haidar Kuzbari, a nephew of the Prime Minister, was put under arrest and the junta was expanded to twenty-eight including all area commanders who wear every colour in the political spectrum. The pro-Nasser elements organized a boycott of the elections and they were supported in radio broadcasts from Cairo. The elections were held in comparative quiet. Each voter was asked to vote on two counts; first for the candidate of his choice for the National Assembly and secondly, to record his approval or disapproval of the separation. Political parties were not permitted to put up candidates but were to stand as independents, but their political labels were known to everybody and the election campaign very soon acquired a party-political content so characteristic of Syrian politics. One of the most enthusiastic supporters of the separation was the Communist leader, Khaled Bagdash, who was, however, refused permission to return to Syria from his exile. But several Communist candidates contested as independents.

The result of the elections was an indirect victory for President Nasser. The exact number of votes cast was not disclosed. But it was conceded that less than fifty per cent of the people of Syria had turned up to vote for the new regime. Thus the majority of the Syrian people stayed away from the polls. The overall results were almost similar to those of the last parliamentary elections in 1954. Left-wing parties and their allies secured about ten per cent of the seats; the National and People's parties about thirty per cent; and the remaining sixty per cent were captured by independents and

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smaller groups. It was neither an outright victory for the Right, nor a victory for the Left. The rightists won a comfortable majority in Parliament which they held in 1954. And yet they became so paralyzed and frightened in the years following 1954 and that in 1957, the Syrian Parliament voted unanimously for its own dissolution and Syria's total merger with Egypt. The political scene became all the more confused. Whoever is elected Prime Minister—the formation of a stable government will not be an easy task —Syria is in for another period of political instability. One considerable gain for President Nasser is that socialist ideas have become so popular in Syria that even reactionary politicians now call themselves socialists. It is unlikely that the major agrarian reforms introduced by Nasser will now be reversed. The industrialization plans taken up during the merger will also have to be carried through because the majority of the Syrian people no longer want to remain captives of a feudal economy.

For the larger cause of Arab unity, Syria's defection from the U.A.R. is an event of sombre significance. But the setback is a challenge, which properly met, will create new forces of unity. These will be stronger forces. The challenge and the response to it will determine the future progress of the Arab people. In the United Arab Republic, President Nasser interpreted the challenge in the light of his philosophy of the revolution. He realized that compromise with the reactionary elements of society had exposed his policies to subversion from within. He decided to carry the revolution further, not to slow it down. The only way to make the revolution stronger was to strengthen its social and economic content. In the two months following Syria's secession a series of measures have been taken in the U.A.R. towards more rapid progress in social and economic reforms. The cost-of-living has been brought down by sweeping government decrees cutting rents, prices and profits. Large segments of the student community have been given exemption from payment of fees; university education, for example, has been made completely free. The policy of nationalization, far from being halted, has been carried forward. People with fabulous big incomes have been deprived of their property and several major business houses have been brought under state control. The public sector in the economy is being expanded swiftly together with huge land reclamation projects, the agrarian reforms are being pushed through reducing ceilings on holdings and bringing the entire community of small farm-owning peasants within the network of a nationwide co-operative system. The administrative machinery is now under a thorough process of reorganization. In his recent speeches and statements the administration has come under heavy criticism by Nasser himself and by members of the U.A.R. Parliament. The bureaucracy in the U.A.R. as in most countries suffers from corruption, inefficiency and a general lack of faith in the revolutionary policies and reforms undertaken by the government. These defects are being amended and the success of the effort will be watched with interest far beyond the frontiers of the U.A.R. The National Union which is the only political party allowed to function in the U.A.R. is being drastically reorganized to weed out elements which do not believe in the objectives of the revolution. A new Constitution is to be written for the U.A.R. which will ensure some fundamental economic rights of the people and pave the way for a secular democracy. President Nasser continues to be firmly against Communism and his conception of democracy differs basically from the system of parliamentary democracy as we know in our country. He is not yet in a mood to allow political parties to function because he thinks that they unite a nation instead of uniting it and he also knows that the experience of the Arab experiment with parliamentary democracy has been totally disappointing. But he has an open mind about the future. He is inclined to believe that a time will come when it will be possible to give more political freedom to the people to organize and express their views. For the present, however, the State must exercise an overall control on people's energies, the country's resources and the total national endeavour, directing them into a constructive process of building a new Arab society.

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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Dr. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.Sc., D.Phil., (Cal.), Ph.D., (Lond.),
Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden, Herts, England

Agriculture in Great Britain enjoys Natures sympathy and man's best attention. The geography and climate of the country is very helpful to agriculture and soil management. Monthly rainfall in the U.K., lies generally between 2″-3¼″ and the mean annual temperature varies between 35-65°F. Hence, total rainfall here substantially exceeds total evaporation and this is very favourable for agricultural development. There are few problems of irrigation, soil conservation, floods or droughts in Great Britain and the soils here do not need any special attention except liming and fertilization and, in some cases, drainage.

Luckily, the Britons like agricultural life very much and have a long tradition of systematic and progressive farming behind them. They have led the world in the uses of fertilizers and various machines in agriculture, and also in plant and animal breeding. Due to over population,—the average distribution of farmland *per capita* being just over half an acre,—the country has, since long been dependent on industry and only one man in 50 here works in the field. Yet, even in the hey-days of his imperial and industrial existence, the Englishman has never neglected his soils or forgotten his farm life. It has, in fact, been observed that whereas a farm worker in France produces enough food in a year to feed five people, a German produces for seven, a Belgian nine, and an American thirteen, a British worker produces enough to feed seventeen people. Or, in other words, something over a million people working on British farms are feeding 20-25 million Britons—half the total population of the country.

Of the one million workers in agriculture and horticulture about 400,000 are farmers and the rest, their relatives and hired hands. Out of this 400,000 farmers again, about one-third farm on their own lands and the two-thirds are tenants. The tenants also are quite happy here as they cannot be turned out of their farms by the landlords so long as they farm efficiently and they can invest most of their resources in farming. Many farmers work with their wives and grown-up children, but many, particularly the big agricultural farms and horticultural ones supplying fruits and vegetables to big cities, engage a lot of hired labour during their busy periods. The average size of a British farm is about 100 acres, but there are some big ones with over 300 or even 1,000 acres. The farmers get fair-price and market for their produces through State help.

Wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, sugar-beet, fodder crops, fruits, vegetables and flowers occupy the major acreage of arable land, and the rest goes to temporary grassland. In fact, grasslands, both temporary and permanent, are very important features of farming in the U.K., as they are not casual or circumstantial like those in other countries, but mostly artificial or man-made and receive all the attention and care the arable plots do. This is because livestock, particularly dairying, is the backbone of British farming, and about 75 per cent of the farmers' income comes from the sale of livestock and milk is given the top priority in food production. A major achievement on the farm front in the U.K., is the great increase in total output of the important items like wheat, barley, sugar-beet, etc., without appreciable enhancement of acreage and a general rise in yield per acre for most of the items. This has, of course, been possible through introduction of new varieties of seeds and efficient use of fertilizers.

Grasslands. The plains and valleys of the West and North are the best grass sections, but reclaimed marshes and river valleys of the South also yield excellent crops of rye-grass and white clover. These evergreen pastures of rye-grass, orchard, timothy and white clover quickly fatten the livestock and increase their weights and output of milk, thereby adding to the health and wealth of the nation. A major part of the country's total acreage has been permanently set apart for grass and as mentioned before, temporary grassland also enjoys a good share of the total acreage. One remarkable agricultural achievement of this century has been the move for the elimination of distinction between temporary and permanent grasslands on the one hand and rotation of crops, ideally with grass,

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(*i.e.*, alternate fallowing of arable plots) on the other. It has been found that, (i) temporary grasslands are more profitable (in yield and the increase in weight of livestocks rendered per acre), (ii) rotation of crops (cereals following beans and/or potatoes) gives greater yields for each of them than does any one of them when repeated all through, and (iii) the rotation can ideally be done with grass as well. This is the principle of "taking the plow round the farm" as introduced by Sir George Stapledon in the 1930's to improve soil fertility. The thick carpet of grass spread over the plains, valleys and hills of England in May, together with the herds of healthy cattle grazing on them is a pleasant feast to the eyes of everybody, and an object of invitation to foreigners.

Milk. A necessity for mothers, children and invalids, milk has always been accorded the top priority, and as a cow is the most efficient converter of coarse fodder into this ideal human food, dairy herds here have been kept in tact and even increased. No milk is imported into U.K. and the supply of liquid milk *per capita* has gradually been on the increase (312.7 lbs, in 1946 and 330.7 in 1956). The significance of all these achievements can be best appreciated if one knows the *per capita* distribution of land and the fact that 20 per cent of the population of U.K. is urban. Farmers here are ever encouraged to produce as much milk as possible and the industry has undergone remarkable mechanisation—automatic recording plants here milch cows and weighs each animals's yield.

Fertilizers. The great utility of nitrogenous fertilizers and superphosphates in agriculture was demonstrated before the world from the Rothamsted Experimental Station of England in the 19th Century and since then investigations of outstanding importance are going on in the different agricultural experimental stations of U.K. regarding efficient and economic uses of fertilizers for plant growth. Various techniques for applying fertilizers (*e.g.*, broadcasting, combined drilling, placement, leaf spraying, etc.) are being carefully examined and improved upon and suitable mechanical devices constructed for the purpose. The pioneering work of Dr. G. W. Cooke and his collaborators in progress for over a decade at the Rothamsted Experimental Station on efficient application of fertilizers perhaps needs special mention in this connection. U.K. is an exporter of nitrogenous fertilizers but she imports all her potash and almost all phosphate. Yet the country had led the world in superphosphate in the last century and still does a lot of export trade on this item. U.K. now stands 4th in the world in crop yield and fertilizer consumption per acre.

Mechanisation. Jethro Tull, an English landlord, had invented the drill in the 18th Century and a Scottish village-mechanic had invented the threshing machine or grain separator. Thus Great Britain has always been in the vanguard in applying machinery to agriculture. But it is only in the last two or three decades, however, that the real revolution in farm mechanisation has occurred. There were about 502,000 tractors in the farms of the U.K. in 1956, more than ten times as many in 1939. Besides different types of tractors, various other machines, like disc harrows, corn-drills, mowers, potato diggers, threshing machines, combine harvesters and milking machines are also used. Great Britain has the largest tractor factory in the world and she runs a good export trade on agricultural machinery. Thirty-eight new implements, designed to help the farmer solve his autumn labour problem, were entered for the Silver Medal of the Royal Agricultural Society's Show in 194[illegible] Prohibitive cost of labour is at the root of this rapid mechanisation,—the wage of an adult labourer in the U.K. is about £8.0.0 per week and this is a very high amount compared to the process of agricultural products. Hence human labour has to be replaced by machines as far as possible, and on like economic grounds horses are also being displaced from farms. The horse population of the U.K. has gone down from 0.[illegible] million to 0.25 million during 1946-56 mainly as a result of this mechanisation.

Livestock. Livestock is an important item of British farming and the country has contributed remarkably towards the development of modern farm livestock. The Englishman, Robert Bakewell, in the 18th Century, had workd out the principles of breeding now followed, and he also "invented" beef cattle and mutton sheep. Of the twenty breeds of cattle, sheep, pigs and

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farm horses of worldwide reputation at least 14 or 15 originated in Britain. The most popular beef cattle Herefored, beef Shorthorn, and Aberdeen Angus, and the popular breeds of dairy cattle Guernsey, Jersey and Ayrhsire, all originated in Great Britain. The Shorthorn has proved its adaptability in most parts of the world and has been in great demand since the war. One Shorthorn bull was sold for £3,780 at the Perth Auction Market in 1948. U.K. is fortunate in consisting of islands, so that serious epidemic diseases of cattle are excluded on most occasions. Rare outbreaks of cattle diseases are promptly stamped out by drastic measures. To improve livestock population, Government requires that all young bulls be inspected by Government Livestock Husbandry Officers and only superior animals licensed, the rest being slaughtered or castrated. Large areas of the country are already free from bovine T.B. and, according to plans in progress, the whole country eventually will be rid of this cattle disease. Cow testing is controlled by Milk Marketing Board, a consumers organisation which is also developing artificial breeding. There were 19 main insemination centres and 20 sub-centres in mid-1948 and over 90,000 cows were inseminated artificially by the Board in 1947-48. British sheep, the aristocrats of the sheep world, declined terribly during the war and in the severe winter of 1946-47. Yet the country had 18 million sheep and lambs in 1948 and 23.6 in 1956. The number of pigs and poultry also had declined very much during the war, but the situation has greatly improved since then. Mild climate and abundant grass here permit many poultry-men to use "poultry folds," a kind of portable hen-house and yard that has space for 25 birds. It is moved each day providing fresh ground for the hens to feed on, fertilizing the soil and keeping down diseases to a very low level. One man can operate the pen, with the help of the wheeled gear. Yorkshire, Berkshire and Hampshire, the British breeds of pigs enjoy international reputation and demand.

External Aids. The farmers receive outside assistance in finance, equipment, farm labour and technical information. Economic aid is rendered by the Government in the form of price stabilization, guaranteed markets and direct grant for farm development. Prices of crops and livestock are fixed sufficiently before time in consultation with the National Farmers' Union and this helps farmers plan their production beforehand.

Research and Technical Help. World's first (and still now the most famous) agricultural experimental station is Rothamsted started in 1843 by J. B. Lawes, who had "invented" superphosphate. At Rothamsted the foundations of modern fertilizer practice were laid, the importance of soil micro-organisms first emphasized, and possibilities of soil sterilization first exploited. Research work on soil science and agronomics are still in progress here, some of them on the oldest continuously-maintained test fields of the world. Research on farm problems are being conducted by various other public and private bodies in the U.K. under the patronage and help of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agricultural Research Council. The work on trace elements requirements of crops at the Long Ashton Research Station (Bristol), on mineral requirements of animals at Rowett Institute (Aberdeen), on meat and milk production at Cambridge, on fruit grafting at East Malling Research Station and on plant genetics at John Innes Horticultural Research Institute (North London) deserve special reference in this connection.

Penicillin, a number-one cure for some cow diseases was isolated at Oxford and the method of weed-destruction by hormones and the epoch-making insecticide gammexane was discovered in the U.K.

Conclusion. Self-sufficiency in food requirements seems to be a far cry for this over-populated country,—she will ever have to import food materials against her industrial produces, and the homeland of Robert Malthus will perhaps ever work as the test field of his "Law of Population." Yet is is quite heartening to find that throughout her glorious history, Britain has always paid her best attention and endeavour to the farm, and village, so far as agricultural life is concerned, has never here been deserted indeed.

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ISRAEL TODAY

The Changing Face of the Kibbutz

By GEORGE A. FLORIS

THE Israeli co-operative farms, the *kibbutzim*, and their members, the *kibbutzniks*, are widely admired and widely misunderstood. Often they are credited with a quasi-religious zeal which is supposed to make them accept their rugged existence, at times they are associated with various extremist political principles.

In actual fact they are nothing but hard-headed, determined realists seeking to make the best of their opportunities. No doubt, kibbutz life was harsh and austere 50 or 40 years ago. However, that was the age of the pioneers. For those, who escaped from Czarist Russia even such an existence was better than the pogroms and the humiliations.

Even in the early 1920's, life in the new co-operative farms and collective settlements was not necessarily worse than that of many poor Jews in the Bronx district of New York, the East End of London, or the dark Jewish streets of Prague, Warsaw and Budapest. Later still, from 1933 onwards, Central and Eastern European Jews with some foresight could appreciate that even the dreariest kibbutz would offer better hope for them than the ghettoes and concentration camps in Hitler's realm.

For the early Jewish settlers in Palestine co-operation was a dire necessity. The desert sand and the rocky land, each square inch of which had to be bought for hard cash at an inflated price, did not afford any scope for American-style individualistic cowboys or Australian buccaneers. The work of several men and women had to be invested to reclaim the soil and for good many years these early settlers had to content themselves with the smallest returns : bare survival.

However, unlike the poverty-stricken Jews in Europe and America, the rugged Jewish pioneers in Israel were among themselves, free of religious and racial discrimination. When the fights broke out—first against the Turks, then against the Arabs, finally against the British—they could resist and counter-attack, unlike their brethren in Czarist Russia or Hitler's Germany.

There came, indeed, a time when the kibbutzniks were objects of envy in the country. This was during the early post-independence years when it was generally felt that the kibbutz membership had an all too high standard of living compared to the urban population. They had their food at their door-step, while the cities had to put up with a strict rationing.

With the rising prosperity of the last decade the privileged position of the kibbutzniks gradually faded. Indeed, many of the more enterprising members left their kibbutz and established themselves in the steadily expanding Israeli free economy. Today only those are in the kibbutz who feel that they could not do so well elsewhere and those who have a particular attachment to that way of life. In other words, it is not a kind of romantic idealism that keeps them there.

Of course, the Israeli prosperity during the recent years was not confined to the cities. The countryside also greatly benefited from it, including the kibbutzim. While the urban areas are now better supplied with food, the kibbutzim have more industrial products these days. The members are better dressed, use more machinery at work, in their sparetime they indulge in photography, cigarettes, drinks and radio. Television is just now being introduced to Israel; the few owners of sets have so far been confined to viewing the broadcasts from the neighbouring Arab countries.

A young woman told this writer : "I am in the kibbutz, because I can't bear the thought of being poor. Here I feel myself the owner of 6,000 dunam of land."

Another young woman put her case : "I am staying here for the sake of my daughter. In the kibbutz she gets a better education than in the most expensive Swiss boarding school."

The kibbutz schools should be good, indeed. The children are under constant expert supervision, yet—at the same time—near to their parents. So, they have the best of two worlds—the boarding school system and the home education.

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However, the motive that makes many kibbutzniks, also individuals with exceptional abilities, stick to the kibbutz and miss the opportunities that wait in the hustle and the bustle of the free economy outside, is security. They do their work and get everything they want—even some spending money—in exchange. They have not to hunt for jobs or chase customers,—unpleasant things they had to do before their arrival in Israel. The work is laid on for them and most of their produce is taken over by the *Tnuva*, the semi-official co-operative distributing organisation.

While the kibbutz provides the coveted security for its members with young and old dependents, it gives constant companionship to the bachelors, the spinsters and the lonely old folks. Admittedly, the wives of the members have to share the work, too. The working hours for men are 9 per day, for the woman 8,—for six day a week. The women enjoy the one hour remission on account of their domestic preoccupations which accompany the fair sex even into the kibbutz. However, even this is not a real hardship: most married women work in Israel outside the kibbutz as well.

Nor is there necessarily a lack of variety in the activities. Many kibbutzim go beyond their original function of land cultivation and operate hotels, rest-homes, bakeries and factories.

The general assumption that life in the countryside brings about large families is not borne out by the kibbutzniks. Admittedly, during the early stages, children were simply out of the question. The conditions were extremely trying in those days and there was neither food, nor time for the offspring. Amorous young boys and girls —even married couples for that matter—had to seek out discreetly the kibbutz secretary and ask him for contraceptive appliances.

However, the situation is different today. Food is abundant, creches, nurseries and near-boarding schools within the kibbutz take off all the burdens connected with children from the shoulders of the parents. Indeed, the gifted youngsters may even go to university at the expense of the kibbutz. Yet, in spite of this—and the government's cash reward to large families —families in the kibbutzim have remained small. There are usually one or two children and four on the outside.

The low-rate of reproduction is partly responsible for the permanent shortage of manpower in the kibbutzim these days. With the capitalist boom in the cities, a Zionist can nowadays settle in Israel without being compelled to join a co-operative farm, and a disgruntled former kibbutznik can also easily earn his livelihood elsewhere. As it happens, often the young boys and girls do not return to the kibbutz after having served their time in the army.

In the existing circumstances the kibbutz managements have often to shelve their erstwhile principles and employ outside labour by paying wages. At times they even use non-organised Arab workers for half of the money that a Jew would receive.

Nevertheless, among themselves the kibbutzniks have retained their time-honoured egalitarian principles. Everybody gets the same type of accommodation, the same food and the same amount of cash, whatever his ability, function or responsibility. Apart from principles, this arrangement has also a practical reason. It is supposed to make the members think not in terms of individual benefits, but in terms of the entire kibbutz community. With everything shared out equally everybody is enabled to look at the common property as at his own, but he is also obliged to remember that he can only improve himself by improving the overall lot of the kibbutz.

What may at times be painful is that the kibbutznik must not have any private property even if it originates outside the kibbutz. If he inherits, either he hands over to the kibbutz his entire inheritance or ceases to be a member. This type of loyalty has been put to test recently, when many kibbutzniks received cash payments from Germany in way of compensation. Members were supposed to give such sums to the kibbutz community, receiving only a small pocket money out of it for their personal use. It is, however, whispered that several kibbutzniks concealed such windfalls and retained the money for themselves.

When, not long ago, the comparatively modest sum of 648 Israeli Pounds—cca 1,300

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rupees—were stolen from a member in a kibbutz, the investigation that followed was two-fold. It sought to discover, who had taken the money, but it inquired also into the circumstances of a kibbutznik having come to such an amount.

All in all, the kibbutznik, just like anybody else, has to take the rough with the smooth: in exchange for a congenial home and material security he has to trade in much of his individual sovereignty.

Would the kibbutz form of existence help to solve agricultural and food problems in India, —as some think it might? It is more than doubtful. The kibbutz is such a peculiarly Israeli institution—born out of specific circumstances and a particular national mentality—that it could h be transplanted anywhere. Even the Indian who had emigrated to Israeli usually chose *moshav*—village of independent farmers w only the selling of the crop and the use of machinery is done on a community ba rather than the kibbutz as their type of ment.

Nevertheless, some of the experiences ga in collective farming by the kibbutzim might day be utilised in India for setting up family operatives, particularly in those regions w the ties of the ancient "joint families" are strong.

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NOTES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN PHYSICS

By Prof. VISVAPRIYA MUKHERJI

Introduction

Before I actually proceed with the present discussion, I hope that the reader will not be repelled by the very first word: "philosophy," which is often considered, by not a few, as nothing but some mystic and scholastic speculations on all that is unreal and useless. But, philosophy, to be very precise, ultimately aims at discovering and coordinating the most general causes and principles of things and events around us. Each science is discovering and generalizing its own laws, theories or principles. But man cannot remain content with an unsatisfactory state of knowledge, in which groups of general principles belonging to different sciences, are left unrelated and uncoordinated. He must try to find an ultimate unity between all the apparently unrelated groups of general principles. A great scientist Max Planck, once put this idea in a simple way: "As long as natural philosophy exists, its ultimate highest aim will be the correlation of various physical observations into a unified system and where possible into a single formula." This basic attitude of aiming at such an ultim generalization is characteristic of philosop

Now, once the purpose of philosophy been defined, it is necessary to exp firstly, what "modern physics" is, secondly, why has "philosophy" been as ciated with "modern physics" in prefere to biological sciences and other phys sciences, such as chemistry, etc.

Let us consider the first question "Modern physics" is definable as the modern and finished form that the scie of physics was given by the genius Newton about three centuries ago. Be Galileo and the great Newton, 'physics' been no "science" at all, being a medley uncritical Aristotelian and Roman Cath dogmas.

Newton's well-known **laws of mo** and **gravitation**, already established by 1 brilliantly explained and interpreted kinds of **motion**, whether heavenly or ter trial. Since that historic moment New nian dynamics or science of motion has come the basic foundation of the superstructure of the most advanced refined physics.

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As regards the reason of preferentially sociating philosophy with physics it can be stifiably said that: Since physics deals th matter, energy and their various inter-tions, which are, **ultimately, at the very oots** of all natural diversities, whether hysical or biological—, it is quite reason-ble to assume that advances in physics are regnant with great philosophical implica-ions. And, actually, no other scientific dvances have given rise to so much philo-ophical discussions, rational or irrational, s new advances in physics.

§ 1. Newtonian Philosophy

Newton's great achievement lies in the fact that he **broke away definitely from** the old naive **(Aristotelian)** commonsense view that: force was needed to maintain motion, i.e., motion would **cease**, if **force is with-drawn.** He postulated that uniform motion in a straight line does not need any continu-ously acting force, i.e., force **cannot** be any cause of a uniform rectilinear motion. Force is necessary only to change the direction of, or to accelerate, or to slow down a body in uniform motion. **Even without a force motion can be maintained.** Thus Newton establish-ed once and for all, the **dynamic** view of the world instead of the **static** one (referred to above) that had satisfied the Aristotelians. In Newton's work we find the first indica-tion of mechanistic philosophy, i.e., a stand-point which holds that all natural pheno-mena admit of mechanical explanations. He wrote:—"Man's mind is localized in brain, to which motions are conveyed from exter-nal objects by the nerves and from which motions are transmitted to the muscles." But Newton, while adhering to a strictly mecha-nistic attitude in his scientific researches, attributed the "very first cause" of setting the world in motion, to something "certainly not mechanical" i.e., **divine.** This evasive attitude of ascribing the unknown (i.e., the hitherto unexplained) to something **mystic,** is chraacteristic of all periods of scientific inquiry, the reason of such evasions being rooted generally in the structure of the con-temporary society itself. A positive contri-bution of Newtonian philosophy is its much-discussed **determinism.**

To expplain it in a simple manner:—

If one exactly knows the position and speed of a moving body at any moment, he can accurately predict its position and speed at a future moment. That is, the future course of a moving system can be accurately **determined without any uncertainty.** This deterministic philosophy created among the physicists and mathematicians following Newton, a great confidence and optimism re-garding the ability of science to predict the future of all natural events if only a few data were available. At the same time this philosophy reassured scientists, and non-scientists alike that the universe was regu-lated by simple inviolable laws. An import-ant thing to be pointed out is that in New-tonian dynamics **no** individual body or sys-tem can have an isolated fate, i.e., an indivi-dual system coming in proximity to others either collides or interacts with them in some way thus disturbing the initial condi-tions of all the individuals.

Another point remians to be discussed in this connexion. The ancient Greek atomic hypothesis of matter (i.e., discon-tinuous, or 'grained' nature of matter) remain-ed buried and forgotten till the 17th century, when the emergent Newtonian dynamics of moving rigid bodies made it easier to picture the universe as consisting in the motions of **small point-like particles, than** impulsions acting in an all-pervading **subtle homogeneous** and **continuous** (i.e., "ungrained") matter filling the universe. The second view had been prevalent. But just before Newton, the ancient atomic hypothesis was resurrected, and the **atoms** were imagined as massive particles moving in the vacuum. Newton converted this hypothesis into a scientific theory. As a result of a combination of this atomic theory and the Newtonian determinism, the latter was firmly esablished as an essential feature of matter, in other words, **even the tiniest material particle was considered to be guided by strict determinism. No uncer-tainty or chance would cloud the knowledge of a particle's future.**

§ 2. Mechanistic View of Nature

The Newtonian ideas were to contribute to the emergence of a bold **materialism of**

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the well-known French Encyclopaedists of the 18th century, among whom there were great mathematicians. Materialism asserted that: matter, composed of solid impenetrable Newtonian particles, **was the sole reality of the universe; thought and consciousness** were by products of matter. The atomic concept of matter with its associated determinism made the new materialism profound. Lavoisier's epochal discovery of the **conservation** or indestructibility **of matter** added a new criterion for characterizing matter. Matter, with the important attribute, indestructibility or **permanence in time**, was considered as the sole reality, and the forces between them as their only mode of action. This philosophical view that—**all** physical phenomena are ultimately mechanical in their nature, and all observable processes may be analyzed into elementary attractions and repulsions between small material particles obeying dynamical laws—is known as the **mechanistic theory** of the universe. Of course, there was no lack of opponents to such a trend of thought even towards the end of the last century. Max, the philosopher, tried to escape from the materialistic determinism of the atomic theory and considered this theory as merely transitory. To him, physical entities were mental constructs or complexes of sensations. "A body is a relatively constant sum of touch and sight-sensations." This is an example of idealism which experienced at least a temporary debacle in the face of new experimental facts. The atomic concept of matter was made still more invincible as a result of the discovery of **electrons** by Thomson at the end of the last century.

§ 3. Conservation Principles

An important conceptual requirement of science is the **Conservation of Energy**, which was established in only mid-19th century. In course of past researches mechanical motion of matter had been thoroughly dealt with. Just before the beginning of the last century a simple relation between mechanical motion and heat was set up :—Heat is only a kind of motion; when heat disappears, it reappears as motion and **vice versa**. To generalize :—The total energy of the universe is constant, altho conversions may take place between diff ent kinds of energy. Another impor conceptual requirement is the alre mentioned conservation of Matter. Tha matter may change characters, but the to quantity of matter in the universe rema constant. These two conservation pr ciples were further generalized into a sin conservation principle by Einstein in 19 when he introduced a new conception th matter could disappear, being transform into energy, energy too could be transfor ed into matter. (As was later confirmed a series of nuclear physical experiment Thus the hard and fast antithesis betwe "matter" and "energy" has collapsed a these two basic physical realities appear be different manifestations of a still mo fundamental reality.

§.4. Emergence of Statistical Point of Vie

In the sixties of the last centu Maxwell applied the idea of equivalence o heat and mechanical motion to explain th properties of gases. The basic assumptio were: Gases consist of small **random** moving particles or molecules, and the he content of the gases was the molecul motion. In this theory it is impossible determine the motion of each **individu** molecule, so one is to study the laws go erning the motion of **large assemblies** particles, by introducing certain ne quantities, (e.g., temperature) which ca not be defined in terms of the dynamics of small number of bodies. Thus the nece sity of a **statistical treatment** of larg **assemblies** of particles was felt in deali with their **random motions.** The very ex pression **'random'** motion, signifies that th strict mechanistic **determinism** of dynam cal laws has already given way to **chan** or **uncertainty factors.** Determinism re ceived a great shock when the mode o **radioactive** disintegration was discover It would be unreasonable to suppose (se § 1.) that, of a number of atoms in clos proximity, each could have an isolate fate. But in the case of radioactivity, ea atom violently explodes after it has existe for a definite length of time, leaving

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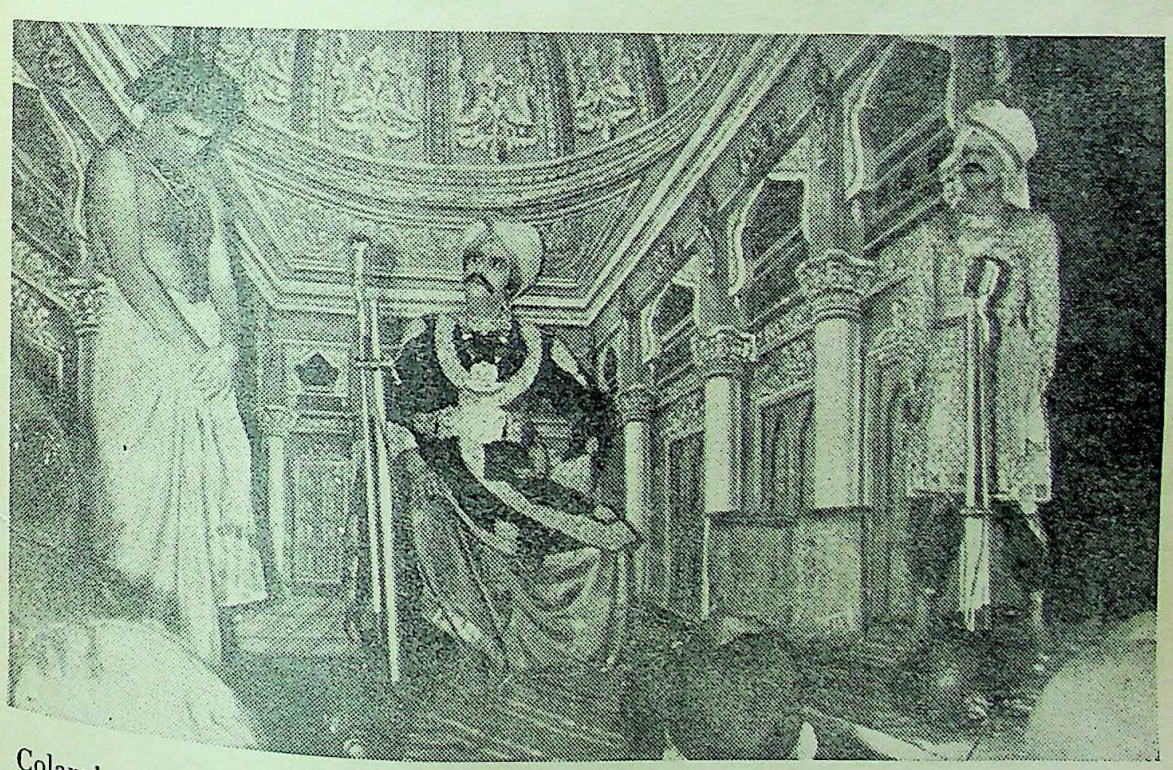
Sri M. Patanjali, Chairman, Central Sanskrit Board, blessing the Prachya Vani Troupe of Sanskrit Pali players at Madras "Satyagriha"



Colaraj ordering the plucking out of the eyes of Kuresa, one of the most outstanding disciples of Ramanuja, a scene from the Sanskrit Drama, "Vimala-Yatindram"

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Indian soldiers marched into Goa to put an end to the tyrannical rule of the Portuguese Goans

Vast sandy areas turned into fertile land in the Rajasthan Canal area

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neighbour undisturbed which in its turn succumbs to the same fate after an equal length of time. The life of the radioactive atoms appears to be regulated only by **chance** or **probability**. This is no final argument against the mechanistic view; there may be dynamical laws underlying such phenomena, but an assembly, such as the disintegrating atoms, do not yet reveal the exact nature of those hidden laws. With our present state of knowledge of such physical processes, we can describe the regularities in behaviour of the assembly **more precisely and simply** in terms of **probabilities**. The theory of probability enables us to give an exact specification of the inexact knowledge.

§ 5. Quantum Mechanics and Uncertainty Principle

The mechanistic concept (the so-called "classical mechanics") received a harder blow from the new "quantum mechanics," introduced by Heisenberg and Schroedinger in the early 1920's, in extension of Planck's well-known quantum theory. We presume, of course, that the readers know the basic postulate of Planck's quantum theory:— Energy is given out and taken in, not continuously like waves, but in "packets." New crises in physics arose because classical mechanics seriously failed to explain processes on the atomic scale and to interpret certain behaviours of light, which indicated that light was composed of small "packets" or **particles**, "photons," unlike certain other behaviours indicating wave properties of light. Experiments showed that this anomalous behaviour was not peculiar to light, but was quite general. All material particles, e.g., electrons, have also wave-like properties, which can be experimentally exhibited. We have here a very striking and general example of the breakdown of classical mechanics, because, classically, a **particle**, which is a discontinuous thing, cannot be associated, in any way, with **waves**, which are continuous. Natural phenomena on the atomic scale are classed as small-scale or "microscopic," and phenomena explained by classical laws of motion as big-scale or "macroscopic." In order to bring order into the chaos in the realm of microscopic phenomena involving small things, photons, electrons, etc., a group of physicists came forward with a new mathematical formalism, "quantum mechanics," in which a hard and fast contrast between particles and waves was eliminated. And actually quantum mechanics has proved to be a powerful theoretical instrument in the hands of modern physicists. But in its very **formalism** based on the **wave-particle duality**, there was the seed of Heisenberg's "uncertainty principle" relating the position and speed of particles. The principle signifies that the more exactly the position of a moving particle is specified, the less exactly can its speed be specified, i.e., the more exactly we can locate where it is now, the less exactly can we say where it will go next. This represents obviously a breakdown of classical determinism. This "uncertainty principle" has created many philosophical speculations beyond the technical field. Many scientists said that the uncertainty principle implies a fundamental and inescapable limit to the accuracy with which we can measure simultaneously the position and speed, i.e., **there is a limit to the fineness of our powers of observation,— a limit which is inherent in the nature of things and can never be surpassed by improved technique** or **increased skill on the part of the experimenter.** If this be so, then it follows that we can never know any thing more about physical systems than we already know! With the present form of quantum physics, we should have reached the limits of all possible knowledge! Along with the "uncertainty principle," goes the "complementarity principle," in which Bohr says that it is impossible (!) to attain the knowledge of a more fundamental reality which will explain why things in some phenomena move like waves and in other phenomena like particles. These two "principles" have their roots in the **formalism based on the wave-particle duality.** The interesting point to be noted is that, the **formalism itself has been upheld as an objective feature of the physical world.**

An important feature underlying the formalism is that the state of a physical system can only be expressed in terms of probabilities, i.e., we cannot deduce what

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its exact future state will be, but can only make a statement about the probabilities of its future state, as if probabilities are actually the real physical entities—the elemental stuff of the physical world. Thus surreptitiously classical **determinism** has been undermined and it has been interpreted to mean that a **fundamental indeterminism exists in nature.** But Einstein commented: "I could not respect a God who spent His whole time in **games of chance.**" Einstein insisted that if we cannot express exactly the state of physical systems, this is due to inadequacy of our present knowledge **and not to an inherent indeterminism** in the physical universe.

The problem of wave-particle duality has not yet shown any sign of a satisfactory solution. This uneasy compromise still persists. Attempts are always being made to reinterpret or reformulate the probabilistic quantum mechanics which has explained and still explains successfully varieties of microscopic phenomena. But a deeper knowledge of reality is yet to be attained.

§.6. Matter and Antimatter

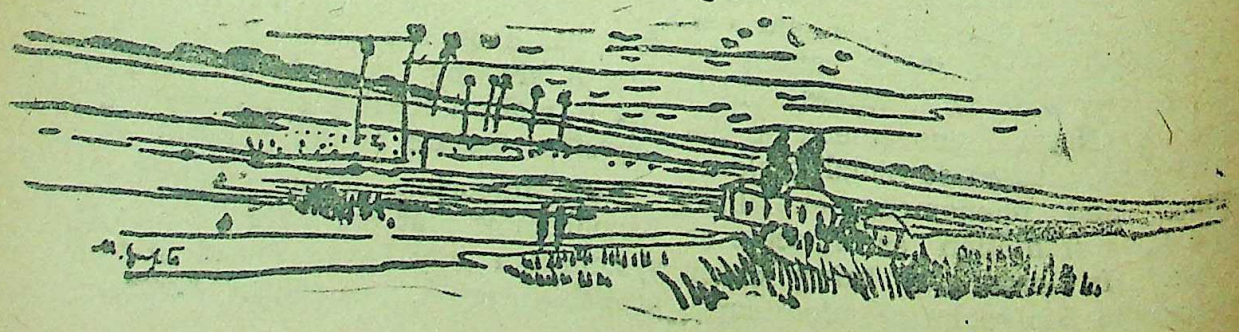
A new speculation has arisen on the nature of matter. Ordinary matter has been resolved into a number of constituent elementary particles. Nuclear physics has discovered a large variety of elementary particles. In consequence of such discoveries and theoretical analyses a new conceptual requirement has definitely emerged. This requires that each kind of elementary particle must have an **oppositely** charged counterpart and if an elementary particle combines with its so-called **antiparticle**, they destroy each other releasing energy. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that one can have, just like ordinary matter, **antimatter** built out of these elementary antiparticles. Speculations are made as whether antimatter can exist somewhere the universe; but the hypothetical an matter cannot exist in the neighbourhood ordinary matter, because they would th destroy each other. Thus a new physical r ality has been hypothetized.

§ 7. Parity Principle

The principle of parity was until r cently believed to be a general principle nature. The principle is:—Any proce which occurs in nature can also occur as is seen reflected in a mirror. Thus natu is mirror-symmetric. The mirror image any object is also a possible object in natu But recently the results of a few nucle physical experiments have forced upon us change in this fundamental principle. Th the mirror image of a process in natu sometimes may not be a possible proce (mirror asymmetry). But Landau h created a "Combined Parity Principle which postulates that the mirror-symmetry of nature would be re-established if th 'matter' taking part in a mirror-asymmetri process is replaced by 'antimatter.' Thus **higher symmetry** may be attained by com bining the matter-antimatter asymmetry and the mirror asymmetry.

Conclusion

From the present review, I hope, th readers may form some idea regarding th evolution of new philosophical frames o thought along with new advances in physic But the time is not yet ripe for setting up unified philosophy capable of discoverin an ultimate unity among the apparent incompatible physical processes. Therefor further comments are unnecessary at th stage.



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INDIAN MINORITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

II

Malaya and Singapore

Distance has made Indo-Malayan ties more attenuated than the Indo-Burmese. India and Malaya (the Straits Settlements), however, constituted one administrative unit till 1867 when they were separated and the latter was transferred to the Colonial Office. (British authority over the whole of Malaya was not yet established). Indian immigration to Malaya was regulated after 1867 by agreements between the two governments.

As of June, 1951, Indians in Malaya numbered 744,000 or 13.4 per cent of the total Malayan population. More than 85 per cent of the immigrants were Tamils from Madras, Telugus from Andhra, Malayalees from Kerala, Hindus and Sikhs from the Punjab and a sprinkling of Bengalees accounted for the rest. More or less 466,000 of these immigrants lived in the Federated Malaya States[23], about 130,000 in the unfederated Malaya States[24] and about 150,000 in the Straits Settlements[25]. Indians were mainly concentrated in the states of Perak and Selangor (both in the Federated Malaya States) where they formed 20 and 28 per cent, respectively, of the total population. About 25 per cent of Malayan Indians in 1941 were Malaya-born. The proportion of women to men was 1:2.

Indian immigrants would usually return to India after being 7/8 years in Malaya. Some would return to Malaya after a short stay at home. Some would not. Migrants to Malaya would generally leave their families in India. During the decade 1931-1941, Malayan plantation managers encouraged the migrants to take their families to Malaya, without much result, however. During the great trade slump in the late twenties and early thirties, surplus Indian labourers in Malaya were shipped back to India. Those were lean years for India too. Repatriated labour created a problem, which almost defied a satisfactory solution. Nationalist India raised its voice of protest against the policy of the Government of Malaya and demanded that unless Indians were accorded complete equality with other communities in Malaya, recruitment of Indian labourers for Malaya should be stopped. The Government of India yielded and banned the export of unskilled Indian labour in 1938.

Indian immigrants, generally speaking, have not struck roots in the Malayan soil. The discriminatory policy of the Government of Malaya is not a little responsible for this rootlessness. For one thing, Britain's pro-Malayan policy "ruled out the possibility of granting security of tenure to Indians wishing to settle on the land and this was believed to be one of the principal reasons why all pre-war attempts to create Indian agricultural colonies in Malaya were unsuccessful."[26] The strong sentiment binding overseas Indians to the homeland, sufferings during Japanese occupation, birth and growth of militant Malayan nationalism and the steadily rising international prestige of free India have also influenced the migrants' attitude to Malaya.

The Japanese occupation of Malaya in early 1942 marked the beginning of a crisis in the life of the Indian community there. Cut off from export markets, Malayan rubber industry went into eclipse. Rubber tappers, who formed the bulk of Malaya's Indian population, were victims, first of unemployment and shortage, and later,

23. Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan.
24. Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore.
25. Singapore, Province Wellesley and Malacca (including Naning).
26. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

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of forced labour for the Japanese occupation authorities. In 1943, thousands of Indian labourers were employed on the construction of the notorious "Death Railway" which Japan sought to build to link up the Thai capital, Bangkok, with Lower Burma Via Kanburi. Of the 73,502 labourers recruited in Malaya for the "Death Railway," 62,477, *i.e.*, 85 per cent of the total were South Indians and an estimated 20,825 of them died of overwork and inhumane treatment.[27]

Many Malayan Indians were eager to return to India after the war. 18,000 were repatriated in 1946 with financial aid from the Government of India.[28] The 1947 Malaya census returns showed a sharp fall in the number of Indians. Whereas in 1931 they numbered more than 700,000, *i.e.*, 13.4 per cent of the total Malayan population, in 1947 they numbered less than 600,000, *i.e.*, not more than 10 per cent of the total population of Malaya. The fall in the number of Indians is mainly attributable to the policies of the Governments of India and Malaya. The former were reluctant to permit the export of unskilled labour from India. The latter were opposed to unrestricted immigration—Indian and otherwise—into Malaya. Indian public opinion, too, raised its voice of protest against unrestricted emigration from India. 7,274 Indians applied for permits to enter the colony in 1948. About-one-half, *i.e.*, 3,555 applications were rejected on the ground that the applicants would not prove beneficial to the economic life of Malaya.[29] In all, 7,128 Indian and other foreigners were granted entry permits in 1948, and only 1,427 in 1949. No foreigner without sufficient proof of "an assured livelihood" in Malaya has been permitted to enter that country after May, 1949.

Malaya was placed under Emergency Regulations in July, 1948, after the outbreak of the Communist revolt earlier in the year. Very few Indians joined the revolt. Some Indians were, however, interned under the provisions of the Emergency Regulations. But they were all permitted to return to India after a time. Upto February 15, 1949, 56 Indian suspects had come back to India of their own accord. No Indi was forced out of Malaya under the Emerge Regulations. 30 Indian bankers, arrested on J 30, 1949, for allegedly having given "protecti money" to the Communist terrorists, were p mitted to return to India on condition that th would not re-enter Malaya so long as the emer gency lasted.[30] Another batch of 20 Indians w permitted to leave Malaya voluntarily in Nove ber, 1952.

The pre-war Federal Council of the Federa Malaya States, the Straits Settlements Legislati Council and the Johore State Council had each nominated, unofficial Indian member. A f newspapers in various Indian languages we published in Malaya before the war. But Mala had no central Indian organisation for ma years. There were, however, quite a f communal, sectional, professional and other Indi organisations. At last, the C.I.A.M. (Centr Indian Association of Malaya) was founded 1936. The Association started an agitation f better condition for Indian labour and provisio for education and political rights for Mal Indians. The activities of the C.I.A.M. made a *bete noire* with the local English communi and also with a small section of Malay Indian Successful "in awakening an interst in politi and in the poor of the Community on the pa of some prosperous Indians," the Associati sowed the seeds of discord and dissension amo Malay Indians.[31] The C.I.A.M. became involve in course of time in the politics of the Indi National Congress and in the Communist-inspire labour strikes in Malayan plantations. It th lost caste in the estimate of the government a the capitalists and went out of existence almo immediately after Japan's declaration of wa against the Western Allies. After the occupati of Malaya by Japan, the conqueror placed Mess N. Raghavan and S. C. Goho, President a Vice-President, respectively, of the C.I.A.M., charge of organising the Indian Independenc League (I.I.L.) in Malaya.

After the fall of Singapore (February 1 1942), Japan sponsored a central committee

27. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
28. *The Straits Times*, Singapore, January 17, 1947.
29. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
30. *Ibid*, p. 239.
31. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

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launch and lead the struggle for the liberation of India. Messrs Raghavan and Goho discovered before long that Japan's motive was far from altruistic and sharp differences of opinion arose between them on the one hand and Japan on the other. Mr. Raghavan was also involved at the same time in a financial scandal over the use of the League funds. It was only after the arrival of the magnetic Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose in Singapore in July, 1943, that the movement got under way. He injected new life into it. He assumed supreme command of the I.N.A. (Indian National Army) within four days of his arrival in Singapore. He founded the Azad Hind Provisional Government three months later. Three Divisions of the I.N.A. were raised in Malaya. One of these Divisions was sent to Burma to fight in the Manipur offensive. A large part of another Malayan Division of the I.N.A. fought in the later stages of the Burma campaign. Some foreign students of contemporary South-East Asian history belittle, quite erroneously, we believe,—The I.N.A. and the Azad Hind Provisional Government as Japanese puppets.[32] Facts that come to light during the historic trial of the I.N.A. prisoners in the Red Fort (Delhi) knock the bottom out of their contention.

Malaya recruits for the I.N.A. came mostly from the ranks of unemployed Indian estate labourers. Besides the headquarters at Singapore, the I.I.L. had eight branches in Malaya in June, 1945. Some Indians were opposed to the Azad Hind movement in Malaya and there was at least one camp for the dissidents called an Agricultural Settlement. A few Indians are known to have joined the Chinese-led anti-Japanese guerillas. The Azad Hind movement profoundly affected Malaya Indians. Netajee's policy and activities awakened their political consciousness and inspired them with the ideal of nationalism. They felt for the first time "that they were playing a dramatic role in the history of their motherland." Malaya Indians are also indebted to the Azad Hind movement for their knowledge of the use of fire-arms, political organisation and some technique of collective bargaining.

The British army re-occupied Malaya in 1945. One of the first acts of British Military Administration was to blow up the cenotaph of the I.N.A. martyrs at Singapore. The Administration, however, did not object to the placing of flowers on the site by local Indians on Azad Hind anniversaries. 54 Indians were arrested for alleged collaboration with the enemy. India sent 5 lawyers for their defence. The accused were all released after a few months in jail. The release may be due to lack of sufficient and satisfactory evidence against them. The anti-Indian attitude of the authorities very soon manifested itself in another way. Malaya Indians were not represented in the same way as the other communities on the various advisory boards set up by the civil administration after it had taken charge of the administration from the military authorities in April, 1946.

Communalism in contemporary Indian political life had its repercussions on Malaya Indians. Communalism in the context of Indian politics, the reader will please note, "was not the name of a religious conflict carried on under a political label or of an economic conflict under the garb of religion. It was the result simply of confused thinking, common to many classes, which those who were playing for political power distorted and exploited for their own ends."[33] Vivisection of India is the fruit of the upas tree, which sprouted from communalism. That it was sedulously fostered by British imperialism admits of no doubt. To quote Tagore, "In India the misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily brought home to us not only in the callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people, but in an even unhappier form in the way the people have been divided among themselves. The pity of it is that the blame is laid at the door of our own society. So frightful a culmination of the history of our people would never have been

32. Cf. "However, even after Bose re-established his headquarters at Singapore following the failure of his 'March on Delhi,' he retained the facade of an independent command . . ." Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

33. Pyarelal—*Mahatma Gandhi : Last phase*, Vol. I, p. 72.

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possible but for the encouragement it has received from secret influences emanating from high places.[34] Singapore and Penang witnessed ugly Hindu-Muslim skirmishes and Malaya had her first taste of communal riots. The Malayan C.I.D. and many Indians were of opinion that these riots were not really communal in nature.[35] It cannot be denied, however, that the inter-communal harmony among Malaya Indians in pre-war days is totally absent today. Indian Hindus, Muslims and Christians have founded separate communal organisations as the spokesmen and protectors of their respective communal interests.

Indian trade union movement in post-war Malaya came more and more under Communist control. The Malayan Communist Party, it should be noted, is mainly Chinese in composition. The firm hold of the Communist Party on Malaya Indian labour coupled with the offer of citizenship to Malaya Indians aggravated internal dissensions and reduced the social and political importance of the community. A meeting of Indians at Ipoh in September, 1945, discussed eight proposals of the Malayan Communist Party on the future administrative set-up of Malaya. The Communist-inspired Indian Democratic League was founded in Singapore in the following month. Not a few believe that the Malayan Communist Party helped the Indian Democratic League with money and arms. Mahadev Singh later on founded the Indian Communist Party in Singapore. The party publicised its policy and activities through its organ, *the Voice of the People*. The Party, believed to be affiliated to the Chinese Communist Party through the Malayan Communist Party, tried hard to rally under its banner the ex-members of the I. I. L. and some Sikhs living in Kelantan (Malaya) and Southern Thailand, joined it. Nehru's visit to Malaya in 1946 encouraged the Malaya Indians to build an organisation on the lines of the Indian National Congress and the Malaya India Congress (M. I. C.) was ushered into existence in August, 1946. To counter-act the steadily growing Communist influence on the Malaya In was one of its objectives. It also sought to all Indians for a united stand on the Ma citizenship proposals which were a burning throughout 1946. A large majority of the bers of the M. I. C. were ex-members of I which had collapsed with the discomfiture Japan in 1945. Nehru told the Malaya In point-blank that they must not claim both In and Malayan nationality at one and the time. They could have one only if they reno all claims to the other. He, however, as them that free India would safeguard all mate interests of her children overseas and also do her best to liberate the peoples in age all over the world. He advised Indians to in harmonious co-operation with all section Malaya's plural society.

The inaugural session of the M.I.C. attended by 600 delegates. It expressed symp with Indians at home, condemned the anti-In policy of the Union of South Africa (now Republic of South Africa) and placed on re its approval of the national struggles in Bu Vietnam and Indonesia. The Government of In were requested not to withdraw the ban on export of unskilled Indian labour "until co tions should become settled in Malaya and support the Malaya Indians' right of free spe free assembly and free organisation. Resolut for the propagation of Hindi and for nati education in Malaya were adopted. Another solution supported the Malaya Indians' right their due share in Malaya's national wealth."

The second session of the M.I.C. six months later, decided to join the Co for Joint Action (C. J. A.) "for the purpose boycotting the new Federal Constitution". C. J. A.'s proposal supported by the M. I. C. visaged a democratic and self-governing Ma that included Singapore and in which univ suffrage would be enjoyed by all Chinese Indians who had lived in the country for years or more and who would pledge their ex sive loyalty to Malaya."[36] Many Indians felt happy over the second condition noted ab

34. Tagore—*The Crisis in Civilization*, pp. 12-13.

35. *The Straits Times*, June 23, 1949.

36. Virginia Thompson and Richard Ad *op. cit.*, p. 103.

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viz., the pledging of an *exclusive loyalty to Malaya*. The M. I. C., by joining the C. J. A., alienated a large number of its members and sympathisers. Far more serious was that the M. I. C. later found itself aligned with leftist groups which were more and more dominated by the Malayan Communist Party.

Indian Muslims in Malaya too bestirred themselves and organised the Pan-Malayan Muslim Indian League (P. M. M. I. L.) to safeguard their communal interests. The League held its first session at Penang in January, 1947. But it went into political eclipse before long. Another Muslim organisation called the Malayan Pakistani League was founded later on in 1953. The M. I. C. and the P. M. M. I. L. were both opposed to the Malayan Federation. But many Indians differed with them and two Indian members[37] worked on the Cheeseman Committee.[38]

The nominated Federal Legislative Council of Malaya which met in 1948 had five seats reserved for Indians. Some of the Indian members made brilliant contributions to the Council's deliberations. The growing Communist influence on Malaya Indian trade unions and the C. J. A. made many Indians nervous and they decided to co-operate with the government. Important elements within the M. I. C. itself began to oppose its increasingly radical trends. The M. I. C., it is evident, failed to give an effective lead to Malaya Indians.

After the outbreak of the Communist revolt, the M. I. C. decided in July, 1948, to suspend all political activities till the return of normalcy. It condemned Communist terrorism in no uncertain terms and called upon all Indians to refrain from lawlessness and subversive activities. The directive of the M. I. C., the apathy of Malaya Indians themselves and their over-cautious attitude had a restraining effect on the latter. They did not take an active part in Malaya's Communist revolt.

The M. I. C's inherent dynamism came to the fore within a year and from 1949 it again became politically active. The renewed political activities of the M. I. C., created dissensions within the Indian community. In March, 1949, the M.I.C. and the newly-founded Malayan Chinese Association (M. C. A.) jointly demanded a revision of the citizenship clauses of the proposed federal constitution. The clauses were modified in September, 1952, and the second generation of Indians in Malaya (excluding Singapore) about 30 per cent of all Indians living there—"became eligible for a citizenship that was now to be tantamount to Malayan nationality."[39] According to Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha, 200,000 Malaya Indians had acquired Malayan citizenship by the end of 1952.

Attempts were made in 1951 to unify the three Indian organisations in Malaya (including Singapore).[40] Like similar attempts made earlier, they ended in a failure. The action of the M. I. C., in joining the Independence of Malaya Party (I. M. P.) in September, 1951, was a direct cause of the failure of the unity move. Mr. P. Ramani, an Indian labour leader, was offered a Ministership in the Malayan Cabinet in 1951, which he refused to accept for personal reasons. The Cabinet, re-constituted in 1953, had no Indian minister. Five out of six of the Indian Legislative Councillors resigned in protest against the exclusion of Indians. Their joint letter of resignation said, *inter alia*, "This attitude of the government is bound to create the feeling here and elsewhere that the Indian community is no longer regarded by the government as of any political significance, now or in future. We have no alternative but to step back to the side of our countrymen and to share with them the burden of their economic and political unimportance". Many Malayans regarded the resignation as an instance of "overriding communal loyalty" on the part of at least two of the Councillors who had been nominated to represent the inter-racial Malayan trade unions. The British authorities of Malaya sought to appease the Indian community in late January, 1954, when they appointed an Indian to a newly-created ministerial post in the Federation of Malaya Government. A month earlier, in December, 1953, R. Jumabhoy, an Indian member of

37. Messrs Doraisamy Ayer and C. P. Menon.
38. Appointed late in 1946, the Cheeseman Committee heard and evaluated all criticisms of the new constitutional proposals for Malaya.
39. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
40. The Malayan Indian Congress, The Malayan Indian Association and The Federation of Indian Organisations.

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the Legislative Council of Singapore, characterised Singapore's new immigration laws as anti-Indian and demanded equal rights for all communities after the introduction of self-government in Singapore.

Chettyars from South India and Sikhs from the Punjab are Malaya's principal money-lenders. Singapore alone had about fifty Chettyar-owned firms in 1940 with a total capital investment estimated at 30-40 million Straits Dollars (1 Straits Dollars = 1.56 Indian rupees). There were besides thousands of Sikh money-lenders operating in Malaya and Singapore. Most of the Chettyars fled to India during the war. Their agents, left behind, took care of their interests during their absence. Settlement of the transactions made on their behalf, while they were away, was the principal pre-occupation of the Chettyars after the war. When money was scarce in 1942-43, Chettyars' agents had forced debtors, mostly Malayans, to pay off. Defaulters had been dragged to the court. Indian-Malayan relations had become considerably embittered in consequence. The Chettyars on their return contended that unable to meet the Azad Hind Government demands for contribution, their agents had been forced by circumstances to press the debtors for re-payment. After the war, the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya declared that no Indian Community in Malaya had been so severely hit by the war as the Chettyars.[41] We are not in a position to vouchsafe the truth or otherwise of this assertion. It may, however, be noted that even in 1946, 175,000 acres of rubber estates and property worth 200,000,000 Straits dollars in Malaya were owned by the Chettyars. Malaya and Singapore have Chettyar money-lenders even today. But the great days of money-lending are gone for ever.

Indian traders in Malaya and Singapore were victims of the discriminatory policy of the Government of Malaya in the early post-war years. The increased Indo-Malayan and Singapore-Indian trade since 1949 has, however, countered the policy to a great extent. The Government of Malaya complained in 1952, that Indians in large numbers were leaving the country for fear of conscription. The Secretary to Penang Indian Chamber of Commerce rejo in course of a statement "more Indian fi have been established in Malaya in recent ye and local traders are likely to adopt Malaya their second home."[42] In fact, the growing p perity of Malaya in recent years has been roo Indian merchants more firmly in that country.

Malaya employed in all about 375,000 Indi in 1937. Of these, 244,000 were employed rubber estates, and 44,000 in government ces. More than 40,000 were traders. More th 25,000 were employed in transport and comm cations services, 87,000 worked in mines, 9 in factories and 4,000 in the police departm The number of Indians in other occupations c not be ascertained. Plantation workers w mostly Tamils and Telugus from South In Northern Indians, on the other hand, predo nated in business and professions.

Malaya's Indian labour began to be org nised in the late thirties on the eve of Wo War II. The C. I. A. M. (The Central Indi Association of Malaya) organised by the midd class Indian intelligentsia in 1936 took the initi tive. Favourable conditions for a vigorous labo movement in Malaya had been created by th time the war came to an end in 1945. Scarc of rice and price inflation confronted th Malayan labour with a crisis of stupendous ma nitude. Malaya's 2,400 rubber estates employ a total of 150,093 Indian workers in 1946. In th same year, 4,613 and 3,497 Indians worked Malayan mines and factories, respectiv Indians constituted more than 50 per cent Malaya's pre-war labour force. The proporti however, had fallen below 50 per cent in 19 Wages of Indian labourers have been alw lower than those of the Chinese.

Time and again, after the war, have the forn protested in vain against this disparity. L wages and high prices of rice have forced ma Indian estate-workers to take to cultivation their principal occupation. Work on the estat became a secondary and spare-time occupation them. The Communists exploited the Indi labourers' discontent to strengthen their o hold on them. Communist leadership of labour

41. Vide, *The Staits Times*, Singapore, June 5, 1948.

42. Vide, *Ibid*, June 29, 1952. (Quoted)

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Malaya—Indian and otherwise—became a *fait accompli* in course of time. Ganapathy, an ex-President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, was hanged in May, 1949. His successor Veeranasan was shot-down by the police. Another Indian labour leader Sambasivan was sentenced to death. About 800 Indians were detained on suspicion and no formal charge was brought against the majority of them till September, 1949. Indian labourers, in general, kept aloof from the Malayan Communist rebellion and it has been "officially admitted that the number of Indians participating in terrorist activities is less than 1 per cent."[43]

The Malayan labour movement, which lay low for a time after the outbreak of the Communist rebellion early in 1948, showd signs of renewed vigour from mid-1949. Indian labour and labour leaders came to limelight. As of July, 1949, 62.5 per cent of the total membership of the Malayan Trade Unions was Indian. More than 50 per cent of the members of the 43,000-member Malayan Trade Unions Council inaugurated at Kuala Lumpur in March, 1950, were South Indians. So also were most of its leaders. Mr. P. P. Narayanam, the first President of the Council, was a South Indian himself.

INDONESIA

Indonesia never had—nor has she today—a large Indian population. According to the latest available census returns, *viz.*, those of 1931, (Indonesia had her latest census early in 1961. But its report is yet to be published), there were 27,684 Indians in Indonesia. 12,654 of them were Indonesia-born. There was one woman to every two men. The Indian immigrants were concentrated mostly in Java and Sumatra, which, between them, accounted for 25,638 Indians. The rest were scattered in the outlying islands. Most of the Indians in Java were retail traders. Those in the Deli area in Sumatra, on the other hand, were estate-workers, chauffeurs, cattlemen and night watchmen. The immigrants were, by and large, Muslims from Coromondol and Malabar coasts.

After the capitulation of Japan in August, 1945, the British army was sent to Indonesia to disarm the Japanese army of occupation. The British army, which included some Indian regiments, had to fight occasionally against the Indonesian nationalists. Nationalist India raised a hue and cry against the employment of Indian troops against the Indonesian nationalists. The British army left Indonesia in November, 1946. Some Indian Muslim troops were left behind—how it is not known. Complaints were later on received against some Pakistani Muslim elements of the Indonesian Republican Army. Hindus were the principal targets of their attack. But "as the Pakistanis were good soldiers and good Muslims, the Republicans (found) it hard to deal with them."[44] Twenty-five Pakistani soldiers of the International Brigade of the Indonesian Republican Army were repatriated with thanks in August, 1953.

The number of Indians in Indonesia has been steadily declining since 1945 when Indonesia became independent. Harassed by bandits, about 3,000 Indians living in Medan (Sumatra) were eager to return home immediately after the war. They were aided by the Government of India to come back to India.

The majority of Indians in pre-war Java and Sumatra were, as noted above, retail merchants and skilled and unskilled labourers, respectively. The situation remains much the same today.

THAILAND

Before World War II, Thailand had an Indian population of about 5,000. Of these, more or less 3,000 lived in Bangkok. Almost all of them were businessmen. A few Indians had permanently settled down in Thailand long before the war. Thailand's present Indian population is estimated at about 5,000, *i.e.*, the same as before the war. Registration as foreigners is compulsory for the Indian residents of Thailand.

There were two non-political organisations in Thailand before the war. These were the Indian Association and the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge founded in 1928 and 1940, respectively. Gyani P. Singh and Aman Singh organised the

43. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

44. *Ibid*, p. 348.

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Thai Branch of the I.I.L. during the war. Some of its members were sent to Malaya in 1941 for propaganda among the British Indian troops there. About this time, Swami Satyananda Puri, the founder of the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, came to limelight in Thailand. Requested by the Thai royal family, Tagore had sent him to Thailand in 1932. He founded the Indian National Council for the Freedom of India in 1941. Gyani P. Singh went to Malaya after the fall of Singapore and played an important part in organising branches of the I.I.L. there. Both he and Swami Satyananda died in plane crash during a flight to Tokyo towards the end of March, 1942. Two months later, the Indian National Council for the Freedom of India was merged in the I.I.L. The I.I.L. pressed Indian residents for contribution to its funds. Many Indians, it is alleged, registered themselves as Thai nationals at the time to avoid payment of contributions. Shame !

The "Balak Sena" (The Indian Youth Movement) was organised at Bangkok in 1943. It sought to inculcate self-help, national spirit and good civic principles among the Indian youths in Thailand. "Down with communal splits and tensions" was its war-cry. The "Balak Sena" was the only Indian organisation in Thailand to survive the war. It had 200 Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members in 1946.

A philanthropic, social welfare organisation in the beginning, the "Balak Sena" developed a political outlook in the long run. Indians in Thailand gave up all political activities after the attainment of independence by India in 1947.

VIETNAM

The exact number of Indians in Vietnam is unknown. An estimated 6,000 Indians lived in that country before World War II concentrated mostly in Cochin-China and, to a lesser extent, in Cambodia. Perhaps 50 per cent of them were from erstwhile French colonies in India (Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe Karikal and Yenam). Mohammedans from Northern India, Chettyars from Madras and Parsis from Bombay, among others, accounted for the rest.

According to Kondapi, there were more or less 1,000 Indians in Vietnam in 1949. So however, think it to be an understatemen Vietnam Indians were left undisturbed dur the war and there were no restrictions on th movements.[46]

After the war, in 1948, the French au rities insisted that each Indian resident must finger-printed and pay a poll-tax. The Gove ment of India having protested against the t it was withdrawn.

Indian immigration to Vietnam and Cambo followed closely in the wake of the Fre conquest. 50 per cent of the Indian migra were perhaps, as noted above, from the form French colonies in India. As French citize they were eligible for government jobs n available to the children of the soil for ma years. The latter, naturally enough, were jeal of the former. The activities of the Chett money-lenders did not a little to create a accentuate anti-Indian bitterness. The Fre authorities held the Chettyars responsible f political disturbances in Vietnam and actu ordered the externment of five of them. T order was subsequently rescinded. But it arou considerable Chettyar resentment and app hension.

Before the war there were 120 Chett firms in Vietnam and Cambodia and a sizea proportion of Indo-China's export trade was Chettyar hands. There was a time when th owned a quarter of the rice-lands in Cambo and Indo-China. Later on, the governme arranged cheap agricultural credit facilities a ordered the externment of a few Chettyars. T latter saw the handwriting on the wall and bef the outbreak of the war in 1939 had tra ferred 65 per cent of their capital out of Vietn and Cambodia. Even after transfer, Chett capital in these countries amounted to Rs. 2 millions.[47]

It was around the dissident and disgrunt elements that the I.I.L. in Vietnam was organis

45. Vide, Virginia Thompson and Richa Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
46. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 203.
47. Virginia Thompson and Richard Ad *op. cit.*, p. 130 (quoted).

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during the war. Because of the small number and comparative poverty of Indians in that country the Azad Hind movement was never very powerful in Vietnam. The Republic of Vietnam, from its inception in 1945, courted the Indian community. In October, 1945, the Fighting Committee of the Revolutionary Peoples of Southern Indo-China appealed to the Indian soldiers in the British army—"Your fellow-countrymen are fighting for liberty as we are; our ideals are the same and we must love each other. We must not be divided by anyone."[48]

After the outbreak of war in Tongkin, in December, 1946, the Vietmin Radio broadcast that some Indians had voluntarily joined the Vietmin army and that the Indian residents of Saigon-Cholon region had sent monetary help to the rebel leader Ho Chi Min. A Reuter despatch from Hanoi under date July 27, 1947, said that at least some of the 400 Indian residents of Hanoi were reluctant to be evacuated "because the Vietnamese had shown no hostility to them. Prime Minister Nehru's statement published in February 16, 1947 issue, of the Burmese (Rangoon) said that three lives had been lost in the December (1946) outbreak in Tongkin and that "no Indians are fighting in Indo-China so far as the Indian government is aware."

48. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 348. (quoted).

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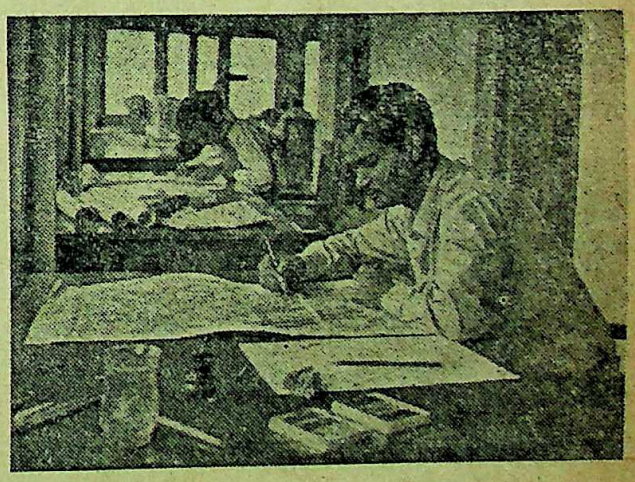
EXPLORATION OF THE HIDDEN WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY

THE rich deposits of coal found at Bokaro in Bihar, of oil at Ankleshwar in Gujarat and lignite at Neyveli in Madras are only a few instances where the minerals have been won on the basis of discovery first made by the Geological Survey of India.

The Geological Survey of India is one of the oldest organisations of its kind in the world, having been set up as early as 1845. But geological survey as an essential requisite for industrial ventures is a recent development. The emphasis on material strategy in the Second World War brought home the necessity for more data on the mineral resources of the country and geological advice was frequently sought both for civil and military purposes. Later, with the advent of Independence, a national mineral policy had to be formulated and put into action. This entailed rapid expansion of the Geological Survey of India.

During the last decade, significant progress has been made in the survey of the country's mineral resources and good use has been made of the results obtained. But the rapidly increasing demand for minerals, raw materials requires that such surveys and investigations should be further intensified.

Expansion of steel production has particularly focussed attention on the need to locate fresh reserves of flux grade limestone and of dolomite and other refractory materials. Likewise, there is an urgent need to locate further workable reserves of non-ferrous metals like copper, lead and zinc which are at present largely imported, and of bauxite, the demand of which will increase with the expansion of the aluminium industry.



Transformation of Physical Data into a map by a Geologist

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Reorganisation

To meet the demand for rapid survey of the country's mineral resources, it is proposed to reorganise the Geological Survey of India. Under this scheme, besides the Northern Regional office at Lucknow, which was set up in October, 1961, two more regional offices—eastern and southern—are to be set up with their headquarters at Calcutta and Hyderabad, respectively. Circle offices, under the regional offices, are to be set up in almost all the States. This process of decentralisation has been initiated to ensure concentrated and speedy survey of the country's minerals. With workshops, laboratories and well-stocked libraries at the regional centres, it will be easier to undertake investigation quickly.

A Geologist collecting rock samples in his quest for oil-bearing rock strata

Geological survey is a protracted process. The geologist scans the countryside in three ways—by undertaking aerial surveys, by sending out geological ground parties and by organising some 'information drilling.'

In the first stage, a plane fitted with a special wide-angle camera flies over by strips, taking photographs. These photographs help in quick mapping of a large area at lesser costs. After the photographs have been studied and places of interest located, the ground parties move into map in detail the various types of rock formation. The rocks, the fossils and pla are subjected to close study and then differe studies are correlated to find the clue to t period in which the particular object was form This helps in determining where minerals a likely to occur in a particular place.

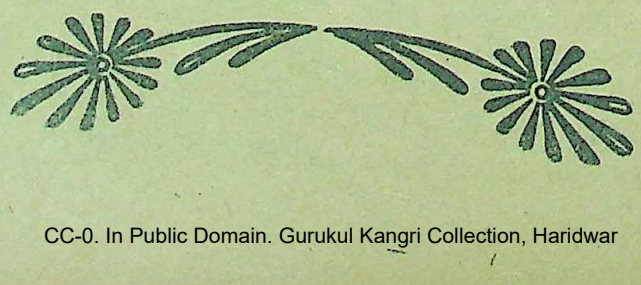
Fascinating Results of Research

To complete preliminary studies, sometim 'information drilling' is undertaken.

Research has brought forth some ve fascinating discoveries. The study of geologic aspects of sedimentation of deposits containi coal or of the formation of lodes and veins i various types of rocks helped in bringing to lig the glacial conditions which preceded the fo mation of coal deposits leading to the postulati of the existence of a former great Southe continent called Gondwanaland. It has revea the complicated history and structure of th Himalayas and given out valuable data on th evolution of various groups of animals whos remains are found in different geological fo mations. Further, it helped in determining are most liable to earthquakes and in guiding searc for minerals which are invariably associate with certain types of rocks.

The importance of Geological survey ha been manifest in other fields also. The organis aiton now advises the Government on suitabili of dams, tunnels, bridges and other foundation and reservoir sites; on areas which are unstabl and liable to landslips; on building of road and railways. Besides, appraisal of ground wate resources, their distribution, characteristics an suitability for various purposes are profitabl undertaken on the basis of geological studies.

The story of geology is a series of adve tures and the Geological Survey of Indi through systematic exploration and improve techniques, is continuously exposing the hidde wealth of the country for the greater good o the common man.—*P.I.B.*



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IMPROVED APPLIANCES AND DESIGNS IN HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

The handloom industry occupies a very important place in the country today. It accounts for about 30 per cent of the actual requirements of cloth, and its employment potential is immense. The improved appliances now used have helped in improving traditional designs and introducing new features in handloom industry.

A lady visitor examining the Indian Handloom products at Handicrafts show

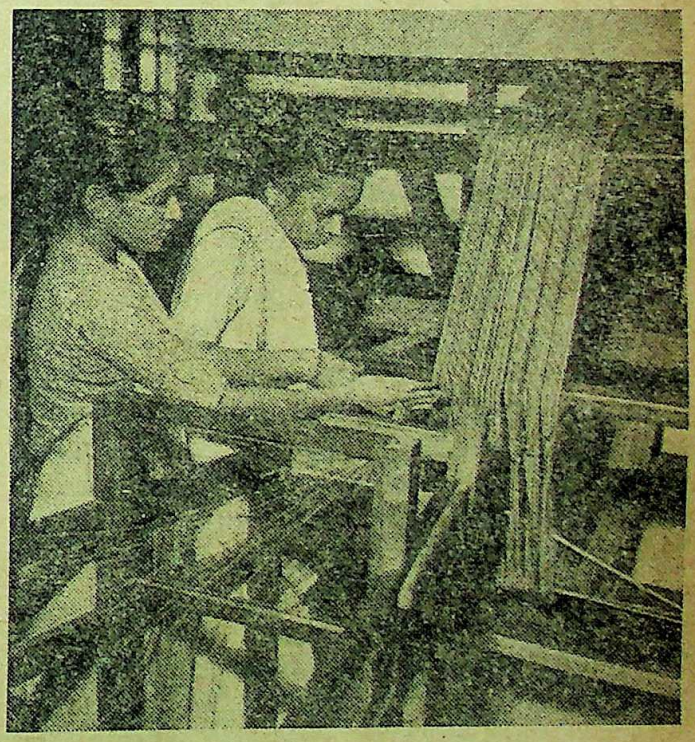
Under the Third Five-Year Plan, the production of cloth in the handloom sector is envisaged at 2,800 million yards out of the total target of 9,300 million yards for all the sectors of the cotton textile industry. For the development of the industry during this period an outlay of Rs. 34 crores has been provided.

In the old days, the handloom weaver plied his primitive throw shuttle loom. It takes a long time to save a fabric, the maximum being 3 yards a day after hard and continuous labour. This loom suited those who had leisure to weave complicated designs for the wardrobe of the Royalty and rich nobles and landed gentry.

With the advent of the spinning and weaving machines, which ushered in the industrial revolution in England, the old handloom could not stand the competition of the new inventions. Many weavers had been thrown out of employment. The number of handlooms which were said to be 60 lakhs at one time with crores of spinning wheels to feed these looms with yarn have dwindled in number to such an extent that when Mahatma Gandhi had to search for spinning wheels, which were safely stored in the lumber rooms in order to resuscitate the cottage spinning industry to provide employment to the poverty-stricken dumb millions of India, who were residing in the villages.

The then Madras Government was the first in India to have an Industries Department against the wishes of the overlords in England. In this department, several experiments were made to improve the efficiency of the loom as an instrument for hand weaving. And ultimately the present fly shuttle looms were found to be the best and inexpensive for handloom weavers.

The Basil Mission of Germany, which established itself in Kerala, also invented several types of looms such as frame looms, pedal looms, jacquard attachments, etc. They have even now their weaving establishments in Kerala. Their efforts to improve loom, weaving patterns and designs have given great fillip to the hand weaving industry in Kerala.



Trainees working at the Handloom Section of the Industrial Training Centre for women

The Madras Government have appointed peripatetic demonstration parties to propagate the newly invented fly shuttle looms,

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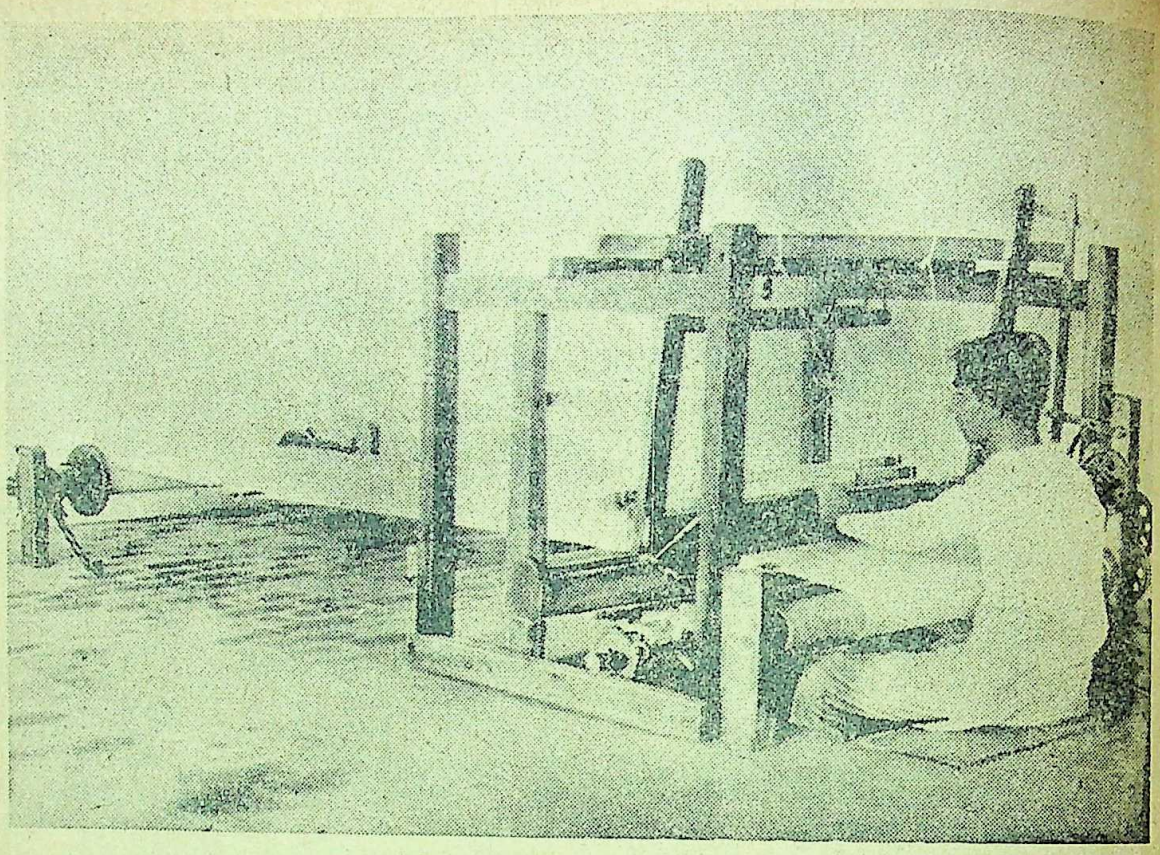

Improved Banarasi loom for weaving Banarasi traditional silk goods

its technicalities and to give training to handloom weavers on the spot for weaving.

The weavers were sceptical at first of learning to weave on the fly shuttle, but gradually they adopted this loom. Now in Andhra and Madras States almost all the looms are fly shuttle looms. It was once thoughtout that intricate designs cannot be woven on fly shuttle looms, but with the invention of dobbies, jacquards, chain dobbies, etc., it has become easy to weave most complicated designs. Yet, for weaving costly Banaras sarees, the throw shuttle loom is being used.

In spite of the invention of the fly shuttle loom, the weaver is not able to produce more cloth per day and consequently the wages he earns are meagre and the production cost of the cloth has become more, compared to that of cloth woven on the machine. Experiments were, therefore, made to improve the weaving capacity of the loom. Semi-automatic and pedal looms modelled on the pattern of powerlooms came into being.

The semi-automatic loom is an improvement on the fly shuttle loom. T weaver has to use only one hand instead both hands as in the case of fly shuttle lo for weaving cloth. The loom is heavy a the drag on the hand gives pain to weaver and it affects his heart also. He these semi-automatic looms have not becom popular.

The pedal looms are modelled on t pattern of the powerloom. They have the mechanism of the powerlooms min power to operate. This loom is very hea It has to be moved by pedal motion us the legs as in the case of a bicycle. Th looms are in use to a large extent in Bomb State. It is possible to weave only cert types of cloth on these looms. Sizing warps for use on these looms is felt diffic because there are no machines c able of sizing long warps. If sizing difficu is solved, these looms can be used in la number for weaving particular types cloth. It is also possible to compete w mill cloth, because the production capac of a weaver on this loom is more, compa to fly shuttle loom.

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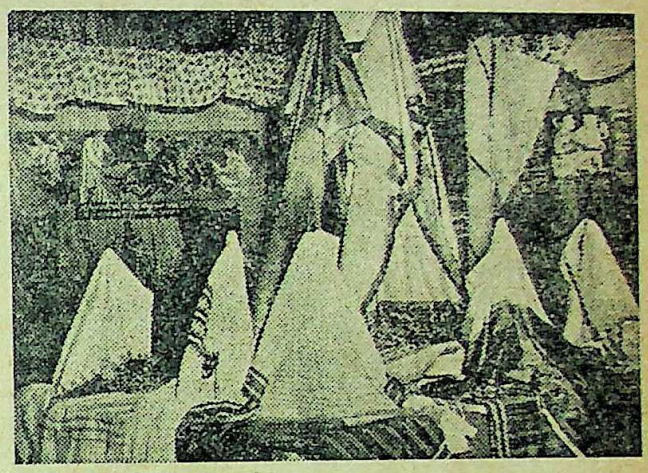
The Handloom Board, which is charged with the task of framing development schemes for the handloom and their implementation, has to take steps to conduct research to improve the handloom especially with regard to its mobility in weaving.

Warping and sizing are major preparatory processes for weaving. With regard to warping, the peg type of warping has changed to the wheel type. This is further improved. Now the horizontal and vertical type of warping machines are in use; on these improved warping machines, it is now possible to have lengthy warps within short time.

There is no improvement in sizing of the warps. The street sizing, i.e., stretching of the warps in the streets for sizing is still there. There are many handicaps with regard to street sizing. It requires large space for spreading of the warp and it is not also possible to size lengthy warps, say warps of 100 yards length or more. The process of street sizing is also tedious and laborious requiring at least 2 people to work on the warp for nearly 3 hours. In rainy days the sizing operation cannot be done.

Attempt were made to invest a hand-operated sizing machine in the Textile Institute, Madras. This machine was called Amalsad Het Air sizing machine. It has not become popular. Afterwards, no attempt was made to invent a sizing machine suitable for handloom weaving industry.

The sizing materials for sizing of warps are not standardised. In different parts of India, different sizing materials are used. The purpose of the sizing materials is to give strength and shining to the yarn at a cheaper cost. Experts have to go into this question and find out a suitable sizing material.



Exhibition of Khaddar Saris of Exquisite designs at New Delhi

The weaver is now employing the traditional designs in weaving the fabric. Though there are changes in the designs now and then, the weaver requires training in the art of design and its adoption.

The future of the industry would be assured if improved types of looms, improved method of sizing and designing are adopted in the weaving of handloom fabrics.

—P.I.B.

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THE CERAMICS EXHIBITION OF MISS BEATRICE WOOD

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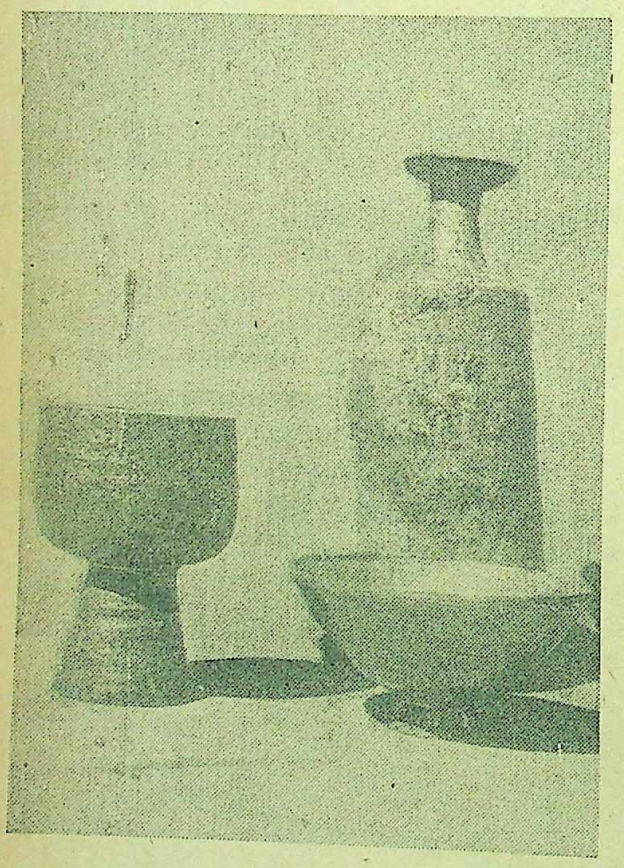
By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Exhibition of CERAMICS executed by Miss Beatrice Wood—exhibited under the auspices of the All India Handicrafts Board is a stimulating show, full of useful lessons for Indian Craftsmen, —particularly, in Bengal which has had a long tradition of clay Pottery for domestic use—in the daily life of our people. Miss Wood's beautiful examples of Pottery—do indeed open up a new way of experiments in this craft and should inspire—our modern Indian Craftsmen—to work on the path in this branch of Artware in which very little has been done in recent times.



The most outstanding phases of Miss Wood's products are their beautiful Forms, their captivating Textures and attractive Colours. There are quite a number of fascinating shapes and patterns—in a variety of designs—applied to the making of—Bowls, Dishes, and narrow-necked Vessels—with bulging bottoms, for which she has a special partiality. We noticed at least five different patterns—in shaping vessels with long narrow necks—of striking originality. There no doubt that Miss Wood has intimate knowl of old Greek pottery—but she has not ap imitated—any old models—and her designs patterns are entirely her own,—without fol ing the shapes and forms of any well-kn masterpieces of Classical or Mediaeval exam Some pieces remind one of Greek Lako Kylix or early ATTIC OINOCHOE—but t are echoes, rather than conscious imitations.

Her works are based on sound traditions potting and carry the charm of correct Line Form. What strikes us most—is the simpl and directness of Form and astonishing econ of design. They are absolutely free from attempt at contortion, all making for beauty harmony and marked by a fitness for a defi purpose.

The next outstanding feature of these be tiful pieces—is their wonderful Texture—t tactile quality. It is difficult to say from source the artist has derived this striking qu of texture. The obvious sources of texture the masterpieces of Chinese Pottery which ages have furnished models for glaze, lustre texture of fine quality. But one cannot detect these pieces any direct derivation from Chin models.

But the best quality of the exhibits lies their captivating colours,—illusive, fragile, almost mystic and mysterious in their brood appeal. The rich range of her colour varies fr Cobalt and Turquoise Blue to Raspberry Pi deep Purple and Burnt Black. She happily avo —loud or shrieking colours,—the cheap stunts popularity. The artist seems, much to our regre to avoid the tones of Yellow and Red—the tra tional paths of our Indian Folk-Art. But col is a matter of personal temparament, and we h no right to complain of any artist's preferen for any particular nouances of colours and ti But we have to remark that the artists' colo are, not, by any means, gay or joyous—b sombre, reflective, and brooding. The next fe ture of the exhibits—is the attempt to decor —a few with Pictorial Designs. But this is a ve provocative and challenging feature. In India

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have no continuous tradition of pottery—painted with pictorial patterns. Our prehistoric models from Harappa in Sind and Nal in Beluchistan, are very rich in animal and plant motives, of wonderful skill and dexterity. But these early examples have not left any continuous tradition. And the only link in the missing chain is the well-known Bowl with Heads of Cherabim in Ajantan style, which is an unique piece from the Heeramanek collection now in an American Museum. And our late attempts at pictorial pottery—are the well-known Multan Pottery mostly mediocre in quality. But many of us have been demoralized and spoilt by the moving beauty of the Rhages and Sultanabad pottery, fine examples of which have gone to enrich the collections of the Museums of the United States. It is said that the masterpieces of Persian Pottery of the 12th and 13th centuries were produced by the collaboration of the Pictorial Artists with the potters of Persia. Any how,—the Persian Platters and Dishes painted with charming 'Human figures'—have pitched our expectations to heights which it is difficult for a modern potter to reach, without the active collaboration of the Pictorial Artist. Yet Miss Beatrice Wood —has several pieces to her credit with pictorial motifs—which cannot but extort high praise. Her little bowl with the picture of a 'Madonna' motif, glowing with religious fervour,—undoubtedly recalls the quality of several masterpieces—lately in the Parish Watson collection. But a fine masterpiece—with pictorial motif is a dish—wonderfully painted with the portrait of a Cat with a spotted coat—which pathetically stares at us—with a pair of large appealing eyes This skilful realistic study of a domestic animal is set off with fascinating foliages of leaves—which run round the border. This unique piece —luckily establishes—the range and versatility of this talented potter.

It is a matter of some consideration if these beautiful models could be presented in some permanent and less fragile material,—so that they could be used with utilitarian purposes to provide furnitures for our daily domestic use, so that we could chase out of our life those ugly enamel wares and aluminium products—which symbolize our poverty and mean slovenly standard of our daily existence,—emphasized by our ugly utensils, for our dinner, devoid of all beauty and decorum.

As it is, we could only use these fine examples of pottery of exquisite shape and colour, to decorate our Drawing Rooms and parlours, and worship them as objects of aesthetic contemplation, situated on a level far higher than the sordid needs of our daily life. But the Greek Vases were made for daily domestic use, *not* as show-pieces for our Museums, or as decorations of our Drawing Rooms.*

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"SYMBOLISM OF THE SUN-TEMPLE AT KONARAK"

By AMAL SARKAR

KONARAK, the eternal sanctuary of India and the pride of Orissa, is situated about 56 miles by road from Puri via Pipli and Nimopara; the place can also be reached by sea from Puri covering a distance of about 20 miles but the journey is not so easy for an ordinary man because of the turbulent waves of the rough sea. It is said that the great exponent of *Vaisnavism*, Sri Sri Chaitanyadeva once took this perilous route (by floating his body) to reach the temple of Konarak. The temple has a surrounding which can hardly be claimed by any other Orissan temple. It stands about 21 miles north-east corner of Puri on the sea-shore; about 2 miles south-east of the temple is the sea and about half a mile north can be seen, once wide but now dried up, river Chandrabhaga, an offshoot of the famous Prachi. It is, however, interesting to note the origin of the term 'Konarak' from a copper-grant or Narasimhadeva II, the King of Orissa, between 1278 and 1306 A.D. It is learnt from the grant that the great temple was built by his illustrious grandfather Narasimha I (1238-1264 A.D.); the place where the temple was built is mentioned in the grant as 'Konakone' and the deity to whom it was dedicated as the 'Arka' (Sun), the illuminator of the universe, and thus the name 'Konarak' is derived. According to some, of whom the name of the eminent Indian scholar, Monomohan Ganguli can be mentioned, the term Kona or Corner has been used with reference to the position of Padma-Kshetra (Padma being the symbol of the Sun and Eternity) or Arka-Kshetra (the Sun's place) situated at the north-east corner (Isana-kona) of Chakra-Kshetra, *i.e.*, Puri and hence this place it termed Kon(a)ar(a) K, *i.e.* Konarak (the sum of the north-east corner which is the place of the sun). Different names of this place can be gathered from different sources; in *Brahma Purana* we get 'Konaditya'; *Kapil Samhita* refers it as 'Araka-Kshetra': *Samba Purana* speaks about 'Mitra Vana'; in Madla Panji, the palm-leaf chronicles of the temple Jagannath at Puri, one of the oldest indigenous records Orissa, whose date ranges between 11th to century A.D. the place is known as Pa Kshetra; Smarta Raghunandan Bhattacharje his *Purushottampaddhati* gives the name 'Konarak' and in *Sri Chaitanya-Charitamrita* get he name 'Konarak.'

The portion of the temple where the im of the Sun-God was installed by the builde long destroyed and whatever we now know see as the Sun-Temple (Surya-mandir) of K rak is nothing but the Jagmohana, *i.e.*, the ass bly hall and the Natmandap, *i.e.*, the dancing with no roof above. A strange deviation in te structure is, however, noticed at Konarak. U the other temples of Orissa that of Konarak two smaller outer halls (most possible the *Bh mandap* or the place of offerings) compl separated from the main structure; the asse hall and the tower were built on an imposing form. The main tower was about 200 feet but the sanctum has left no mark behind. It m be due to ravages of time or to those of ma ders' vandalism that the magnanimous arch tural-*cum*-sculptural production of Orissa is It is said that the great iconoclast of eas India, Kalapahar, once a staunch Brahmin later on a converted Muslim, satisfied his ic clastic zeal by vainly boasting that 'I have troyed all temples and am conqueror of the w and he was greatly responsible for the effa of the glorious temple of the Sun-God from surface of the earth. The Marathas under leadership of their preceptor, Baba Brahmac might also be partly responsible for the des tion of the Sun-temple; some temples were by them in Srikshetra, *i.e.*, Puri from the m rials acquired from the Konarak temple. Bu that as it may, what is left to posterity stand that 'proud' work of man which says that 'be and 'truth' cannot die.

This temple is known as the Black te (Krisna mandir) or Black Pagoda as the

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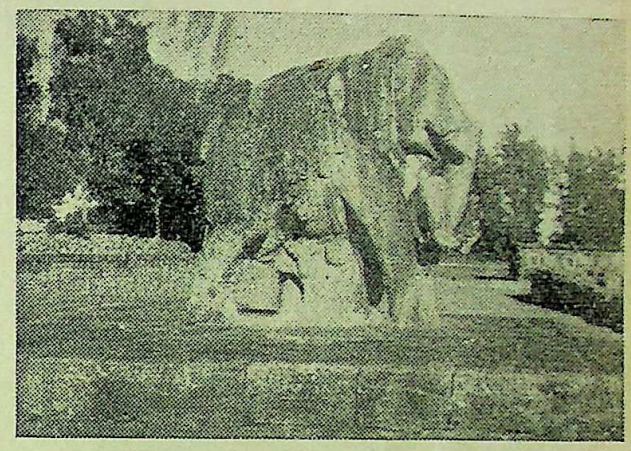
lintels and the outer walls of the temple carved with innumerable figures are made of black stone and give out a blackish colour when seen from a distance although the usual stone is grey sandstone. Abul Fazl has referred to this structure, "Near Jagannath is a temple dedicated to the sun (at Konarak). Its cost was defrayed by 12 years' revenue of the province". References from Madla Panji and copper grants of the kings of Ganga dynasty, the temple was built between the years 1276-1278 A.D. During this period the annual revenue of Orissa was about 3 crores of rupees. The colossal temple was built in the shape of a chariot (Ratha), the vehicle in which the Sun-God crosses the heaven. This Chariot-shaped temple has 12 decorated wheels, 10 feet in diameter (6 on each side) and drawn by six horses. In the usual form the Sun-God's chariot is drawn by seven horses symbolising 'Seven Rays' of the sun. It can be well-presumed that the chariot (Ratha) of Konarak was also once drawn by seven horses, three on each side, which can be seen even today but the seventh or the horse in the centre, not to be seen at present, might have been destroyed through passage of time. In Ain-i-Akbari, however, no reference is made to these magnificent wheels of the Sun-God's chariot; it is possible that the wheels were lying buried in sand during the 16th century when Abul-Fazl wrote his book. In 1627 A.D., when Narasimhadeva visited this temple the wheels were still not to be seen on the surface; the king did not refer anything about the wheels, he only ordered to shift the image of the Sun-God to some safer place owing to Muslim (Kalapahar?) oppressions. Between 1756-1800 A.D., the Marathas were ruling over the realm and it was under their order that the 'Arun-Stambha' was taken away from the campass of the temple and transplanted to its modern site, *i.e.*, before the lion-gate of Sri Jagannath temple at Puri. According to some local priests again the original image of the Sun-God of Konarak had since been transferred somewhere in Puri by the Marathas. The real work of preservation, however, commenced in 1901, under the government of Sir John Woodburn when the excavation of sand round about the Jagmohan was started.

Seldom in the history of sculpture and architecture we can find an exquisite monument like the temple of Konarak. It was, when entered perhaps one of the most balanced and proportioned monument ever known. Whatever is left of the grandest Indian structure clearly shows how Indian mind has made the most correct appreciation and perfect expression of human as well as animal forms. The entrance on either side by prancing horses, who are indeed the true repre-



The might elephant crushing a malefactor (Konarak)

sentations of the 'expansive' and 'powerful' mind of the builder. A scholar has aptly remarked that these forceful horses and the mighty elephant crushing a malefactor in his trunk show a strength of treatment and a feeling for animal form "rare in the world's art". The same method for joining the different parts of the walls and roofs by means of iron girders which we find in most Indian architecture is also applied in case of the Sun-temples; this is indeed a striking technical innovation.

It is not in the least possible to bind one's 'self' in the binds of the ethereal world standing amidst the sculptures of Konarak. Leaving the base and the next adjacent panel of the outer body of Jagamohana the whole practically represents the erotic principles but so natural and so innocent. The unknown artists in expressing the 'sexual' life of man have hardly lost the sense of sublimity anywhere. The Mithuna figures of Konarak are 'exceptionally vivid'. There are one or two examples which might be termed as 'crude' or 'obscure'; a man satisfying two women at the same time or *vice versa*; or a man and a woman trying to taste the eternal nectar of union;

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or a 'woman' hanging round the neck of her 'man' with her head down and legs wide apart. It might also appear that the body proportion with the body and herein the artists have to lose the sense of proportion for giving prominence to sex-organs and sex-acts but nowhere the inner 'perception' of 'union' is neglected. To a general untrained mind these figures might appear 'irritable' and all charm and munificence cannot be

The Communion of two principles male and female (Konarak)

understood. It might be that the 'frank eroticism' of these sculptures has given the 'Black Pagoda' a rather infamous reputation. The larger figures on the top of the outer body of the temple (Jagamohan) are much more sublime and gentle and proportionate: the one in the south-west corner in which a 'man' (*i.e.*, Purusa) is gently pressing the breast (Cf. Umalinganam murti) of his beloved with one hand and with the other trying to unite with his 'woman' (*i.e.*, Prakrti), is above reproach.

Many suggestions have been made as to the true significance of these figures. Many say that these are based on the *Kamasastra*, the Indian Ars Amatoria 'illustrating the vein of sex-mysticism' which runs through the Indian religions. According to another school these figures merely 'served the mundane purpose of advertising the charms of the Devadasis or temple prostit this view was propounded by Mr. J. Rawson not yet published. Orthodox thinkers say 'they were intended to represent the world of flesh, in contrast to the bare and austere int which symbolized' the things of the spirit the seeker of the spiritual world has to keep self detached from earthly (carnal?) de rather he has to win over his physical or m passions to reach the spiritual world, *i.e.*, to 'release of his soul' or 'Salvation' (*mok* Another group of thinkers expounds a pla view by saying that 'probably they were nected, in the minds of their designers, with sexual mysticism which played so great a pa mediaeval Indian religious thought. (Cf. Pa cult of Orissa).

If we go deep behind the reliefs the walls of the temple at Konarak we can that the "two-in-one" principle (which repre the whole Indian philosophy and religion followed. The efficacy of mortal life bec complete when the two principles, male female, unite and there the whole world The eternal desire of 'union' is express different attitudes of mind. 'Man' is the age the creating principle and 'woman' is the p or the creative principle and this power ca act by itself, it requires an agent or the me through which it acts; thus the two togethe the whole. This "two-in-one" principle has symbolized in the form of 'Siva-lingam' w the 'Lingam' (male principle) stands for 'Pu or the agent and the 'Yoni' (female principle the 'prakriti' or the power; the finalisation of idea of 'compromise' between the two princ (male and female) is carried out in the most portant image of Ardhanariswar (half Siva 'Purusa' or 'the actor' on the right and half vati, *i.e.*, 'Prakriti' or 'the Power' on the left the two together become the whole; thus we find Vishnu having Lakshmi, Indra ha Indrani, Kumar having Kumari that every (actor) has his consort (the power): the doctrine has been followed in the Ta Buddhistic *Yi-dam* or *Yab-Yum* like He-V figures, *i.e.*, glorious father and glorious m in communion. The same idea of "two-in- principle was expressed once by Sri Sri R krishna when he uttered that he was the 'wh

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Naren (Vivekananda). When he was asked how this was so he thus explained "I am the Power but I (*i.e.*, Power) cannot act by myself and it is Naren through whom I will act", thus Naren (Vivekananda) was taken to be his (Power's) husband (Agent) by the great philosopher of Bengal.

The glorious communion of two principles brings in 'creation'—this keenest urge 'to unite' and 'to create' is manifested in every heart of every earthly being. This 'mortal union' or 'uniting' is a step to the 'union' with God or the Divinity. As there should lie an absolute frankness in case of a 'mortal union' [because there must be a complete surrender (samarpan) with no veil (abaran) of one 'principle' to the other, so also there should be frank and complete surrender of 'self' (individual soul) to get a union with Divinity or the Absolute and when this stage is reached the two principles (*i.e.*, the individual and the Absolute) become one]; this same idea has been well-expressed in the *Bhagavad Gita*: in book 18 verse 65 it is said:

"Manmana bhava madbhako madyaji mam namaskuru,
Mame-vaisyasi satyam te pratijane priyasi me."

[Merge thy mind (Manah) in Me, be My devotee, sacrifice to Me, prostrate thyself before Me, thou shalt come even to Me. I pledge thee My truth].

"Matkarmakrnmatparamo madbhaktah sangavarjitah,
Nirvairah sarvabhutesu yah sa mameti pandava".
(XI 55).

(He who doeth actions for Me, whose supreme good I am, My devotee, freed from attachment without hatred of any being, he cometh unto Me, O Pandava).

And the same idea of sacrifice can be gleaned from another verse:

"Yajnasistamrta bhujo yanti brahma sanatanam,
Nayam lokostyayajnasya kutonyah kurusattam".
(IV 31).

[The eaters of the life-giving (amrita) remains of sacrifice go to the changeless Eternal. This world is not for the non-sacrificer, much less for the other, O best of the Kurus].

An ecstatic joy is felt in the mortal union of a man and a woman and such is also felt when an 'individual soul' (Jivatma) mingles with the 'Absolute soul' (Paramatma). This inner urge of 'uniting' or 'union' is the philosophy of man and world and this philosophy lies behind these erotic or mithuna figures of the temple of Konarak.

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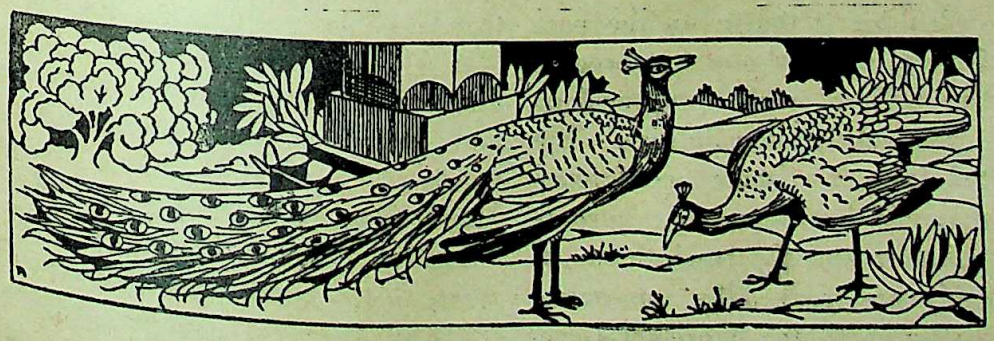

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POSITION OF THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

By Professor C. R. RATHEE,
Brijindra College, Faridket (Punjab).

During the sixteen years of its existence, the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations had never acquired so much importance; even the pioneers of the U.N.O. could not imagine it. The utterances of the U.N. Secretary-General had never before touched newspapers headlines. But today, the position has completely changed. The comity of world nations feel that Secretary-General is the one person who could make the U.N. a success or failure. In the words of Prof. Clyde Eagleton, "There is no other person (excepting the Secretary-General) whose primary function is to make the United Nations a success, no one else to represent it as an institution and to protect its interests as such." In fact, the credit of enhancing the prestige of this international office goes to late Dr. Hammarskjoeld who boldly but impartially acted in his discretion; little caring whether his action would be palatable to the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R.

Constitutionally speaking, the Secretary-General of the U.N.O., is given very little authority for he is primarily an administrator—responsible for preparing the programmes of work of the various organs, for organising and supervising a staff of several thousand employees to do this work, and for carrying out the decisions of the various U.N. organs. The Charter does not make him the Executive Officer because when the Charter was drafted, the approach to the world problems was "Conference approach" and thus it was not at all thought that a day would dawn when the U.N. would require execution of its decisions upon 'unwilling' partners. In recent years, particularly since 1955, the developments of international situation have taken a turn which have frequently called for initiative on the part of the Secretary-General who by now has become the Chief Executive Officer with a tremendous increase in his political responsibilities. The U.N. has shifted from a "static conference machinery to a dynamic instrument of government". The U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly are marked by un-exampled vagueness leaving it to the Secretary-General, to late Dr. Hammarskjoeld, to make his own decisions on crucial issues where the top-rank world powers are involved. This raised the pr tige of the office of the Secretary-General to traordinary heights.

Article 99 of the U.N. Charter says: "T Secretary-General may bring to the attention the Security Council any matter which in his o nion may threaten the maintenance of int national peace and security". The vagueness this important Article is self-evident. "This a cle," says Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secreta General of the U.N. in his book, *In the Cause Peace*, "confers upon the Secretary-General of United Nations, world political responsibili which no individual, no representative of a sin nation ever had before. Furthermore, from derived further rights that were seen to be writ into the rules of procedure of the Security Co cil, the General Assembly, the Economic a Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. T Secretary-General was to be empowered to pr pose items for the agenda of these organs an take part in the debates, rights that other were reserved to Governments and to represen tives of member states".

Mr. Trygve Lie successfully set the prece of the Secretary-General taking an independ stand in various ways. His initiative in prepar the annual reports or visiting the member st like his "Twenty Years Peace Plan," was co ageous. His interpretation of Article entitling the Secretary-General to make dependent investigations of international iss was no mean act of boldness. His strong st against the aggression in Korea, cost his Se tary-Generalship in 1952, when he was corn by both the Soviet Union and the United St to tender his resignation. His successor, "G Martyr", Mr. Hammarskjoeld proved more b and aroused considerable comments, favour and otherwise even against his person. In words of General Romulo, "The grant of broad lines of authority, without the requ definition of the Secretary-General's powers, prove to have unfortunate consequences." (Ma 6, 1960). General Romulo's prediction was c firmed seven months later when in the Fifte

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General Assembly an attack was made by Premier Khrushchev on the Secretary-General and consequently (after the sad demise of Mr. Hammarskjoeld) the Soviet suggestion for a triumvirate in place of the present practice of Secretary-General. The election of U Thant is an interim arrangement. The future of this key office now depends upon how the Burmese Diplomat conducts the office under his charge. But as his colleagues say: "U Thant will avoid developing his office beyond the stipulations of the Charter", as was done by his predecessor, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, whom, of course, he holds in high esteem. Whether his principal advisers from Russia and America will act as "Advisers" or "Directors" will greatly depend upon U Thant's own initiative. The international climate under which the new Secretary-General is to work can hardly be described as sunny. He is also aware of the slanderous criticism of his predecessor who had laid down his life for a cause which still requires responsible handling. Is U Thant prepared to work in the embarassing situation which surrounded Mr. Hammarskjoeld? Cannot he remind the member nations of Article 100 paragraph 2, which reads: "Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities". Mr. Hammarskjoeld maintained the impartial character of the U.N. Secretariat like his predecessor Mr. Trygve Lie who, once dismissed some American-supported Communists employed in the U.N. Secretariat, though the U.S. Government got annoyed against Mr. Lie on this point and cornered him to resign, later on. It would be of lasting value to the U.N., if the member states refrained from personal attacks on the Secretary-General and his staff and agreed always to recognise and respect him as long as the Secretary-General remains in the office and enjoys confidence of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The U.N. members must immediately rid themselves of the groupist thinking. Unless this is done, the Secretary-General and his staff cannot maintain neutrality and cannot carry out the decisions of the United Nations in the spirit of an International Civil Service. Be it Russian triumvirate or the appointment of 'Principal Advisers,' on the basis of power-groups in the United Nations, the idea is fundamentally opposed to the U.N. Charter. Everyone from the Secretary-General down to the peon of the U.N. Secretariat has to swear solemnly "to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience, the functions entrusted to him as an international civil servant of the United Nations, to discharge these functions and regulate his conduct with the interests of the United Nations only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of his duties from any Government or other authority external to the organisation."

Mr. Hammarskjoeld had implemented the above oath in true perspective when he said that "the exclusively international character of the Secretariat is not tied to its composition but to the spirit in which it works and to its insulation from outside influences as stated in Article 100. While it may be said that no man is neutral in the sense that he is without opinion or ideals, it is just as true that in spite of this, a neutral Secretariat is possible. Anyone of integrity, not subjected to undue pressures, can, regardless of his own views, readily act in an exclusively international spirit and can be guided in his actions on behalf of the organisation solely by its interests and principles and by the instructions of its organs.

But in practice the late Secretary-General has established a worth emulating precedence: When the organisation fails to guide him, he should be conscientious enough to shoulder responsibility, in emergencies, which may be in line with the spirit of Article 99. In case of vague guidance, the Secretary-General should not hesitate to interpret the U.N. decisions in the light of the Charter, the U.N. precedent and the aims and intentions expressed by the members.

The smaller nations of the world now look to the U.N. for safety and progress. The Secretary-General is the key-person of the U.N. Naturally, his calibre and conscience is sure to play an effective role in the future shape of things concerning Man and his Universe.

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MARRIAGE PATTERN AMONG LEPCHA COMMUNITY : PAST AND PRESENT

By SWAPAN KUMAR BANERJEE

Lepcha, a Scheduled Tribe Community of West Bengal, are largely concentrated in the Darjeeling district of the State. The ethnographical and ethnological information regarding this community is very limited. Moreover this community has gone through various phases of change for which a number of exogenous forces with an internal commotion are responsible. Here in this article, I shall describe the marriage pattern among the Lepchas and analyse the changes that have occurred in that system.

Before proceeding with the description of this institution of marriage, I will specify some forces which are responsible for the change of this system during some few decades. The forces are of exogenous types and consisted of :

(a) Bhutias, a neighbouring community, has come and tried to forcibly introduce their customs into the Lepcha community.

(b) A few communities such as Nepalese, etc., tried to win over the girls of Lepcha community.

(c) Christian Missionaries came into this part of the country and converted many of them into christianity. Buddhism, however, had played its role to check christianity and converted the major portion of Lepchas back into Buddhism. It may be mentioned here that the Lepchas are now divided into two religious groups —Buddhist and Christian. Hardly could one find a Lepcha of original religious belief, i.e., animism. Christian Lepchas are more or less assimilated into that religious creed but the Buddhist Lepchas still adhere to their old customs (animistic), may be with some changes. The conflict of these two religious groups created a gulf within the community due to changes in the social, religious and cultural traits of Lepchas. It can be said that Lepchas are still in a floating condition due to these various exogenous forces and perhaps within a few more decades permanent changes can be observed.

(d) The most important of these changes, particularly (in marital structure), is due to psycho-economical factor. The Lep girls are very beautiful looking. Comp tively rich communities like the Ne Bhutia, etc., entice these Lepcha girls usually marry them because of the fac mentioned above. This naturally forced t to change the intricate structure of t custom.

(e) Darjeeling has become a cos politan district and its impact is shar visible which can be attributed as anc factor.

(f) Today perhaps the most impor factor is the political trend of this distr

Now I shall discuss the marriage c toms which are prevalent among Lepc Christian Lepchas follow the customs their religious group. Buddhist Lep are following the custom of the old c with minor changes which will be men ed in proper places in my discussion.

Marriage Custom

The institution of marriage may be garded as the central feature of all form human society. The composition of fa is closely related with this institution. It been said that marriage has two functions : it is the means adopted by hu society for regulating the relations betw the sexes and it furnishes the mechan by means of which the relation of a c to the community is determined. Owin these important factors, this institutio marriage has to be closely studied.

The general profile of marriage pa amongst the Lepchas is of the monogam type, i.e., union of one man with an woman is preferred and is the social nor the people. Plural marriage or polygy union is non-preferential. According Sir H. Risley (Caste and Tribe of Be Vol. I and II) polyandry, though comp tively rare was not absent entirely am the Lepchas. But today Risely's poi are not observable.

Widow marriage was prevalent in th days but the widow had to marry younger brother (Junior Levirate) o

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late husband whatever be his age. A widow of 40 years of age in this way often had to marry a boy of 15 years of age. Widow marriage was not strictly compulsory but the societal behaviour was in favour of this remarriage. If the widow married an outsider, the brother-in-law usually kept the children and claimed the repayment of bride's price. If no younger brother was found, then she might marry a cousin of her late husband. But under no circumstances she could marry the elder brother (Senior Levirate). If no unmarried male member could be found in the family then the widow was ceremonially returned to her father along with a milch cow and half the property of her late husband. This ceremony was called "Angap." Then only she could marry an outsider without being punished or returning the bride price, etc. This was also applicable to a widower. He could remarry but the bride could only be a sister-in-law or a younger member of his wife's family (in the absence of a sister-in-law). This system is no longer in vogue. Now a widow or widower can marry any man or maid of their choice but within their own society. Societal behaviour has also changed and widow marriage is the personal choice of a person. This change from the societal norm may be termed as a result of exogenous force.

Arrangement and Consent

Marriages generally take place in and around the age of twenties. Teen-age marriage is not in vogue because of its expensive custom. The bride and bridegroom may be of the same age but it is seldom that the bride is older or younger by two or three years than the groom. The parents generally negotiate and arrange the marriage. Marriage by self-negotiation can also be seen today. Both the marital partners are consulted and equal value is placed on their opinion before their marriage.

Regulation

Lepchas cannot marry within their own clan which are exogamic in nature. Marriage is generally forbidden with second cousins, cross or parallel but allowed with at least some remoter cousins. Marriage is not restricted between clans.

Consideration

Formerly bride-price was the main consideration in which the groom had to pay a substantial property payment to the kinsmen of the bride. But now-a-days due to economic hardships the bride-price is not so strictly observed as in the past. Twice or thrice the groom has to pay to the bride's parents and finally a net amount of Rs. 60|-, one bull and one pig—has to be given as bride's-price. This costly system prevents them from marrying young, as often they find it difficult to save money for the marriage. Marriages are sometimes allowed to take place on credit, the girl remaining in her father's house and the husband living with her till he can pay or has earned the money which entitles him to take her home. Credit system of marriage cannot be observed today as the people are ready to forego the bride-price from the economic and social point of view.

The other considerations to be fulfilled for marriage are (a) Star observations (astrological) for life, body, etc., such as 'Sok,' 'Lie,' 'Ongthang,' 'Louta' and 'Mear'; (b) Birth stars, such as, Chika, Nimak, Sunthing, Jijong, Lasheri, Thogal, Dumbal, Gakal and Gumal. If the stars of both the bride and the groom are identical then a happy union is expected. This system is like the adjustment of horoscope of the Hindus. The last factor, that is considered before marriage is that if any of the forefathers of either the bride or the groom has died by suicide or in an accident then three generations after him are considered unfit for matrimony unless the evil spirits responsible for the death are pacified.

Marital Residence

The societal profile regarding marital residence is patrilocal, i.e., the bride comes to live normally with or near the husband's male patrilineal kinsmen. Slight variation of this system is also found and the marital pattern in this case is 'Uxoribilocal,' i.e., bilocal after an initial period with or near the wife's kinsmen.

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Commensality

Male generally enjoys a superior position than the female. Females generally remain submissive to their husbands. Husbands, however, consult with wives regarding decision-making affairs.

Sexual Relations and Restrictions

Lepchas generally lead a happy sexual life. Husband plays the role of a possessive partner and the wife remains submissive to him. Husband does not force his wife to cohabit during her pregnancy, disease, etc. Both male and female are equal in matters regarding sexual decisions.

Divorce

Divorce is seldom found in Lepcha society. If a married couple quarrel and cannot agree to make up, arbitrators (generally village elders) adjust their differences. If, however, repeated attempts to adjust the differences fail then divorce is effected with the concurrence of the Lama who solemnized the marriage of the pair. The wife returns to her father's house and the husband pays some compensation to her parents. Where adultery is proved, the husband has right to divorce his wife without paying compensation to her parents and take away her garments. Divorced persons may marry according to their choice.

Inheritance

Wife has a share on husband's property but she cannot alienate it. Wife's property cannot be claimed by husband. If she dies childless then her property is bestowed on her husband.

The above description shows the different patterning and societal profile of Lepchas regarding marriage. Slight modifications and changes of customs from what has been described, are due to various external forces. Now I shall describe in short the ritualistic performances done in Lepcha marriage.

Ritualistic Performance in Marriage

The Lepcha match-maker is known as 'Pibu.' 'Pibu' is inevitable in marriage-making purpose. The parents of both bride and the groom has to app one 'Pibu' each. The 'Pibu' cons the Lama regarding life, birth body-stars of the bride and the gro The religious book from which stars are consulted is known as "Chem If the Lama gives consent to the marri then the 'Pibu' of the groom meets parents of the bride with one 'Khade' scarf. If the latter touch the 'Khade' signifies their consent in the marri Three days afterwards, the 'Pibu' of groom comes to the house of the br along with the groom and one of his frie They bring a small pot (Pambu) contain five rupees (Zer), a leg of bull or (Alam) and home-made liquor (chee). T present is known as 'Me-ak Pana-al.' A fe is arranged in the house of the bride at which all the outsiders except the gro leave. The groom stays there for three da and works in the house of the bride like slave to display his skill with a view finding favour in the eyes of his love bride. After these three days, the marri date is settled. There can be no marriage the month of May (Tafa) and the fortni following the full-moon. After the marri date is settled, the bride and the groom c freely mix and cohabit.

On the day of marriage, the bridegroo comes to the bride's house accompanied relatives, friends and a group of musicia They bring with them a large number presentations, chief of them (i) glass pot "Pambu", (ii) 20 small plates or "Lad (iii) a "Khade" or scarf with 5 rupe known as "Zer", (iv) a milch cow a heifer and sometimes blanket, clothing, e "Zer" is presented to every superior me ber of the bride's house. The presentati is known as 'Amoo Dam-Dyam' and handed over to the 'Pibu' of the bride by 'Pibu' of the groom. Then there begins merry-making with dance and music. Fo and drink are supplied to each member. T dish of the bridegroom is prepared wi special care. He is offered 4 seers of cook rice, a whole cock roasted, etc. The par drinks excessive 'chee'.

There is a fine custom prevailin

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among Lepcha society. If any friend or relative of either side becomes disorderly in behaviour, then the head of that party (bride's father or groom's father) is fined and the amount is paid to the other party. This fine (usually five rupees for each time) is paid without a grumble. This custom is primarily practised to check the outburst of drunkenness.

After the feast is over, the couple sits side by side. They wear a single scarf. A pot of 'chee' is placed in front of them. The priest offers some 'chee' to the forefathers of the bride and the groom upto seventh generation. Afterwards the 'chee' is taken by the parents and the couple. Then in the name of God, the bride and the groom chant hymns and thus they become husband and wife. This ceremony is known as 'A-Shek.'

The last ceremony is known as 'Neem Chan' in which the bride goes to the house of her husband. A 'Padam' or water-carrier full of water, is kept in front of the gate of the house. An old man of the village sprinkles water from the 'Padam' to drive away inauspicious spirits from the place. On entering the house, the bride is offered some food by her mother-in-law to show that her taste is not different from that of the boy. The mother-in-law then receives the bride with two gold or silver or brass bangles and says, "Henceforth you will live here like my captive." The last item of the function is that the bride carries the fuel (which is placed in the gate of the house) to the hearth of the kitchen. The significance of the last performance is that the bride becomes the housewife and takes charge of the food, the essential requirement of every man in this world.

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THE HUMOUR OF MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

By SAHIB SINGH AHUJA

Sarojini Naidu was one of the brightest stars that appeared on the Indian horizon soon after the turning of the century. A peerless poet, a devoted wife and loving mother, a thrilling speaker, a cultural ambassador, a dauntless fighter for freedom and a great national leader—such was Sarojini Naidu. She was so warm-hearted that to almost every one in her vast circle of friends all over the country, she was Akka—the big sister.

Her quick and lively intelligence, her gaddening interest in the good things of life, her jokes and jibes endeared herself to one and all. She was quick to see the funny side of life and could laugh at it without difficulty. She was a fount of bubbling humour wherever she was—in a conference or committee room, in a circle of friends or even in all. "Of all things that life or perhaps my temperament has given me" she says, "I prize the gift of laughter as beyond price."

When Mahatma Gandhi met Chiang Kai-shek, she compared the meeting to Micky Mouse and Donald Duck conferring each other. Mahatma Gandhi loved the name (Micky Mouse), but it took a long time for her to explain to him why she called him Micky Mouse. She had to find pictures for him and she did try very hard to get him to go to a movie, but that was not possible. Gandhiji did see one film in his life, in 1944, and was not much impressed by it.

Born of farmer parents of sturdy stock, Sirdar Vallabh Bhai Patel had inherited in his temperament and action the qualities typical of rural life. Sarojini Naidu, in her usual irrepressible humourous vein once said that the great Sirdar understood agriculture better than any other culture.

She has been much critical of the food that Mahatma Gandhi took and in her letters to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru she has

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referred to Mahatma Gandhi as "the little-man."

As a sequel to the 'Quit India movement' launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1942, all the members of the Congress Working Committee including Gandhiji and Sarojini Naidu were detained. At Gandhigram, Juhu, Sarojini Naidu, who had been a co-detenue with Gandhiji in the Detention Camp at Poona, and like him had been released on grounds of health some time earlier, planted herself as his gate-keeper and watch-dog to protect him from the curiosity of the crowds, importunate visitors and intruders. Here was a difficult and delicate task. But she did justice to it as she alone could have done. Unmindful of her own frail health and need for rest, she stood guard over him like a mother-tigress over her cub, vindicating the affectionate nickname of Ammajan (mother dear) which Gandhiji had given her.

A story in which Pandit Nehru was the victim of her innocent humour is well known. We know that Pandit Nehru is bald but when he wears his cap he looks much younger and most handsome. The story goes that at a tea-party there was a bevy of gaping young girls surrounding him and listening with admiring eyes to his interesting conversation. Suddenly Mrs. Naidu cried out, "Jawahar, take off your cap and disillusion the girls!"

Once in a Congress meeting she was present when Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel were sitting with their shawls covering their heads. A foreigner, who was unable to recognise them, enquired from her as to who those persons were. "Oh, cannot you make-out their identity?" said the eminent poetess, "They are the widows of Mahatma Gandhi!"

The following extract from the foreword to the book entitled **Mahatma Gandhi**—by S. Polak, H. N. Brailsford and Lord Pethic Lawrence—by the late Sarojini Naidu, gi another instance of her keen sense of sparl ling humour.

"Curiously enough my first meet with Mahatma Gandhi took place in Lond on the eve of the great European War 1914 when he arrived fresh from his triump in South Africa, where he had initiated principle of passive resistance and won victory for his countrymen, who were that time chiefly indentured labourers, ov the redoubtable General Smuts. I had been able to meet his ship on his arrival, the next afternoon I went wandering rou in search of his lodging in an obscure p of Kensington and climbed the steep sta of an old, unfashionable house, to find open door framing a living picture of a lit man with a shaven head, seated on the fl on a black prison blanket and eating a me meal of squashed tomatoes and olive oil of a wooden prison bowl. Around him we ranged some battered tins of parched grou nuts and tasteless biscuits of dried planta flour. I burst instinctively into hap laughter at this amusing and unexpect vision of a famous leader, whose name h already became a household word in o country. He lifted his eyes and laughed b at me, saying, "Ah, you must be Mrs. Nai Who else dare be so irreverent? Come i said he, "and share my meal." "No, thank I replied, sniffing, "What an abomina mess it is!" In this way and at that inst commenced our friendship, which flowe into real comradeship and bore fruit in long, loving, loyal discipleship, which ne wavered for a single hour through m than 30 years of common service in the ca of India's freedom."

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THE ROLE OF AFRICA IN THE WORLD TODAY

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL

West Bengal Educational Service, Maulana Azad College, Calcutta.

In the present-day context of a world-wide cold war when some political prophets even suggest that the rumblings possibly of a Third World War are within an audible distance, it is important to ask: "Where stands Africa today politically?"

The answer to the question is, however, extremely difficult, depending as it must, upon an analysis of a large number of factors including the geography and the history of the continent, the racial composition and other general characteristics of its population, its natural and economic resources, its legal, political and strategic position, its culture and civilization; and all these in relation to the rest of the world, not excepting the organization of the United Nations.

Anyone who looks even at the surface of modern world affairs can see that Africa is awake and alert today and can no longer be ignored in international politics. Africa which could be represented for some period at least in the Assembly of the League of Nations by 4 Member-nations at most, is being actually represented in 1961 at the General Assembly of the United Nations by as many as 28 Member-nations. During the whole period of its legal existence from 1920 to 1946, the League of Nations which had in its first year only 48 Member-nations, could boast of having recruited at most 63 Member-nations in all. Of them 29 were from Europe, 21 from America, 7 from Asia, 4 from Africa and 2 from Oceanea, though as a result of withdrawal, annexation, extinction or expulsion only 44 members attended the final meeting of the League Assembly on April 18, 1946. The United Nations which began as a world organization in 1946 with 51 members, with 4 of them only from Africa —the same 4 as in the case of the League of Nations—is bustling in 1961 with as many as 28 from Africa, 28 from Europe, 23 from Asia, 22 from America and 2 from Oceanea, making thus a total of 103 nations within a single world organization.

If membership of a world organization was any index to the political role that a nation plays in world affairs, it might be suggested that, roughly, Africa, as a continent, should be able to exercise in the politics of the United Nations today about 30% of political power in comparison with the rest of the world. This is certainly not the case, not even in the General Assembly where, as against the Security Council, the members of the United Nations have legally equal voting rights. That it is not, and is not even expected to be so, under existing conditions, requires no emphasis. Everyone knows that the power that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. exercised in world politics during the days of the League of Nations could not be measured simply by their voting strength in that organization. For the U.S.A., although a great power even during the League of Nations days, was never a member of that body, and the U.S.S.R., which also even during the League days was recognized as a great power, joined the League only in 1934 and was expelled from it on December 14, 1939, and could become a great power in the United Nations only by her significant political and military victories against the Axis powers during the Second World War.

The position of an independent nation as a member of a world organization is, of course, important. For, her independent membership of any world organization, enables her to deal with other similar nations there more or less on a footing of equality, so that the other nations, specially the great powers who mainly play the game of world politics, have to take a cautious account of her, cajoling, flattering, persuading her, occasionally even threatening her or granting money or other material gifts. From this point of view each nation in a

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world organization may be an independent and separate playing-card in the game of international politics, though some nations, specially the powerful and intelligent ones, are not simply cards, but may also assume even the additional role of players in this highly exciting game.

The Kaleidoscopic manner in which the new nations from Africa were added to the membership of the United Nations in recent years—most of them former non-self-governing territories or trusteeships under France, and a few under the U.K., Belgium or Italy—makes an already difficult task of analysis still more difficult on account of the short range of vision allowed.

The **Statesman's Year-book** for 1950 recorded the existence of only 3 independent states in Africa : Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia. Along with the Union of South Africa (which upto May 1961 was recognised as a dominion only within the British Commonwealth and not a Republic which it henceforward claimed to be), they were the only nations which were recognised in 1950 as separate nations within the United Nations, as also earlier in the League of Nations. Libya, an Italian colony, from 1911, was wrested from Italy during the Second World War and became an independent nation under the United Nations' auspices on December 24, 1951. After the U.S.S.R. waived her veto against Libya's application for United Nations membership, Libya became a separate member from Africa in the United Nations on December 14, 1955. The Sudan was released from Anglo-Egyptian condominium in 1956 and only two months later, the French also abandoned their protectorates over Tunisia and Morocco. To the territories of Morocco were added in 1956 also the territories of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco and the international zone of Tangier. Tunisia and Morocco then, like Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, refused to continue as Associated States within the French Union under the 4th Republic. These three additional nations from Africa, viz., Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco were then brought within the family of United Nations membership on November 12, 1956. The State of Ghana came into existence on March 6, 1957, when the former British Colony of Gold Coast and the British trusteeship territory of Togoland attained Dominion Status. On March 8, 1957, Ghana became a separate member from Africa in the United Nations. The independent Republic of Guinea was proclaimed on October 2, 1958, after the territory of French Guinea had decided in the referendum on September 28, 1958, to leave the French community under the Constitution of the 5th Republic. She then became another separate member from Africa in the United Nations on December 12, 1958, bringing the total number of African membership in the United Nations to 10 at that time.

None of these political changes could compare in magnitude with the events of 1960 which saw the addition of 16 new members to the United Nations. Of them, Senegal and Mali were admitted on September 28, 1960 ; Nigeria on October 7, 1960 ; and the remaining thirteen on September 20, 1960. In 1961, two more nations were added to the list of United Nations members ; they are Sierra Leone and Mauritania.

Of these 18 new entrants from Africa into the United Nations, 12 were former overseas territories in the French Union under the Constitution of the 4th Republic and became member-states of the French community in June, 1960, under the Constitution of the 5th Republic. They were : (1) Mauritania, (2) Senegal, (3) Mali, (4) Ivory Coast, (5) Upper Volta, (6) Niger, (7) Dahomey, (8) Chad, (9) Central African Republic, (10) The Republic of Congo, (11) Gabon and (12) Malagassey ; 2 were associated territories within the French Union, being until recently her trusteeships under the United Nations, viz., (13) Togo and (14) Cameroons ; 2 were British colonies and protectorates, viz., (15) Nigeria and (16) Sierra Leone ; one was a Belgian colony, viz., (17) Congo ; and (18) the last, Somalia, consisted partly of an area formerly a British protectorate and partly of an area under Italy as a United Nations trusteeship. Most of these new members are very small in area as well as in population and are of doubtful viability, the biggest in population being Nigeria with about 35 million, Congo coming next with about 13 million, while the Republic of Congo and Gabon have less than

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a million and half-a-million people, respectively.

In allowing the member-states of the French Community the option of complete independence, France passed through a serious constitutional controversy during 1960. After much hesitation France now stands committed, like the British, to the principle of complete independence for its colonies and protectorates—a principle which she had been hesitantly prepared to admit earlier only in regard to her trusteeships.

Such, however, is not the case with regard to the Portuguese and Spanish policies in Africa. Portugal still maintains her imperialistic control over Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Archipelago with a total area of about 800,000 square miles and a population of about 10.5 million. An amendment to the Portuguese Constitution in 1951 had declared these, as also Goa, Timor and Macao, its offshoots in Asia, provinces of Portugal itself. With its entry into the United Nations in 1955, Portugal had come under the pressure exerted primarily by India to submit information about these territories under the terms of Art. 73 (E) of the Charter. On November 12, 1960, the trusteeship committee of the General Assembly approved a resolution sponsored by the Afro-Asian powers formally asking Portugal to comply with those terms. Its endorsement in plenary session was overtaken on December 14, 1960, by the approval of a more sweeping anti-colonialist declaration demanding immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial territories without any conditions or reservations based on subject-peoples' inability to rule themselves. Several sponsors from Africa asserted during the preceding debate that the declaration was chiefly directed against Portugal and Spain.

Perturbed by the United Nations' attitude towards the colonies, Spain in April, 1960, converted Rio Muni and Fernando Po into overseas provinces, as it had done with Ifni and Spanish Sahara in 1958. Spanish Morocco was, however, handed over to Morocco itself earlier in 1956.

Some of the European powers thus appear a bit more liberal than Spain and Portugal in respect of their colonial policies. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Africa is today free from colonialism, the worst evil, according to some, in modern world politics. Even today the U. K. maintains her colonial hold in such areas as Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Gambia, Central African Federation, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika. These cover a total area of over 2 million square miles with a population of about 25 million. Tanganyika, however, with a population of 8 million is a United Nations trusteeship under the United Kingdom. Another remaining United Nations trusteeship is Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian control. It has a population of about 4 million over 20,000 sq. miles. France continues her age-old colonial policy over Algeria and Somaliland covering an area of nearly a million square miles with a population of about 10 million.

Of all the colonial powers, viz., the English, French, Italian, Belgian, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and Germans with colonial control over Africa at one time or another, German control has now been completely eliminated. If Germany, which, like most other colonial powers won her African territories only in the 80's of the 19th century, had not been deprived of them, as a consequence of the First World War, she could today boast of a colonial area in Africa of nearly a million square miles with a population of about 13 million. For the German empire extended to Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika, Togoland, Cameroons and South-West Africa. Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika are now United Nations trusteeships, being League of Nations' mandated areas formerly, under Belgian and British control, respectively. Togoland and Cameroons have become free after the British and French control over them under the authority of the League of Nations and the United Nations ended only recently. South-West Africa, given as a mandated area under the League of Nations covenant to the Union of South Africa, has been incorporated in the Union against the wishes of the United Nations.

Italy also has completely lost her empire

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in Africa covering such areas as Ethiopia, Eritrea (which is now united with Ethiopia), Libya and part of Somaliland. In this, sometime Italian empire of one million sq. miles, now live 20 million independent peoples.

Spain has only lost her portion of Morocco and still maintains her African empire over 1 million Africans living in an area of 130,000 sq. miles. But for Ruanda-Urundi, which Belgium got from Germany, the Belgian empire is also almost gone. Had it remained, it could today account for an area of nearly a million sq. miles and a population of 17 million. The Portuguese colonial empire in Africa remains almost intact covering today an area of less than a million square miles and a population of about 10 million.

France also controls today a big colonial area in Algeria and Somaliland with an area of less than a million square miles and a population of about 10 million, though the French Empire remaining intact would have covered today an area of about 4 million square miles and a population of some 30 million Africans.

It was, however, the United Kingdom which built up the biggest colonial empire in Africa, for had it remained intact, it would have covered today an area of nearly 5 million square miles and a population of nearly 120 million Africans. The British Empire in Africa today has shrunk to about half its former area and controls a population of about 25 million Africans.

The Dutch in Africa were not seriously aided by their mother country, Holland, and lost their political supremacy in Africa to the British almost fully around the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, though as Africaners, the Dutch Boers enjoy very great privileges in the Union of South Africa even today.

This is a brief picture of how the different parts of Africa have been put before the political stage of the world today under existing legal conditions among nations. For a fuller appreciation of the political role of Africa in the world today we should remember a number of other facts. Geographically, Africa is the second largest continent containing some 11.5 million sq. miles, while, Asia h 16.5 million sq. miles, North America million sq. miles, South America 7 mil sq. miles, Europe 4 million sq. miles, a Oceanea 3 million sq. miles. In populat Africa today is the home of some 220 mil people of many races and a wide variety cultures. This means that about one-fifth the earth's land surface is occupied by ab one-fourteenth of her total population Africa. About 170 million of this populati living in less than 8 million sq. miles Africa are today represented in the Uni Nations General Assembly by 28 indepe ent member-nations. The remainder Africa, less than 4 million sq. miles, oc pied by some 50 million people, are s colonies, non-self-governing territories trusteeships under the control of t United Kingdom, France, Portugal, Belgi and Spain. The non-self-governing area a population may be considered still larger it be suggested that the Union of So Africa is virtually a European state, or nised and functioning in South Africa w fairly democratic rights only for 3 mill Europeans who pursue a policy of sava apartheid as against 9 million Africans, million coloured and mixed races and so 430,000 Indians deprived of all kinds political, economic and social equality.

In the north of Africa, today are ruins and remnants of classic civilizati of Carthage, Greece, Rome and Arabia. the south, there have been more than years of European penetration and occu tion as against almost defenceless Afric of various races and tribes. In Africa, to there are diversities of all kinds. The m familiar among them is the separation i North Africa and Africa South of Sahara. According to John Gunther, Sahara is often called a sea of sand, and is really sea—a sea, moreover, that se rates Europe from Africa more than Mediterranean does. The French in pa cular always recognise that Africa is divi into two separate entities by the Sahar they almost never use the blanket te 'Africa' but differentiate between 'No Africa and Afrique Noire. Above Sahara, Africa is Europe; below, Afric Africa."[1] More correctly, however, N

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Africa is not a part of Europe, but of Asia or West Asia. In the words of Prof. Rupert Emerson, "Islamic in religion, and peopled largely by Arabs, North Africa in most respects is attached to the East rather than to the continent lying to the South, although both Arab and Islam have penetrated deeply South of the desert."[2] The real Africa is the Negro Africa of the Tropics, fringed on the North by Arabs and Muslims and on the South and South-East by Europeans still predominant politically, economically and socially, though unbelievably small in number.

The "heart of the African problem" politically or otherwise is this: "The total white European population of Africa is probably only five million. Everybody else on the continent—with the exception of some 600,000 Indians and minor colonies of Lebanese, Syrians and the like—is of African stock."[3] Yet until 1960, the white man was the ruling authority in most of Dark Africa. Of the total white population of 5 million, two and a half million are concentrated in the Union of South Africa and 1.6 million in what was until recently French North Africa and Algeria and Sahara, so that there are only about a million white Europeans in all the rest of Africa.

Besides the Europeans, Africa is divisible into a number of other racial groups. Of them Hamites and Semites, who live in North Africa, who are also called African Whites, and who are believed to have derived their names from Noah's sons, Ham and Shem, are almost all Muslims except in Ethiopia where Hamites are only predominantly Christian, the rest being Moslem or Pagan. Due to great Islamic influence most of the peoples here ignore race as a factor in political life. Accordingly, some 7 nations from North Africa, (1) Ethiopia, (2) Egypt, (3) Libya, (4) Tunisia, (5) Morocco, (6) Sudan and (7) Somalia may exercise their political influence being guided by other considerations like Islamic solidarity, anti-colonialism, economic interests or simply humanity.

Between the Sahara and the Equator live the Sudanese and so-called "True Negroes." From the Equator southward, live the many tribes of the Bantu. Pygmies are found in the equatorial rain forest, while small groups of Bushmen and Hottentots live in South Africa. They belong to the main Negro stock, though there have been profuse admixtures of various kinds. To the extent race is a factor in international politics, some 20 members of the United Nations from these regions today together with such Negro States as Cuba, Haiti and Dominican Republic in the western hemisphere, and with the support of some 50 anti-colonialist nations in North Africa, North and South America, Asia and even Europe, will most certainly exercise a most decisive influence in favour of racial equality in the deliberations of the United Nations.

To the extent religion is a factor in international politics, certain statistical facts relating to Africa today may be borne in mind. Christians are the least in number in Africa excluding, of course, the negligible number of Hindus. Of a total of 20 million Christians, roughly one-third are Catholic and the rest Protestant. Moslems are thrice the Christians, being about 60 million and are mostly concentrated in the Northern shelf and along the East Coast. About twice the Moslems are pagan. This may mean that the anti-colonial and anti-racial bias in the United Nations may be still further reinforced by the presence of delegates from the newly-freed nations of Africa—delegates who are likely to have also less interests but more ideals borrowed from all sources.

Such idealistic trends may not have their full play in view of more materialistic considerations of economics, political power and military strategy. Negroes in Africa today know it very well that no kind of religious consideration could save them from the economic greed of their European masters. A Bantu agitator is accordingly favourably received when he says: "When the white man first came to you, he had the Bible and you had the land; but now you have the Bible and he has the land."[4] As Prof. Rupert Emerson has put it, "Although there are many 'poor whites' among them, the European settler communities are oasis of prosperity in the desert of African poverty. Africa is poor, its economy is

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stunted, many of its social patterns are still primitive, and its people are illiterate."[5] Africans in certain parts of Africa are so backward that Theodore Roosevelt once referred to his railway trip in Kenya in 1910 as a journey through the Pleistocene.[6]

Yet Africa's "riches in strategic and other minerals are impressive. In industrial diamonds, columbian, cobalt, chromium and beryllium, Africa either heads the list of world producers or stands close to the top; it is a significant producer of tin, manganese, copper and antimony, and its large reserves of iron ore and bauxite are just beginning to be tapped. The uranium of the Belgian Congo and South Africa, largely destined for the United States, has contributed to the unfolding of the atomic age. The French discovery of oil in the Sahara has strengthened the resolve to keep Algeria as a part of France. To this mineral wealth Africa adds through its agriculture a variety of food-stuffs and industrial materials such as cocoa, coffee, tea, vegetable oils, cotton and pyrethrum."[7]

Briefly, then, "Africa is rich; it is also poor."[8] Independent nations of Africa will naturally try to remove this economic contradiction by the aid or inspiration they get from highly-developed industrial nations like the capitalist U.S.A. and the communist U.S.S.R. If these other advanced nations combine for Africa's economic prosperity through the United Nations, its Economic and Social Council, its Economic Commission for Africa and various Specialized Agencies, there may be all-round political peace also, not only for Africa, but the world as a whole. Otherwise, as independent nations with memories of long exploitation, colonial oppression, slavery and apartheid, most of Africa may increasingly incline in politics towards the political opponent of the Western Powers. This inclinations may be towards the communist countries of Europe and Asia headed by the U.S.S.R. and China, or towards non-alignment as a new force seeking to get benefits out of the rivalry of both the worlds till all move towards a united world through a reformed United Nations.

At the conference of the neutral nations at Belgrade from September 1 to 5, 19[illegible] which was organized by 24 nations, about half of them came from Africa and tried strengthen the world-wide outlook for non-alignment. The United Nations, however, it is organized today without making eve a semblance of approach to the ideal of world-wide sovereign state, gives more scope to the politics of power than to the politics of peace. The primary concern among the great powers today seems to be to think and act not in terms of world peace, world prosperity and world culture, but of a new world war and acquisition of strategic weapons and territories for victories in [illegible] Here is a sample of such militarised outlook: "The stake of the West and of the United States in Africa is great. Negatively, the **primary concern** is to ensure that the communist bloc secures neither the prestige nor the more material gains which would flow from enlisting Africa, or any substantial part thereof, in its camp. Strategically, the vital importance of North Africa to Europe was demonstrated in World War II, and Dakar, offering potential command over South Atlantic Shipping lanes, juts out as the nearest point for an invasion of the western hemisphere. More broadly, at a time when defence in depth has become essential, the peninsula of Europe stands far more nakedly exposed if it is not able to rely upon the great space which Africa opens up to it."[9]

It is unnecessary to give more samples of such 'Strategic' thinking in regard to Africa. Western powers regarded Africa for about three centuries from 1550 as the world's slave market or the servants' quarters. Still later they participated in an imperialist loot of almost the whole continent of Africa. It is difficult to believe that this type of thinking and acting represents a high form of culture and civilization for the human race. Yet these so-called cultured and civilized nations even today encourage of tolerate apartheid in South Africa and are not much willing to discover anything respectable in what is called "Africanism", that is, ideals and realizations of Black Africa. According to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Africanism means: "A sense of

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unseen force or spirit being present as well as working in all things, animate or inanimate in the Universe"; "a faith in the existence of a supreme Divinity"; "a sense of the continuity of life, the world of the dead and the world of the living being interlinked for ever"; "a preference for the community rather than the individual in social life"; and "a keen sense of Rhythm and Colour and Form which is manifested in African dance and drum music, in African dress and African art."[10]

A continent which developed such ideas may be poor today, as it actually is, and even for centuries as it has actually been in the past; but not for ever. Africa may well prove to be "the continent God kept in reserve."[11] After all historical records of the last 6,000 years tell us of not more than one or two per cent of the entire period for which human life has been on earth. Material prosperity, in any case, does not represent the highest form of culture and civilization. Africans, in general, placed God and Society above the selfishness of the individual. As such it may be expected that peoples there may grasp more than others such principles as Sacrifice, Love, Non-violence, Truth and Service, all leading to integration of the highest form or unity. These are Buddha's principles of the Panch Sheela which the sages of all ages have said, really lead man, a rational animal, away from animality through rationality towards divinity keeping him at a distance from the savagery of war. Accordingly, true institutions corresponding to the Panch Sheela, i.e., a Socialist, Democratic, Disarmed, Multinational and Federal World State may be brought nearer to mankind by the freedom movement in Africa gaining more and more momentum in the world today. Should, however, war be brought to the soil of Africa again, as to other parts of the world by the savagery of civilized nations, in spite of the growing strength of the freedom movement, started in a sense by India's Mahatma Gandhi, almost at the tip of Africa at the beginning of the present century, the whole of Africa perhaps jointly with Asia, will cry out, at the right moment, like India in 1942: "Quit Africa," "Quit Afro-Asia."

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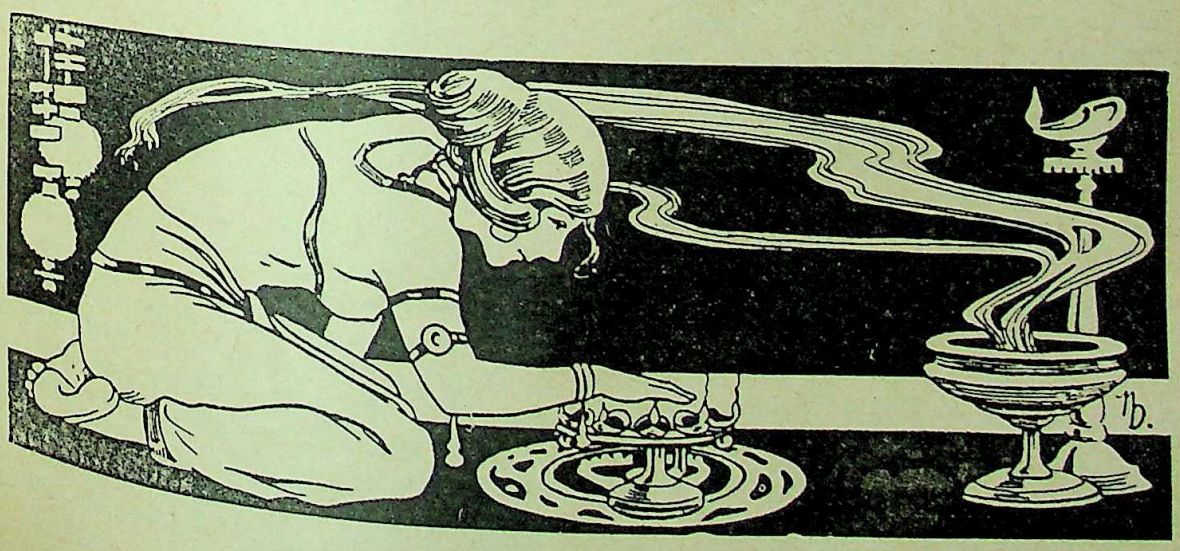
1. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, 1955, p. 7.
2. The United States and Africa, *The American Assembly*, Columbia University 1958, p. 4.
3. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, 1955, p. 6,
4. Stillman, C. W. (Ed), *Africa in the Modern World*, 1955, p. 84.
5. The United States and Africa, *The American Assembly*, 1958, p. 8.
6. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, p. 284.
7. *The United States and Africa*, p. 20.
8. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, p. 5.
9. *United States and Africa*, pp. 19-20.
10. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, *Africanism*, 1960, p. 38.
11. *United States and Africa*, p. 120.



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LAST GLIMPSES OF BAPU : *By Manuben Gandhi. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (Private) Ltd. Translated by Moti Lal Jain. Agra, 1962. Pp. 348. Rs. 15.00.*

This fresh addition to the literature on Gandhism consists of a diary of the master's earthly career, from December 31, 1947 to the tragic day of his murder on January 30, 1948. It brings down the story thereafter to a very vivid description of the tragic scenes of Gandhiji's cremation on January 31, 1948 and the consignment of a portion of his ashes to the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna of February 12, 1948. It has been written with considerable warmth of feeling by a devoted Gujarati disciple of the Mahatma from personal observation in her mother-tongue and is now presented to us in an English garb. Its great value lies in preserving often in the Mahatma's own words his reaction to the various incidents brought to his notice as well as his talk at the regular prayer-meetings and his tireless correspondence during the last month of his life. The book reflects some of the great qualities of the Mahatma's character, such as his abiding faith in God, his absolute sincerity, his strong affection for members of his entourage, his love for the common man, his hatred of sham and hypocrisy—qualities which have enshrined his memory in the hearts of his countrymen. The paper, print and get-up are good and it is introduced to us with an appreciative Foreword by Dr. Radhakrishnan. Its value would have been enhanced by the addition of a chronological table of events.

U. N. GHOSHAL

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY (First Series) *By Dr. Kalyan Chandra Gupta. Published by the author. Price Rupees eight only.*

The book comprises nine papers; the discussed different problems of logic epistemology metaphysics and ethics. Knowledge is diverse and its extent is limitless. There is room for the determination of the nature of knowledge itself. It has been used in different senses by different philosophers and this diverse use of the same term baffles the layman. Knowledge may be used as awareness or consciousness as such. Again it may be used as a form of awareness to which the predicates 'true' and 'false' may be applicable. Again, a third view proposes knowledge to be judgment-awareness which is characterised by certainty. All these three meanings of awareness have one element in common and that is the element of awareness or consciousness. If we accept knowledge in its broadest sense to be awareness, the problem does not have for a single solution. Further, knowledge may be considered a quality, state or condition of the knower or we may look upon it as a knowledge-relation. Knowledge has again been taken to be substantive, i.e., a substance which may or may not have qualities, may or may not be active and may or may not stand in relation to other things. The author in his book under review discusses all these different meanings of knowledge in their various aspects and tries to ascertain the fundamental meaning of knowledge, its ultimate nature and

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place in reality. He referred to all the important views as advocated by the Western and Indian schools of thought. Professor Gupta with the flare for a commonsense philosophy rightly repudiates the Advaita Vedantin's position when he writes: "Those who want to draw from all these facts the conclusion that consciousness is not inherently related to these objects at all, that it is simply an indifferent spectator of all things and events which are only fleeting unreal appearances, altogether ignore other aspects of our experience which also have an undeniable right to be considered in this connection." (p. 34). Thus when we try to determine the nature of knowledge, it necessarily refers to the content of knowledge and this leads us to the question of determining the nature of objects outside. The subject-object relation in knowledge raises another question whether knowledge of knowledge is possible. This question does not worry the common man as it worries a student of philosophy. The layman would say that if knowledge itself were not known or consciousness not cognised, how would we ever be in a position to talk about knowledge or consciousness at all? Philosophers have refused to simplify the question in this fashion and they have elaborately discussed the issue in its minutest detail. The views of Nyaya-vaisesikas, Bhatta Mimamsakas, Prabhakara Mimamsakas and Advaita Vedanta have been elaborately discussed and the Western views, specially that of Alexander, in point have been subjected to a strict logical scrutiny. The well-known Indian theories regarding the validity of knowledge, viz., Svatahpramanyavada Paratahpramanyavada have been discussed in an exclusive chapter. The theories have been very carefully presented in modern epistemological terminology and as such the students of philosophy will find it to be of great profit especially when they have no access to the original Sanskrit texts and their commentaries. The book, as a whole, has been meant for students of philosophy who have already been initiated to it. They will find all the thirteen chapters to be useful and instructive. The thirteen chapters are: The Nature of Knowledge, Knowledge and Its Objects, The Unit of Knowledge, The Knowledge of Knowledge, Svatahpramanyavada and Paratahpramanyavada, The Problem of Predication, The Absolute and the World of Becoming, Metaphysics and Psychology, Metaphysics and Ethics, Metaphysics and Logic, Individuality, Value and Reality and Bradley on Image, Idea and Meaning. In the last chapter Bradley's position has been presented with clarity and precision.

The book bears the stamp of scholarship of an experienced professor singularly known for his devoted research work. We eagerly await his subsequent series of 'Studies in Philosophy.'

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE: *By Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Calcutta University. With a Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru, Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Price Rs. 10/-.*

Dr. Sukumar Sen must be congratulated for having produced a really valuable work on the literay activities in Bengali since its inception upto the age of the Great Poet Tagore. There was in English language no adequate account of the literary activities of Bengal and the present work may, therefore, rightly be regarded as having fulfilled a real need. The Sahitya Akademi or the National Academy of Letters set up by the Government of India has been rendering yeomen's service by organising publications of historical studies of the literatures of our various languages in India. Many of us know very little of the literatures of various Indian languages and it is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Sahitya Akademi has concentrated on this aspect of our culture. It is right that the Sahitya Akademi as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru observes in his Foreword to this book, "is thus widening and deepening the basis of our cultural knowledge and making people realise the essential unity of India's thought and literary background."

In the book under review a scholastic and genuine attempt has been made to give a complete and systematic survey of the Bengali literature. In the introductory chapters, Dr. Sen has chosen the topic of the linguistic and literary affinities of New Indo-Aryan Speeches as well as of the origin and development of Bengali script. In the subsequent chapters the author discusses the pre-vernacular background of the Bengali

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literature. He then considers the reason why the Bengali literature could not develop a prose literature in its early stage. The discussion on **Carya Giti** is simply illuminating. It has also been discussed how with the spread of devotionalism in the fifteenth century the Vaisnavas made the vernacular the vehicle of the poetic outbursts of their spiritual yearnings. Then the author concentrates on the **Mangal Kavyas,** the Arrakan poets and the later Muslim writers. The latter half of the eighteenth century is marked by a growing tendency to the formation of the prose style, to the explication of which the author devotes one chapter. In this treatise of rare scholastic excellences Professor Sen gives many details about the impact of Western Culture on Bengali literature. The subsequent chapters offer a very competent analysis of the literary activities of Raja Rammohun Ray, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Ramesh chandra Dutt, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and finally of that great genius Poet Tagore. The last chapter contains a brief account of the contemporary writers in Bengali. We are, however, delighted to find with what precision and brevity all the main features of the literary activities of Bengali have been jotted down. The lovers of Bengali literature are profoundly thankful to Professor Sen for this masterly contribution to the cause of Bengali literature. We commend this book to all those who are interested in Bengali literature.

Gopika Mohan Bhattacharji.

RAMANA MAHARSHI AND THE PATH OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE : *By Arthur Osborne, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay-1. Pages 218. Price Rs. 2.50. nP.*

This is the Indian edition of the book complete and unabridged, originally published by Rider and Company of London. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, has written a foreward to this edition in which he says, "We are given here a religion of the spirit which enables us to liberate ourselves from dogmas and superstitions, rituals and ceremonies and live as free spirits. The essence of all religion is inner personal experience, an individual relationship with the Divine. It is not worship so much as a quest. It is a way of becoming, of liberation."

The author, an English devotee of Sri Bha van Ramana Maharshi, has presented in this b the life, teachings, sadhana and mahasamadhi a great spiritual person who not only attai the highest knowledge about the 'self' but sha others who can in his contact, realise the way self-knowledge and truth. In eighteen chap Early years, Awakening, Arunachala non-Re tance, The Mother, Advaita, some early Devot Maharshi's attitude towards animals, Sri Ram ashram, Life with Maharshi, his teachings, the passing away of the Great Saint are gi in a language which touches the heart of reader. The sadhana, Maharshi enjoined not dependant on any religion. Not only Hin came to him but also Buddhists, Christi Muslims, Jews, Parsis and he never expected to change his religion. Devotion to the *Guru* the flow of his grace leads to the deeper rea of every religion, and self-enquiry to the ultim truth behind all religion.

We congratulate the publishers for bring out a cheap edition of this illuminating book Indian readers. The book deserves to be wi read by men and women in all walks of life find the way of peace in their minds.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE LABOUR PARTY : *By Henry Pelling. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d.*

In a short compass of 134 pages the auth has given an illuminating history of the par which once held the government and brought socialistic changes in internal economy broader outlook in the imperial and fore policy of the British Empire. The progress these changes although retarded by subsequ Conservative Government could not be stopp altogether because the Labour Party contin as a strong opposition with varying supports fr the nation time to time.

Born in the latter part of the Ninetee Century the Labour Party, through an inte tion of several interests such as Dockers, Min Corporations, Trade Unionists, Socialists Liberals, became a powerful party and guided destiny of the British Empire.

The book is divided into eight chapters w four appendices and a good index at the e Pictures of Labour leaders—Kein Hardri, Ram MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, George La bury, Clement Attlee, Ernest Berhi, and its p sent leader Hugh Gaitskell adorn the book.

Young politicians and students will fi this book a useful study.

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DISINTEGRATION: How to avert it? *Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7. Pages 56. Price Rs. 0.75 nP.*

The lectures embodied in this brochure were delivered at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Annual Symposium held in December, 1960. It must be admitted that since the attainment of Independence, disintegrating processes are at work and all the political parties are responsible for this dangerous state of things in our body-politic. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar wants complete remodelling of the system of education, *i.e.*, education in human values, as a remedy. Acharya J. B. Kripalani rightly says that so-called provincial cultures are variants of one basic Indian culture. He advises that leaders of all political parties should come to an agreed understanding that caste, communal and linguistic differences, should not be exploited in elections and for achieving and retaining political power. Sri Shriman Narayan supports implimentals of the three language formula of education by the Central and the State Governments. Sri H. M. Patel would rename "states" as "provinces" and wants a strong Central Government 'to rule'. However, he is not pessimistic. The last lecturer, Sri K. M. Munshi, observes that disintegration is a malady of the collective mind and will of the people of India as a whole and all political parties have become instruments of disintegration. Unless the psychology of unity is firmly re-established, will to unity will remain weak. He decries 'linguism' and supports All-India Services and grouping of India in five 'zones' and a Central University at each zone with common medium of instruction. He also supports retention of English as a medium till Hindi is strong and popular enough to take its place.

This brochure containing sane and sober views of five eminent sons of Mother Indian deserves to be widely read.

A. B. DUTTA

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SANSKRIT

BHARATA-HRIDAYA-ARAVINDAM : A new Sanskrit Drama : *By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Published by Prachyavani Mandir, 3, Federation St., Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 3.50 nP.*

The beautiful Sanskrit Drama *Bharata-Hridaya-Aravindam*, composed by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, is undoubtedly another feather in his already full cap. Already pioneer in many fields, he is also so in this respect, no less. For, as yet no Drama in any language has been composed on the Divine Life of Sri Aravinda. Not only that, even a good, full biography of this Great Soul, is not available. Hence, the present work is valuable from two stand points—Research and Poetry. The combination of one with the other is, indeed, very rare. But we know that Dr. Jatindra Bimal—who has already published over a hundred research works, as well as a large number of original sanskrit works, like Dramas, Poems and Songs—is such a rare combination.

As usual with him, he has written the Dr in a very simple and sweet sanskrit, easil telligible to all. The plot is an excellent one, some of the main events of Sri Aravinda, his lime life, have been beautifully inserted great dramatical skill. It contains a large nu of exquisite verses and songs in a large nu of different metres. Although all the scenes very good, yet special mention may be mad the Alipore Bomb Case Court Scene. The thun ing speech of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Da ever ring in the ears of all.

The Drama, composed a few years ago, first staged at Sri Aravinda Ashram, Pondich during the Puja vacation, with the blessing the Mother—that being the first Sanskrit Dr to be staged there. It has also been staged se times later on.

May it be staged in every part of the wo bringing Sri Aravinda's message of Love Sacrifice to all and sundry.

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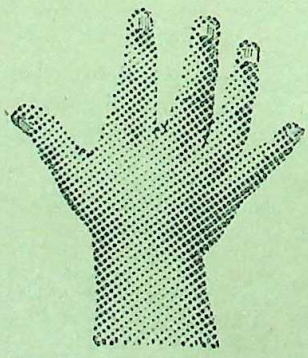

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Indian Periodicals

The Katanga Lobby

In course of a comment over the Katanga situation, the *Economic Weekly* wrote :

If any confirmation was needed of the truth of Dr. Conor O'Brien's courageous statement on the sordid realities of the Katanga situation, this has been provided by the performance of the British Government in changing its mind at the last moment about sending bombs to Congo. Pressure from Sir Roy Welensky and the threatened revolt of a section of the Conservative Party, lay behind this astounding reversal of a decision taken earlier. The role that the British and French Governments have played in giving lip support to the United Nations campaign while deliberately sabotaging all attempts to back up United Nations action, have raised visions once more of "perfidious Albion". As O'Brien pointed out, he felt greater respect for the Belgians who, at any rate had come out openly in condemnation of the United Nations action so that everybody knew where they stood.

The strength of the Katanga lobby is certainly surprising, and provides a very interesting example of how vested interests work. Many of Tshombe's supporters in the U.K. have direct financial interests in the Congo. It was to preserve the wealth of such companies as the Union Miniere, in which the British have an interest, that Tshombe was set up as a power in opposition to the Central Government of the Congo. The Belgian Government had a share of just under 17 per cent of the shares in Union Miniere. This was to be handed over to the Congo Republic, but with the Katanga breakaway, the shares have been frozen. On the basis of Katanga's wealth, Mr. Tshombe is now able to acquire modern jet aircraft, offer £300 a month to his mercenary recruits and obtain a fleet of two dozen heavy lorries from South Africa. A recent article in the *Manchester Guardian* on the wealth of Katanga points out that Britain's economic stake in the Congo is estimated to be split between Katanga and the rest, in the ratio of 45 to 55. Unilever has large interests in palm oil production, and British tobacco interests have a stake in the areas near Stanleyville. And it is not without significance that when O'Brien landed at London Airport he was provided with a bodyguard of nearly a dozen police officers.

Britain's far from creditable role can only serve to strengthen Afro-Asian suspicion, and confirm Washington's belief that in colonial matters Britain is not to be trusted entirely. Harold Wilson summed up the situation well when he said: "Britain's reputation, already fouled over Angola, will not be restored until the Government clearly repudiate the Katanga lobby among their own back-benchers and equally clearly make it known that they are not going to be influenced by the powerful financial groups which have been playing such a sinister role in recent months. Everyone knows that the foreign mercenaries could not continue for a day without outside support. The world is entitled to know who is supplying them."

Enough innocent blood has been split to preserve the profits of Katanga. Tshombe, without his mercenaries, is not a stable force, and all possible help should now be given to bring the United Nations action in the Congo to help bring about a satisfactory conclusion and build up a strong Central Government.

Atom for Peace Miracle

In discussing the peaceful use of atomic energy in present-day scientific developments, the *Economic Weekly* remarks :

Peaceful use of atomic energy looms large in all discussions on the banning of nuclear tests and has acted throughout as a backdrop to such discussions. But what precisely are the new avenues to the peace and prosperity of mankind which are barred today by the mad obsession of the rival blocs on development of nuclear weapons? If one comes to think of it, even atomic scientists are extremely restrained, if not altogether reticent, in elaborating the possible future role of atomic fission in changing the face of the earth into something more beautiful and pleasant than it is today. For years we have heard of the limited uses of isotopes in the diagnosis of diseases and medical research; similar applications in the fields of plant breeding and genetics are mentioned from time to time; and there is the recurring theme of the possibilities of the development of atomic energy as a fuel and source of power which some day will be found, we have been promised, cheaper and more economic than the thermal and other conventional sources.

Speculation about the relative costs of atomic versus other forms of energy has gone on longest and has also been the keenest in Britain than in any other country. This is because of the well-known reason that Britain's long term prospects of coal production are gloomy. This invests the search for alternative sources of fuel with some urgency. The prospects of obtaining atomic energy

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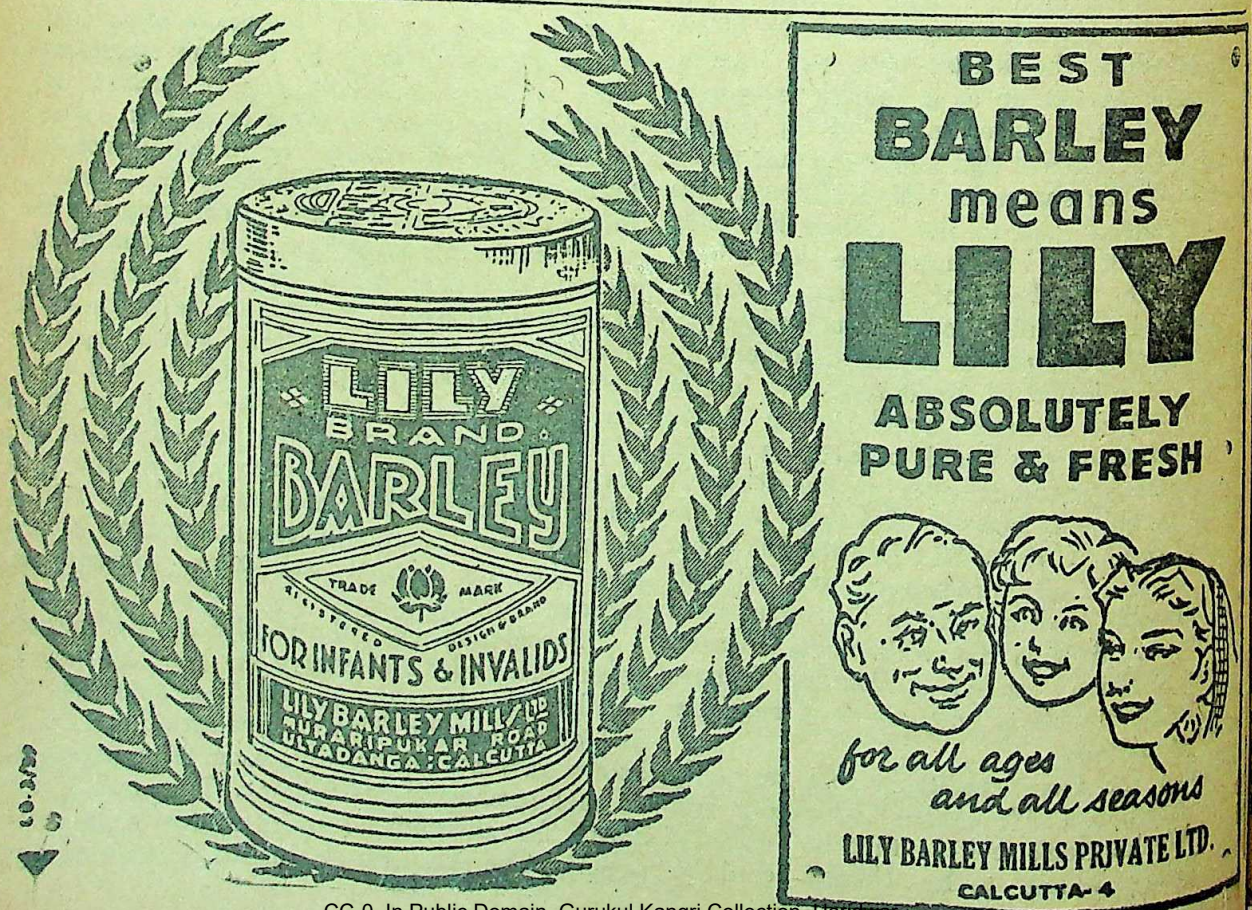
at economic cost have changed over during the last few years. The earlier estimates of the cost of nuclear power are now widely regarded as over-optimistic. The latest estimate of the Chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board which is the world's largest single customer for nuclear power stations further confirms it. The unit cost of electricity from the first commercial atomic power stations, he gave out the other day, would be twice that from the Board's new—and the highest cost—thermal plants. The nuclear power programme may still be justified according to this high authority if, and only if, a shortage is anticipated in the supply of conventional fuels; but not in terms of the relative costs of alternative fuel with coal or oil.

Any way, the subject of atomic energy as a source of power has been fairly well thrashed out and has no longer any novelty about it. But what about the other uses which stagger the imagination of atomic scientists? Those among the latter who are contemplative and philosophical sometimes say things off the record—the possibility of moving mountains, of generating heat in the caverns and the bowel of earth which could supply an unfailing and steady source of power; of the possibility of changing the course of rivers, widening and deepening of harbours; and of performing many other miracles—all within the twinkling of an eye, 'if only.' That 'if,' of course, means systematic, continuous and concentrated research. These wider possibilities, curiously enough, are rarely, if ever, played even by writers of science fiction, not to speak of responsible and informed popularisers of science. One of the latter, however, allowed himself a little latitude when commenting upon one of the recent underground explosions tried out in the United States. The testing of an underground bomb in a salt bed, he thought, could mean an attempt to study the possibility of the generation of heat of immense intensity and its retention for possible practical uses. If this is correct, the speculation is warranted that the explosion of a bomb deep in the bowels of the earth might serve the purpose of a super colossal thermal power station which could be kept going indefinitely by the periodic detonation of the tiniest of atomic bombs—provided, of course, the earth doesn't cave in.

With the progress of science and organised research, the time-lag between a basic discovery and its extensive application in diverse fields has been progressively reduced. Not so in the case of atomic energy, considering the very narrow range of uses to which it is being currently applied.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Ashes of Death

"World Veteran" of France writes in one of its issues how the sharp increase of radioactive fallouts resulting from nuclear tests is a source of danger to all mankind, and damaging to the whole world. It runs as follows :

A nuclear bomb explosion has four major effects: (1) the blast; (2) the heat; (3) immediate nuclear radiation; (4) residual radioactivity.

Fall-out begins in that fraction of a second when the billions upon billions of uranium or plutonium atoms making up the bomb are split to release the tremendous energy bound up in the nucleus of the atom. The nucleus of this atom can split or fission in some forty different ways and in the process produce some 200 different radioactive products known as radioisotopes.

Each one of the radioisotopes decays or loses its radioactivity at a certain rate, some in a matter of seconds, others not for centuries.

Radioactivity has a destructive effect on cell growth and reproduction. For thousands of centuries Man has lived in an environment full of minor radioactivity. Cosmic rays constantly shower radiation on the earth. This natural exposure is not really harmful. But the less radioactivity people are exposed to, the better. There is good reason to limit the amount of man-made radiations of many sources. The testing of nuclear weapons is only one of these sources, but it is a major one, and contrary to certain devices now used in the medical and industrial field, of no practical value to mankind.

One of the most biologically important substances found in fall-out is strontium 90. It has a long lifetime, nearly 30 years. It has a chemical similarity to calcium and, therefore, when taken into the body has a tendency to collect in the bones. It may well be that strontium 90 can cause cancer.

Among the shorter-lived fission products is radioiodine 131 which lasts 11 or 12 days. It can harm the thyroid cells. Energetic neutrons, when they are produced by the hydrogen bomb, can turn the nitrogen atoms in the atmosphere into carbon 14, an extremely long-lived radioisotope which may have harmful genetic effects.

All these substances become dangerous as soon as they enter the human body. Some of them are inhaled in the air, but most of them are ingested through foods. The radioactive materials can be in or on the vegetables or grains eaten directly by man, or they can pass up through the food chain indirecty through the grass, the stomachs of cows and then into the milk or meat.

The unit of measurement of radiation dosage is the roentgen (r). 0,3r a week is considered a normal dose. 25r radioactivity received by a person over a brief space of time can cause temporary changes in the blood. 100r cause symptoms of radiation illness, 450 are fatal.

Blast and heat are not peculiar to atomic weapons. It is the fall-out that adds a new element of destruction.

Local fall-out—immediate nuclear radiation —is mainly concentrated near the explosion. It appears in a matter of hours, is highly radioactive and would constitute a major threat in case of war. During testing, local fall-out is believed to be a danger that can be avoided.

Intermediate or tropospheric fall-out (the troposphere is the lower part of the upper atmosphere) consists of dust too fine to fall locally. It is blown up into the atmosphere, and returns slowly to earth after months or even years. The larger the detonation, the wider the fall-out hazard, which may be carried around the world.

The consequences of fall-out vary according to the kind of test. If the explosion is high enough that the fireball does not touch the earth's surface, the radioactivity produced by the bomb condenses only on soild particles spread around the world and descends very slowly. The majority of radioactivity is dissipated before it reaches the surface.

In an explosion on the surface of the earth, large amounts of material are drawn up into the bomb cloud. Many particles thus formed are heavy enough to descend rapidly, while still intensely radioactive, before decaying in the atmosphere. The resulting contamination can affect a large area.

Underground explosions are relatively harmless. In 1957, the Americans found out that—if the explosion was sufficiently deep in the ground —all fission products remain in the earth. Great amounts of "atomic dirt" would vaporize in the

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fantastic heat produced by the explosion. Moreover, the fission products would not even touch the groundwater, because they are retained in chemical combinations which do not dissolve in water.

It would, therefore, seem logical that bombs be tested underground or, if this proves impossible, in the space, where the radiation hazards are less immediate and even less dangerous. There are however, unfortunately, technical reasons for testing bombs in the atmosphere. The testers are not merely interested in whether the device goes off. They want to make detailed measurements and accurate records, especially with high-speed photography. Such measurements would be extremely difficult underground or in space. So they test in the atmosphere, thus increasing fall-out.

Fall-out is the result of the fission of atoms. This fission process is the source of energy for the smaller atomic bombs. The thermonuclear or hydrogen bomb is the result of a fusion process—the fusion of heavy hydrogen (deuterium) and lithium. This fusion reaction produces energetic neutrons which induce radioactivity in substances they hit. Furthermore, the hydrogen bomb has a fission bomb as a trigger.

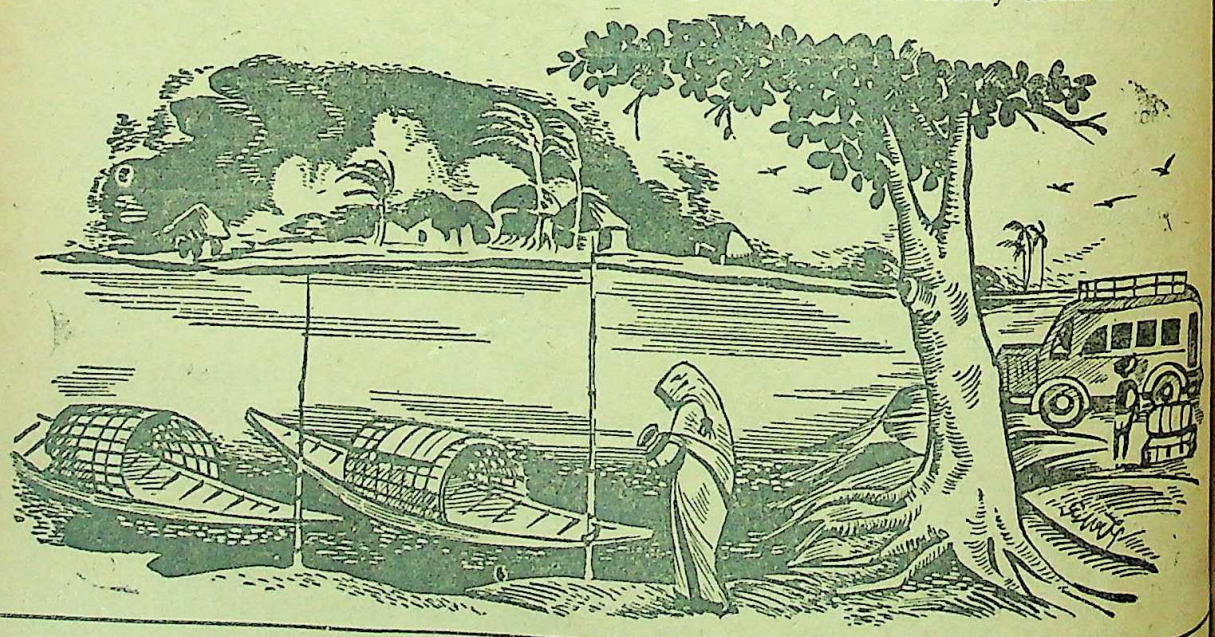
For extremely large hydrogen bombs, scientists have developed a triple-stage or "fission-fusion-fission" bomb (3F). This is an extremely "dirty" bomb, the expression being use in order to indicate the quantity of dangerous fall-out

It is the explosion of such 3 F-bombs creates grave concern for mankind. A bomb 50 megatons (a megaton is the equivalent to million tons of TNT) has about 25 megatons yield from the fission process which prod 2,500 pounds of radioactive debris.

In a pamphlet "Soviet Scientists on Danger of Nuclear Tests," published by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Mos in 1960, *Academician I.V. Kurchatov* wr "Tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons not o hold the world in the grip of constant anx as the portent of a possible future atomic w but are (and in future will be still more) hazard to the health of humanity. Calculati show that if tests are continued at the 1956 rate several million persons out of each fu generation will contract hereditary diseases to the fall-out of the radioactive isotopes of str tium, cesium and carbon that are produced nuclear explosions and that spread over the ea globe."

Until October 1958, the total fission p from atomic tests was estimated at 90 megat Another 50 have been added since and quantity of strontium 90 in the atmosphere h doubled. These figures are still far from a ra danger zone. But if there is no stop in these g bomb tests, the steady poisoning of our atm phere will reach a point where the existence future generations is seriously affected.

There is no kown protection against lo range effects of the deadly ashes from the sk



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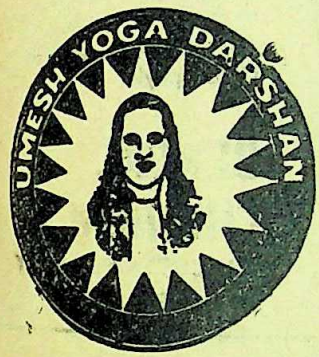

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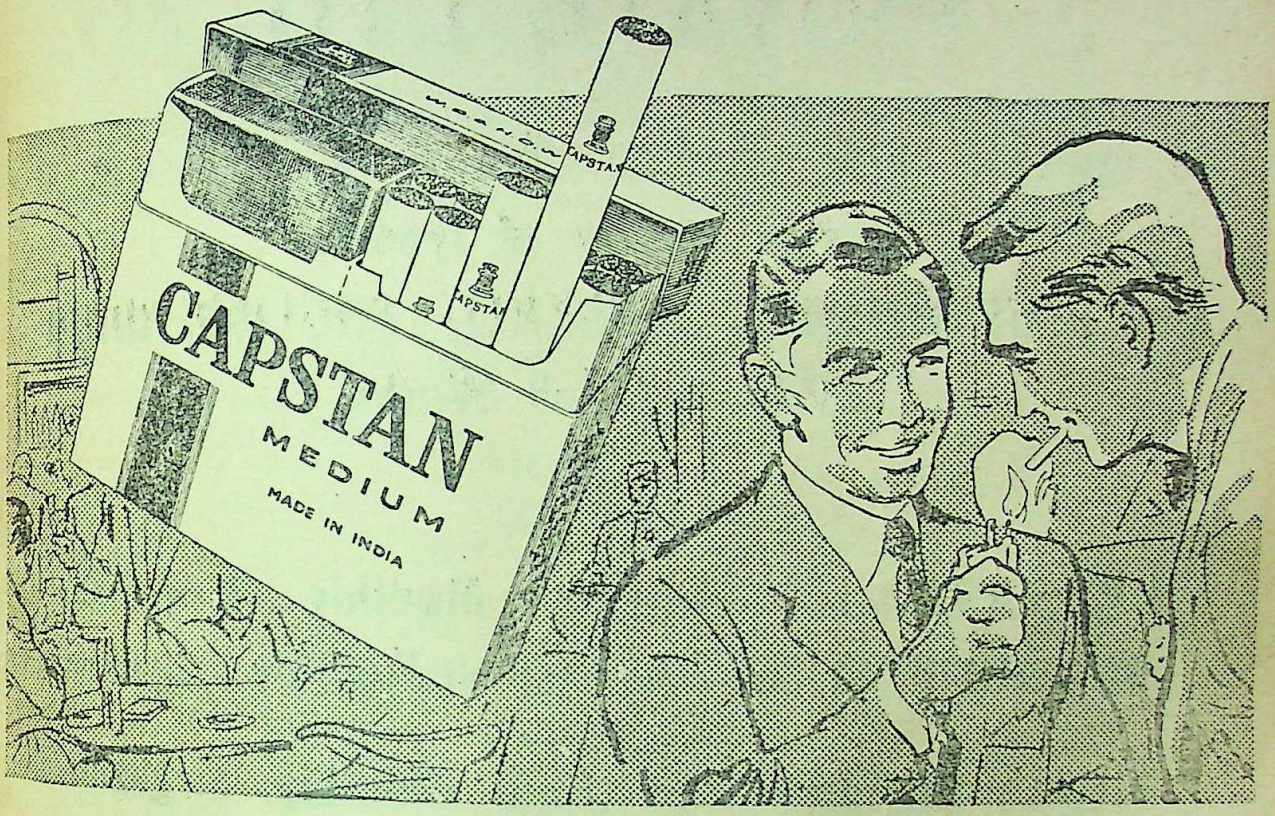

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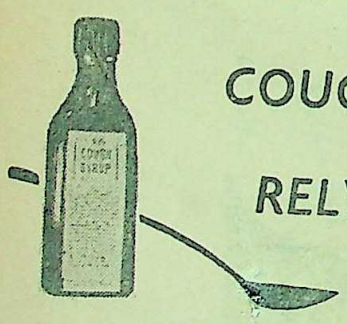

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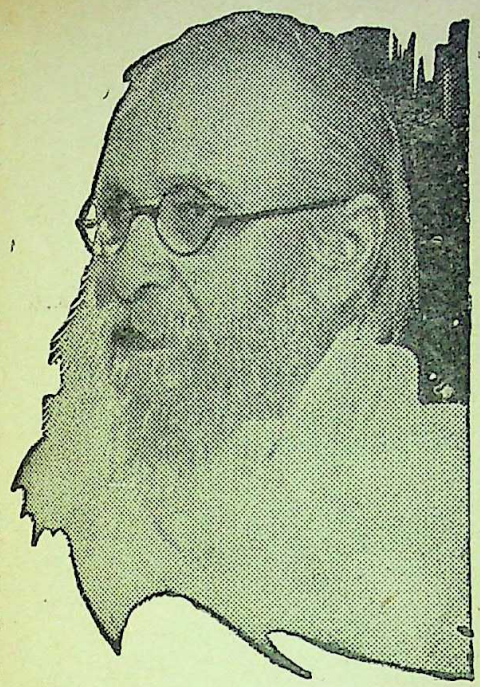

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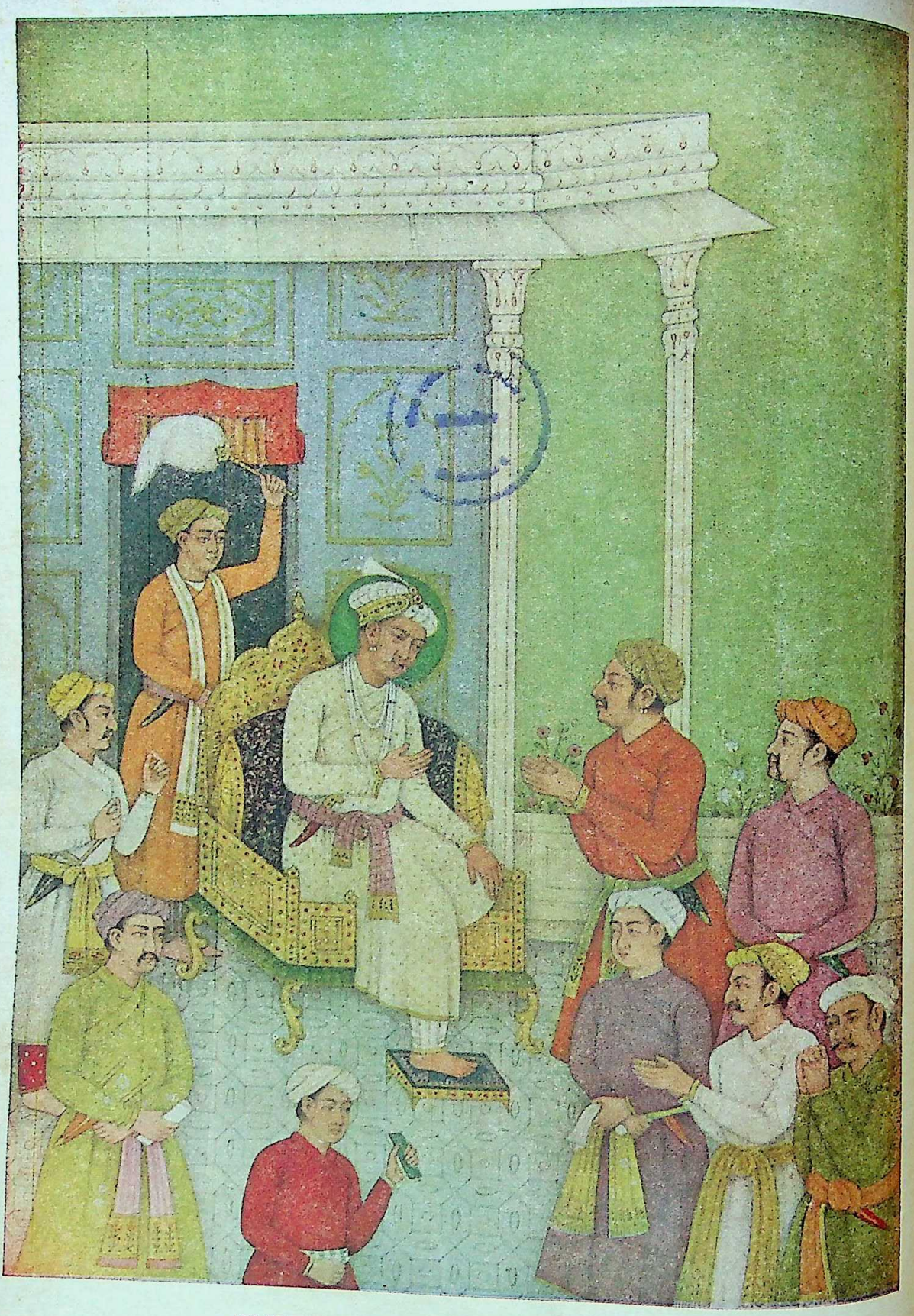

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Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1962

VOL. CXI, No. 3 WHOLE No. 663

NOTES

The World

February saw an easing of tensions—to a slight but significant extent—as between the main partisans in the cold war. There was an exchange of prisoners between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and the discussions about the proposed 18-Nation Summit Meeting was being carried on in a more relaxed atmosphere. There seemed to be a breathing space for an anxious world distracted by crisis after crisis.

In Europe, the Berlin position still remains indeterminate, but the hitch over the air-corridores to West Berlin seems to be resolving into a more negotiable form. There is no longer the tension of an ultimatum with inflexible terms present over the affair. Perhaps, the desire for a summit meeting, where all problems can be put on a table before a representative gathering of heads of the major states of the world for solution on a basis of compromise and adjustment, preponderates over all other considerations. It is too early to make any concrete prediction but there seems to be a dawn of hope for a world torn between manifold tensions.

The Algerian impasse is also showing some definite signs of a solution. The most troublesome question, as between President De Gaulle's proposals and the F. L. N. Algerian's claims, was that of the Sahara with its newly found and truly immense reserves of oil and other minerals. A compromise seems to have been arrived at by some kind of lease arrangement allowing the French to exploit those reserves while admitting Algerian ownership. There have been agreed proposals on the status of the French settlers (Colons) in Algeria, after the self-determination referendum is over and the country passes into the hands of the children of the soil. The full details of the agreement arrived at in the course of the secret talks near the Swiss border have not been revealed but the French Cabinet has approved the Pact. It has to await the approval of the nationalists (F.L.N.) "Provisional Parliament" which met at Tripoli on the 23rd February. The **Statesman** gave the news that:

"The French authorities expect there will be no obstacle to such endorsement. The 56 members of the "Parliament", the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, were appointed by the executive body, the Provisional Government, and not elected.

The cease-fire is not expected to be officially announced before next week. It will be preceded by an official Franco-Algerian conference at which the agreement initialled last Sunday will be signed.

The political agreement includes the leasing of the naval base of Mers-el-Kebir to France for 15 years, and the leasing for a much shorter period of air and military bases in Algeria.

It also includes provision for the continuation of French atomic experiments in the Sahara for at least three years, by the end of which period, it was learned here, France will have built her

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own atomic station somewhere on the coast of Britanny.

Other provisions of the Franco-Algerian agreement, according to today's independent Le Monde, include :

French forces will remain in Algeria, and particularly on the Tunisian and Moroccan frontiers, after the cease-fire.

For the interim period between the cease-fire and the self-determination referendum, probably four months, a temporary executive for Algeria will be set up with a Muslim majority. This executive will have at its disposal a mixed local police force of Europeans and Muslims to ensure freedom during the electoral campaign and referendum.

Le Monde says : 'The Algerian State will be set up when agreements have been approved by referendum.'

Meanwhile, in Algeria and in France, special security measures have been taken."

The greatest obstacle in the way of a peaceful settlement of this seven-year old ordeal, by fire and sword, which has badly besmirched the reputation of France, cost over a million lives and untold millions in financial losses, is the campaign carried on by the secret army organizations led by General Salan with the aid of the Algerian **Colons** (French settlers) and the rightist groups in France. This organization, known as the O.A.S. in France and Algeria, is trying to break up the plans of General De Gaulle by acts of violence and terrorism, planned and carried out in secret.

The vast majority of the people of France are eager for a settlement, but there is a hard core of dissidents who are tacitly supported by the upper cadres of the fighting forces. The main problem before President De Gaulle is that of keeping the army, navy and the air force loyal to his Government. The O.A.S. is unable as yet to come out in the open and challenge the power of De Gaulle. But if the armed forces veer in support towards them, then France will have to face a disastrous rebellion.

In the Congo, there seems to be a slight shift in the stand of Mr. Tshombe which has given rise to hopes that the war of secession waged in Katanga might come to an end. The key mercenary, Col. Roger Faulques was paid off by Mr. Tshombe and packed off to Rhodesia—The happy home of British reactionaries and dyed-in-the-wool colonialists. **The New York Times** gives the following details about this professional soldier :

"Recently, it was learned, black Katangese officers and soldiers acting on Mr. Tshombe's orders, escorted Col. Roger Faulques, unceremoniously and at gunpoint, to the Rhodesian border. Earlier in the day Mr. Tshombe had paid Colonel Faulques off with a large sum (severance pay, it is called). The departure of Colonel Faulques is probably the most important step toward ending the Katanga secession since the Kitona agreement between Mr. Tshombe and Premier Adoula.'

"In the strange combination of forces that formed the Katanga resistance were the Tshombe personality and leadership, the white soldiers, the Union Miniere money and resulting high African standard of living, the European population's deep hostility toward the United Nations and the skilled propaganda machine. Amid these forces Colonel Faulques played a special and vital role.

"He was the leader of the mercenaries, but more important, he was responsible for Katanga's planning and strategy, and military initiative. Colonel Faulques, oft-wounded and oft-decorated was considered by observers to be a brilliant French officer who went wrong in his Algerian politics and was asked out of the French Army.

"He came to Katanga last year and immediately became the commandant of the officer training school at Shinkolobwe. When the Belgian officers were thrown out of Katanga last August and the Katanga military resistance seemed about to crumble, it was Colonel Faulques who assumed the leadership, and went to the bush to organize the guerrilla resistance. Thus, he changed the white military leadership from Belgian to a hard core of French. The French are still contemptuous of the way the Belgian officers left in August.

"On Sept. 13, when the United Nations had attempted a military political coup, and Mr. Tshombe was ready to give in, it was Colonel Faulques who set in action the surprising resistance that resulted in the stalemate. He was on

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of the two or three most important men in Katanga, and was believed to favor a die-hard scorched-earth philosophy for Katanga.

"The exact reasons behind Colonel Faulques departure are still unclear. There is no doubt that Colonel Faulques open contempt for the Belgians had left him with a bitter circle of enemies among many Belgian advisers.

"The telephone general," they called him. In addition, they accused him of making an immense profit in the buying of the Katanga arms —by charging the Katangese five and ten times the proper price.

"But what probably was the decisive factor was the feeling of Mr. Tshombe and many Belgians, that with Colonel Faulques and his hard-core French the matter was getting out of control, that the power might not be long in the hands of civil authorities

"With Colonel Faulques gone, and with the United Nations obviously in operating control of the Elisabethville area, almost all the other mercenaries are believed to have gone, too. The danger of the arrest of those remaining by the U.N. forces has increased, and Colonel Faulques, the man who held them together, is gone. From Mr. Tshombe's side there is not enough money to pay them, and there is a feeling of disillusionment with their role in the Katanga defeat in December.

"Thus, there is the feeling among United Nations and diplomatic officials in Katanga that the mercenary problem is now a subsidiary one, that the mercenaries are no longer in Katanga in any number, and that they will return as a force only in case of failure in the current political and economic negotiations."

But despite these favourable signs there is still a great deal of uncertainty regarding the final settlement in the Congo. The fickle and uncertain temperament of Mr. Tshombe, whose ambitions are unlimited added to the fears about the future of himself and his colleagues, in case of a merger with the main state are factors of uncertainty. Added to that are the moves of shady western diplomats influenced by the Union Miniere and their willing aides, the western newspaper correspondents, who seem to have specialised in writing with a slant—the picture is anything but bright!

There is, nevertheless, a calmer atmosphere prevailing in the Congo after Mr. Tshombe got rid of the foreign mercenaries. Negotiations between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Cyrille Adoula, the Prime Minister of Congo are proceeding and although they are likely to be long-drawn, in view of the divergence in the standpoints of the two, there are hopes that accord will be reached and the Congo will be put back on the path to peaceful advancement.

More African States are due to be liberated in the course of this year, notably Kenya, and prolonged talks are proceeding in London over the terms and conditions. There are difficulties in the way of a constitutional settlement as tribal factions rule the people of the soil and the tribal leaders are stated to have widely divergent viewpoints. The people were backward in education and general administrative training, as it was being run purely for the benefit of the British Colonials, as is being done in Rhodesia.

Portugal is carrying on with its atrocities against the poor unarmed African population of Angola, while its allies of the N.A.T.O. blink in uneasy inaction.

In Asia, there are three areas in which there are developing tensions that might mount to a crisis at any time.

In the troubled area of Laos, the U.S. had to resort to the stoppage of monetary aid to the existing regime under Prince Boun Oum, the Premier, in order to bring him and his intransigent head of the army to their senses. At present there is a deadlock in the negotiations between the three princes, Royalist Boum Oum, neutralist Souvanna Phouma and pro-Communist Souphanouvong, due to disagreement over the distribution of portfolios.

There is an apprehension that general warfare will break out as minor clashes, including an attack on a provincial capital, Nam Tua, by the Communist-trained and equipped Pathet Lao forces. In a major trial of strength the Pathet Lao forces are likely to overwhelm Prince Boun Oum's ineffective army, despite all aid, counsel and supply of equipment by the U.S. The only

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alternative is the establishment of a neutral government, which the Royalist party is resisting.

In South Vietnam, there has been continuous warfare with the communist guerillas, known as the Viet Cong. The communist forces are estimated to be 20,000 strong with nearly as many part-time partisans. They control a sizeable tract of forest and rural areas and after night-fall they control virtually half the country. President Ngo Dinh Diem's forces are able as yet to crush any open attempt to attack and take over by the communists, but there are grave problems facing Diem's officers and their American military advisers in the matter of bringing under control the guerilla activities, and despite very heavy military build up of Diem's forces with U.S. aid the creeping advance of the Viet Cong has not been checked.

President Diem's authoritarian regime has been losing support amongst the people. The civilian section's discontent is increasing affecting the fighting forces. The news of a bombing of the President's palace by two fighter planes of his own air force that was flashed at the time of writing these, indicate the extent to which the disaffection has spread. There is a possibility of another attempt at a **coup d'etat** being staged at any time. Together with that there is the possibility of a full scale participation of the U.S. forces in active combat operations, as the U.S. Government has committed itself to give South Viet Nam complete military and economic support in defeating the communist attempt at a take-over. The consequences of such a participation may lead to a crisis.

The third area is South Korea. That unhappy country has been passing through successive waves of corruption and tyranny under authoritarian heads of state, bolstered up by American military and economic aid.

There is a fairly large contingent of U.N. forces (predominantly American) present in South Korea, and a fully equipped and powerful South Korean army is also there, so there is no likelihood of a direct attempt at staging an aggressive campaign by the communist forces across the border. The revulsion of the civil population towards communism, as a result of the experiences during communist occupation is an inhibiting factor in any attempt at communist subversion, as yet. But the continued frustration of the people, groaning down by corruption and tyranny and deprived of most amenities of a decent life, is beginning to show disturbing signs. This may—or may not—mean a crack-up of the stiff and staunch stand against communism but there is no dobut that a continuity of the strain on the people's patience will end in disaster.

Lastly we come to the Western Hemisphere. Uptil very recently—a bare three years to be exact—the Americas were more or less out of the orbit of Western Power politics, since after the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine. But with culmination of the revolt against the dictator Batista which put Dr. Fidel Castro in power in Cuba, new tensions started developing. It can no longer be denied that the Cold War has affected the Western Hemisphere, and that moves and counter-moves in the American States, big and small, have to be watched carefully for developing points of tension. We append below a long extract from the **New York Times** of February 4, to illustrate the viewpoint of U.S. diplomacy.

Ever since President Kennedy took office and even though there have been many other and more global issues, Cuba has been one of his most pressing concerns. Last week there began a new and important chapter in the history of U.S.-Cuban relations.

Cuba's land area is only three-tenths of one per cent of the total land area of the Western Hemisphere, and its population only 2 per cent. Nevertheless it plays an important role in hemisphere relations—and beyond, because the Castro regime has brought the issue of communism directly into the Americas.

The new chapter was marked by two major developments. Yesterday the U.S. pressed forward with unilateral action against the Castro regime by declaring a virtually complete embargo on trade with Cuba. Earlier in the week the Organization of American States in effect ostracized Cuba from the hemisphere community—although some major Latin nations dissociated themselves from the decision.

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These were among the questions raised by the week's events: (1) How will Latin America now react? (2) What will Castro do? (3) What further action can the U.S. take—and what consequences will that have?

The revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power in Cuba on Jan. 1, 1959, has had steadily widening repercussions throughout the Western Hemisphere. Castro's domestic and foreign policy aims became clear to the outside world only gradually. In fact, the U.S., which had grown cool to the Batista regime because of its autocratic methods and failure to solve Cuba's basic problems, initially was hopeful that Castro might usher in a new era of Cuban democracy.

The hope died in the echo of firing squads at drumhead trials in Cuba, indefinitely postponed elections and drastic curtailment of civil liberties, the expropriation of U.S. holdings with no firm pledge of reimbursement, and the establishment of increasingly close ties between Cuba and the Communist bloc. In 1960, Premier Khrushchev pledged to defend Cuba "with rockets" against external attack. Castro agents were at work throughout the hemisphere—in some cases openly—to "export the Cuban revolution."

Last December, Premier Castro dispelled any remaining doubt about his political commitment and course. He conceded publicly for the first time that he was a "Marxist-Leninist," claimed he had been one since the outset of his revolution, and announced that he was determined to make Cuba a fully communized state.

The U.S. at first had sought to bring pressure on the Castro regime through unilateral measures such as curtailment of trade and a break in diplomatic relations. Such steps, however, had had only limited effect. Besides, the problem extended far beyond the issue of Cuban-U.S. relations.

In that situation, Washington sought action through the Organization of American States. The twenty-one-nation O.A.S. (all the nations of the Western hemisphere except Canada) was formed in 1948, as a regional grouping under the U.N. and a coordinating body for all inter-American agencies. Its charter, combined with the Rio Treaty of 1947, provides for collective action by the member states against aggression or the threat of aggression.

But an initial canvassing by the U.S. of Latin governments on the chances for collective diplomatic and economic sanctions against Cuba revealed deep division within the hemisphere. The small Central American countries were for such action. They were close to Cuba, they had come to regard Castroist subversion as a danger to their security, and many had broken off diplomatic relations with Havana. But the larger Latin American nations had strong reservations about collective O.A.S. action. Apart from questions about whether it would be legally justifiable and politically effective, there was considerable concern in such countries as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Mexico about pro-Castro sentiment within their borders. After Premier Khrushchev's threat to defend Cuba with rockets, the O.A.S. passed a resolution against Soviet intervention in the hemisphere, but rejected a U.S. plea for a general condemnation of Cuban policy.

Disarmament

Long conferences have been held, over a period of nearly seventeen years over the question of Disarmament. Partial disarmament, particularly with regard to nuclear weapons, total disarmament, controls, "gentlemans agreements" and all the possible variants have been mooted and disputed till threadbare. The proposal for banning nuclear tests alone, resulted in 353 meetings at Geneva, without anything tangible coming out of it.

There is now a proposal for an eighteen-nation conference, to be held in the middle of March, to see if there can be any concrete agreement on this vital problem. The nations include five each from the Western and the Soviet Blocs and eight neutral nations, of which one is India. Pandit Nehru has agreed to join the conference, provided it be held in the middle of April.

There is no divergence of opinion about the desirability of disarmament, where the main opponents in the Cold War are concerned. The disputes and differences of opinion have been on the question of inspection and control. The Soviets are

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willing to accept any measure of inspection and control—**but only after the disarmament is completed.** The West is very suspicious about this proposal, as it might be a trap. The West has insisted, therefore, on a step by step approach towards disarmament, with full control and inspection on each step for all concerned.

The suspicions on the side of the Western Powers have been enhanced by the series of tests carried out by the Soviets last year. It remains to be seen what transpires at the proposed conference.

A Significant Slip

Jagriti, the organ of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, published at Bombay, has published in its February 22 issue an extract from the **Economic Times** of Bombay, which is a commentary on the recent decision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission on the use of power in the development of Khadi and Village Industries. As the **Jagriti** has given prominence to the comments of the **Economic Times**, it might be taken that the Commission authorities are in agreement.

As we are in agreement with the comments, we append below the significant parts of the same extract. We are pleased to note that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has come to this decision, as it means that they have decided to grasp at positive realities, casting aside shibboleths and unreasoned prejudices.

"The decision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission to treat decentralised production of power from locally available sources of energy as a primary village industry is a significant step since its potentialities seem to be immense. As the statement of the Commission itself points out, from the point of view of the future of the village industries, the use of power will have a tremendous effect on their development. Second, power development itself is now proposed to be brought into the orbit of village industries. Towards this end, Commission proposes to move the Government for an amendment of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission Act.

"The Third Plan points out that the village and small industries have played a significant part during the First and Second Plans in reaching the objectives of expanded employment, larger production and more equitable distribution; but an important lesson it provides is that where individual small industries, including village indutries, have failed to adopt improved techniques or to achieve economies of scale and organisation, production costs have remained relatively high and problems of unsold stocks and decline in production and employment have been thrown up.

"One of the objectives postulated in programmes for village and small industries for the Third Plan is, therefore, the improvement of the productivity of the worker and the reduction of cost by placing greater emphasis on positive forms of assistance such as improvement of skills, supply of technical advice, better equipment and credit.

"The Khadi Evaluation Committee headed by Dr. Gyan Chand has focussed attention on the fact that in spite of various attempts, the traditional *charkha* has, as an organised movement, remained a relatively inefficient instrument for spinning cotton with the result that the vicious circle of low output and low wages (and even falling wages) has persisted. It was expected that the introduction of the Ambar Charkha would lead to efficiency, but these hopes have also been belied.

"The plain truth is that the high cost of Khadi is due to low productivity and inefficient organisation and the community cannot be indefinitely asked to shoulder the burden of sustaining a high-cost means of production through rebates and subsidies. The Evaluation Committee, therefore, urged that scientific and technological research in decentralised production was one of the most urgent tasks to which the country had to apply itself because this was the only way of raising the level of production and standard of living of millions of producers in this decentralised industry. The problem of khadi, therefore, in this view, is really the problem of building up the new economy in the village. It is in this context that the recent decision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission assumes a special importance."

The recognition of the fact that all efforts at the improvement of the Charkha

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by itself are bound down by the limits of human physical power and endurance, and that no significant improvement in the conditions of living of the villager dependant on Khadi is possible unless that handicap is removed, is in itself a hopeful sign. We believe that human skills and creative abilities can be given a freer scope, not only in the spheres of homespun fabrics but also in the manifold fields where our artisans and cottage industry workers ply their traditional endeavours.

A Month of Prophecies and Slogans

The month of February started with dire predictions of calamities on all mankind in general and the inhabitants of certain areas in particular, each of these areas being where particular groups of astrologers and priests with occult skills could get a substantial gathering to listen to them. Eight planets, it was pronounced by the learned had come into conjunction with malefic intent in Capricorn and unless the proper ritual procedure were followed terrible catastrophies would follow. Needless to say millions of people, rich and poor, illiterate and over-literate fell victims to these traders in occult practices, despite all the teachings of science.

It was pointed out that of these eight "planets," two—the Sun and the Moon—were not planets in the strict scientific sense of the term, and the eighth was a totally imaginary body, a creation of the organized bodies of the ancient magicians and soothsayers, who turned such natural phenomena to their own advantage by giving plausible explanations based on the concept of Gods and Demons, Good and Evil, which is as old as man's emergence as a thinking animal. It was further pointed out that the position of the solar system in the zodiac had shifted out of Capricorn and into Aquarius before the conjunction of the five planets and the eclipse of the Sun was to take place, and that our great pundits of Astrology were out by 23 degrees in their faulty calculations. But millenniums of ignorance and superstitions prevailed and even amongst the educated, most persons had sneaky apprehensions of impending calamity and took precautions—but strictly behind a veil of secrecy!

With this astral and occult mumbo-jumbo, we had in February another invocation of mass psychology by equally skilled practitioners on the credulity of the masses. From lower reaches of the Himalayas to the shores of the southern seas, the whole land was overrun by professional politicians and their myrmidons, in their tens of thousands.

This is not the place to analyse in detail the effect of this eruption of "politicking" on a gargantuan scale. The Opposition had cried "Havoc" in their campaign and in certain areas had set out to upset the party in power. The elections are almost over and we append below the almost complete results as announced up to mid-night between February 28 and March 1, as given by the **Statesman**, as they definitely indicate the position of the States and the Union in the near future.

(*For table see next page*)

It will be seen from the tables given overleaf that there is no indication against the continuance of Congress Government at the Centre of the Union. But there will be a strong Opposition in the House though some of the finest debaters would be absent from the Opposition benches.

The position in the State Legislatures is somewhat more complicated, particularly in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, all regarded hitherto as being Congress strongholds. In the Punjab, on the contrary, the position of the Congress Government is quite safe despite all attempts by Master Tara Singh's group to render it untenable. The Congress is in a precarious position in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, and is facing a formidable challenge in Bihar and in the Uttar Pradesh, possibly all due to factional rifts within the party. In Assam and West Bengal the shift to the Left, as predicted by the political prophets, has not materialized, although it cannot be denied that the voting in the countryside shows a distinct change, as indicated by the analysis of the figures so far announced.

It will be premature at this stage to discuss cause and effect as indicated by the

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STATES	LOK SABHA									VIDHAN SABHA								
	No. of seats	Congress	C.P.I.	P.S.P.	Swatantra Party	Jan Sangh	Independents	Other Parties	TOTAL	No. of seats	Congress	C.P.I.	P.S.P.	Swatantra Party	Jan Sangh	Independents	Other Parties	TOTAL
Andhra Pradesh	43	34	7	—	1	—	1	—	43	300	176	51	—	19	—	51	2	299
Assam	12		—	1	—	—	—	—	1	105	77	—	6	—	—	8	12	103
Bihar	53	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	318	118	5	18	39	3	6	24	213
Gujarat	22	14	—	1	4	—	1	—	20	154	113	—	7	24	—	8	—	152
Jammu & Kashmir	6									76	N.C. 54, Praja Parishad					1		55
Kerala	18	6	6	—	—	—	—	5	17	126 (No election to L.A.)								
Madhya Pradesh	36	16	—	3	—	3	4	2	28	288	142	1	32	2	41	39	29	286
Madras	41	31	2	—	—	—	—	8	41	206	138	2	—	6	—	5	54	205
Maharashtra	44	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	264	206	6	10	—	—	13	19	254
Mysore	26	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	208	139	3	20	9	—	36	1	208
Orissa	20	14	—	1	—	—	—	5	20	145 (No election to L.A.)								
Punjab	22	13	—	—	—	3	1	4	21	154	90	9	—	3	8	19	23	152
Rajasthan	22	5	—	—	1	—	2	—	8	176	87	5	2	36	15	22	8	175
Uttar Pradesh	86	45	—	—	1	7	4	3	60	430	218	9	30	14	44	30	31	376
West Bengal	36	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	252	143	46	5	—	—	13	25	232
UNION TERRITORIES										TERRITORIAL COUNCILS								
Delhi	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2									
Himachal Pradesh	4									41								
Manipur	2									30								
Tripura	2									30	15	9	—	—	—	—	—	24

results, but judging from what has happen- rank has been awarded purely on
ed in the former Congress strongholds of basis, without any considerations
Bihar, MP., Rajasthan and U.P., there are integrity, efficiency or administ
strong and distinct signs of disintegration capacity. Illicit gain through corru
in the Congress body-politic, due to factional has been the consequence.
fissions in the party. The reasons for this
disintegration is not far to seek. Office and

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Collective Agreements in the U.S.S.R.

International Labour Review has published an account of Collective Agreements in the U.S.S.R. in their January 1962 number. The following excerpts will provide interesting reading:

In the Soviet Union the principle is consistently applied that the terms of a collective agreement cannot be overridden by an individual employment agreement. Under article 28 of the Labour Code, conditions under an individual employment agreement which are less favourable to the workers than those provided by a collective agreement are null and void.

Each agreement contains a section concerning wages and norms in which the responsibility of the parties for improving rate-fixing methods and streamlining the wage structure within available resources is laid down. The same section requires the management to inform each new employee of wage rates, to issue him a pay book and to keep the entries in it up-to-date.

In conjunction with the factory committee, the management gradually replaces old production norms throughout the year as technical, economic and organisational innovations designed to increase productivity are introduced. Temporary production norms, and inaccurate ones impeding increases in productivity, are reviewed in the same way.

In fulfilment of its responsibility for increasing productivity, and in accordance with the organisational and technical plans, the management fixes dates for the replacement of old production norms in the different departments and trades with a view to the general introduction of technically proved standards. The workers are informed of new production norms and piece-rates not less than two weeks before their introduction.

While new production methods are being introduced, the managements may fix temporary production norms for periods not exceeding three months, after which permanent ones must be introduced.

In large-scale or mass production, norms and rates are displayed on notice boards in each department. The work done and the piece-rate earned are then recorded on each individual work-sheet after checking by the technical inspection service. In piece-rate operations, where there are no established norms, the management must issue work-sheets before work begins.

The functions of factory committees include the following: ensuring that properly established wage systems and legislation concerning labour and wages are fully complied with, seeing that the proper wage rate is assigned for the job and the man and that workers' qualifications are fully used according to their particular skills, maintaining constant supervision to ensure that the correct wages are paid at the proper times and to take firm action to ensure that arrears do not occur; making daily checks to see that the proper work-sheets and other documents upon which payment of wages is based are issued; and keeping employees informed of the results achieved and wage levels.

Regulations concerning the rights of factory trade union committees adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on 15 July, 1958, provide that various matters concerning wages and production standards may be regulated by collective agreements. Article 6 states that collective agreements are to indicate which occupations and jobs are to be remunerated on a time or a piece basis respectively or at the rates fixed for work in hot, difficult or dangerous conditions, and also, the procedure for the classification of particular operations and the grading of workers according to the table of rates and qualifications.

Collective agreements also lay down the conditions for bonus payment by output or by time, on the basis of standard specifications, and also the categories of employees affected by other bonus schemes and the amounts payable.

A full complement of qualified supervisors, facilities to teach the workers improved methods, the organisation of technical training and the systematic improvement of the levels of qualification of engineering and chemical and technical staff, and of the standards of the training given to all employees, are essential to enable new techniques to be introduced more rapidly and the rate of technical progress to be accelerated.

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The collective agreement for each undertaking includes a plan for the training of new employees and for further training of employees at all levels. The arrangements made include provision for the training of a certain number of new employees in branches essential to the running of the undertaking (machine-tool operators, fitters, smiths, etc.) as well as facilities to enable workers to improve their skills or learn new trades. New workers are taught either in courses or by group instruction with individual supervision. Further training facilities are provided at modern training schools, through special-purpose courses, at production courses and at courses for technical staff, supervisors, foremen, rate-fixers, accountants and other categories.

The trainees themselves undertake to attend classes regularly and to perform the tasks set by instructors and teachers according to the established programme.

Collective agreements devote particular attention to providing conditions under which young employees can work satisfactorily and improve their qualifications. The management undertakes to make use of them in the particular trades they have learned, assigning them to the appropriate wage category. It also arranges for them to follow further training courses, and ensures that those still at school are offered jobs in shifts which do not coincide with their class times and are not kept at work which prevents them from pursuing their studies.

In order to raise the cultural and technical levels of workers and their productive skills, as well as to increase labour productivity, managements and factory committees organise a system whereby constructors, scientists and other engineering and technical personnel take workers under their care and whereby supervisors are assigned to give particular attention to young workers or workers who fail to reach output norms.

The factory committee undertakes to cooperate in assigning particularly skilled workers and technical personnel as instructors, to encourage attendance and to improve the level of instruction. It also takes an active part in organising schools, courses and small groups to generalise new methods and provide techn and industrial instruction. It further ensures the management carries out its pledges regard supervisor training.

In collective agreements considerable imp ance is attached to measures designed to se healthy working conditions. They are specific required to include provisions concerning further improvement of the protection of work and of industrial safety and health techniq better ventilation and sanitary arrangeme improved medical services and the organisati of rest and sanatorium treatment for workers

Collective agreements specify the total s to be allocated for measures to improve conditi of work, specify the principal steps to be ta and require the management to take the meas agreed upon with the factory committee, regar ing protection of workers and safety techniq which are set out in an appendix to the agre ment.

The management also undertakes to see t everything necessary is done to prepare w premises for winter (e.g. making sure the h ing system is in order, insulating doors), provide satisfactory lighting, to provide in g time for the issue of special clothing, footw and protective equipment conforming with es blished standards, to ensure that shower-baths other sanitary installations are kept in g working order and to provide satisfactory rooms for women workers. It is also the man ment's responsibility to see that no new empl and no employee transferred to a new job allowed to start actual work without prev instruction in safety techniques at the new w place. The management also arranges for disp of safety posters in sufficient numbers in w premises, holds talks and discussions for emplo on workers' protection, safety techniques occupational hygiene, and also organises co on the technical aspects of occupational s and health.

One of the management's most impor tasks is the making of systematic arrangem to ensure safe working conditions and to elimi all occupational hazards; this involves thor investigation into the circumstances of accidents that occur.

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In order to reduce occupational disease, the managements and the factory committee keep records of all persons who are sick frequently or for long periods and the observations of the dispensaries on their cases; cases of sickness are analysed month by month according to their causes.

Factory committees promote better working conditions and recreation for the employees by undertaking educational activities designed to prevent employment injury and occupational disease; they periodically consider at their meetings the latest standards in the field of workers' protection industrial safety and health, and provide a number of free passes to rest homes and sanatoria.

Another function of factory committees is the systematic enforcement of legal regulations concerning hours of work, rest periods and special conditions for women and young workers. They also supervise the protection of employees in the various departments, the implementation of agreed measures to improve conditions of work and of the standard health plan and the provision of medical treatment and the issue of certificates by the medical services.

Collective agreements also cover the supply of fuel to employed persons and improved maintenance and equipment of communal dwellings.

Article 12 of the regulations of July 15, 1958, states that allocation of living space owned by the undertaking shall be decided upon through joint decision by the management and the factory committee. Outstanding production workers of all grades, supervisors, war invalids and victims of occupational accidents, families of persons killed on military service and employees with large families have priority.

Factory committees are responsible for keeping a constant check on progress in the provision and standards of housing and cultural amenities and on the modernisation and general maintenance of housing, particularly communal dwellings. Occupants of factory-owned accommodation are taught ways of looking after their dwellings.

Collective agreements contain a separate section dealing with improved shopping and restaurant facilities and providing for assistance for workers who keep gardens or breed animals. Restaurants and snack bars serving employees on factory premises pay nothing for premises, lighting and water, while fuel for cooking and transport facilities are provided at cost. In order to encourage collective vegetable growing and gardening, managements and factory committees undertake to assist by allotting ground, turning over the soil and purchasing seeds and plants, as well as by providing equipment, repairing containers made out of materials left over from the production process, and supplying transport facilities.

The factory committee organises systematic and comprehensive supervision of restaurant and snack bar facilities and takes decisive action against any violation of the rules governing commercial transactions in the U.S.S.R.

Under paragraph 12 of the agreement for the Karagandin Metal Works, and under similar arrangements elsewhere, women workers with small children are allowed nursing breaks after every three hours' work and of a total duration of one hour in a seven-our working day.

Nearly all agreements stipulate that, as workers increase their qualifications, the management shall transfer them to more skilled jobs, their rates of pay being increased after they have passed a test. Workers engaged for three successive months in jobs requiring greater skill have a prior right to promotion to a higher wage grade. Many collective agreements, particularly in the engineering industry, stipulate that a worker employed in a category below his normal one is entitled to have any difference in piece-rates made up provided that he fulfils production norms and that the difference is of more than one garde.

Trade unionism has grown in the rest of the industrial world as an organisation for collective action by the workers belonging to a particular union. The right of bargaining and of strike belong to the workers themselves and the State can only come in for arbitration, conciliation or for deciding disputes judicially. Whether State-appointed men can look after the true interests of workers can be judged by the workers themselves. Generally speaking

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the above arrangements made by the U.S.S.R. appear to be yet another expression of the might of the bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R. The Rules, Regulations and the Laws are made by the Government and the interpretations, implications, applications and the implementations also depend on persons who are government servants. The workers, no doubt, can draw up petitions and hope for the best.

A. C.

As Others See The Congress

When the Roman Emperors returned to Rome after some great victory over some "barbarians" somewhere and went in a great procession through the eternal city to let all see what super-super man ruled their destiny; the supermen always had a man standing behind them to tell them constantly during their glory march, "remember thou too art mortal!" In this way they kept their balance of mind and did not fall into the error of overestimating their own greatness and "divine" powers. Pandit Nehru, Dr. B. C. Roy and all those others who are now arranging to celebrate their victories, should at this stage take stock of their own failings and shortcomings so that they might not fall into the error of thinking they had no faults and were very near perfect. The **Vigil**, with J. B. Kripalani and Jayaprakash Narayan in its board of editors has given it hard to the Congress and Pandit Nehru and its words are well-worth recapitulation. We are quoting **ad extenso** from the **Vigil's** estimate of our elections:

"The 'biggest democracy' in the world is on the move for the third time—and this time with over 21 crores of men and women tied to its ramshackle wheels. Every one of them is a voter because he or she is a 'citizen of India' and not less than twenty-one years of age. But there are citizens and 'citizens', some just crossing the border of Pakistan on the sly and managing to get their names registered in the list of voters.

Everybody knows that the Congress is the ruling party, the winning party, the earning party in politics; and because it is so there has been a regular scramble for getting its hall-mark candidates as this mark is a guarantee for immense resources in men, money, jeep cars and influence of all kinds to facilitate victory at the polls. And once that victory is won, there are a hundred and other ways of making a living out of it and, in more fortunate cases, getting rich quick. To spend for the Congress, as a candidate or subscriber, is to invest in gilt-edged securities. And, it will be an interesting and revealing study to find out how many people have risen with empty purses and filled them with how many lakhs and by what means in the last five or ten years. Naturally, there have been fierce rivalries within the party and jockeying for position in the party rank. The result is split and defiance, suspension and wooing, forming groups on the basis of personalities rather than politics and, what is worse, of casts, communities, religion and narrower and narrower loyalties. It is no wonder that national integration remains a distant goal yet and profession and practice stand as poies apart.

Against this background, the voters, a vast majority of them illiterate and credulous, are driven like dumb cattle to the polling booths to cast their 'votes'—this time by a cross-mark on the ballot paper—in favour of a candidate or party they do not fully know, judge or comprehend. In one place, it is said, the voters are bitter and large averse to a Congress candidate because he is alleged to have been guilty of treasonable activities. They are dead set against him. But the handsomely paid agents of the candidate have induced the voters to vote for the symbol of the two bullocks which are holy, and not for either the Congress or its candidate. This is only an example of how we are 'educating' our voters politically through the elections for the democratic way of life. Since, as between ends and means, it is now the Congress creed in practice though not in preaching, that ends (majority) must be secured by any means and by any acts of commission or omission, and Congress power dominance obtained for the legislatures by hook or by crook in order to remain in power, it has become impossible for men of integrity and those who hold some things at least as sacred in life, to make any headway in politics. There is

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undoubtedly some exceptions at the top. But the rank and file has accepted a philosophy of life in which money and 'power' are the new idols. As a result, all honest followers of Mahatma Gandhi—again, with a handful of men excepted—have either felt compelled to give up politics or go out of the Congress and fight as 'independents'. But with the Congress having all the resources at its disposal and the candidates being chosen with an eye only to their capacity to collect votes anyhow, it bas become an unequal fight between the ruling party and the rest. Thus, because of the odds operating against the other parties, none of them has so far been able to take the place of a real opposition—not even parties made up of those who were once stalwarts of the Congress and later came out of it to form a corrective opposition. The ambition of all other parties than the Congress in this election does not go beyond becoming the largest opposition group.

But the monopoly of power exercised by the Congress will end some day, and when it ends—perhaps after the next five years—the country will be left, on present showing, at the mercy of dis-jointed self-seeking groups of the Congress and ineffective rival opposition parties wrangling with each other, jeopardising the very unity of India, and presenting to the Communists with their extra-territorial loyalties a vast sheet of troubled waters in which to fish to their hearts' content. It is an admitted fact that national character, thanks especially to the degeneration of the Congress and its rule, is at its lowest ebb; in fact, it has touched bottom. It is now a One Man Party. Consequently, we have a one-man democracy and a one-man government. But even this—the projection of an all-powerful leader's image—is a false facade. It does not rest on the support of people owning a common and sincere loyalty to any principle or programme but on the opportunism of individuals and groups that are ready to profess anything and subscribe to any slogan so long as they are free, in practice, to pursue their own ends : pelf and power. And the leader who is not unaware of this basis of his leadership must himself, be the most consummate opportunist of all.

Almost everything against which Shri Nehru rants publicly is permitted free play within the Congress party. When it seems really nothing and nothing practically is at stake, he will preach homilies about the importance of principles and the unimportance of elections, about how he would prefer losing a hundred elections to breaking a principle, and so on. But the present campaign has shown to what lengths he of unscrupulous electioneering our Prime Minister himself can go. For instance, nothing can beat the immorality of the complaint, in the mouth of the leader of the Congress party and the Congress government, that rich men and capitalists are giving money to the Opposition! This from the man party, thanks to its being in power, has been receiving or exacting millions upon millions from Big Business! This from the men whose regime has coincided, under the misty veil of bogus talk about "a socialistic pattern of society", with the largest ever capitalist build-up in any period in the history of this country!

A. C.

Things Physical and Moral

The Statesman, Calcutta, of February 27, 1962, points out certain physical and moral facts relating to the elections. Regarding the way the election campaign has disfigured the City's walls, roads, lanes and pavements and masses of printed stuff that have been dumped everywhere **The Statesman** rightly says :

"The litter now adorning almost every street, lane and by-lane in almost every city, town and village in India does not consist only of election posters, streamers, throw-aways and pamphlets (some of which are in poor taste) although these need to be cleared as early as possible. Considering the usual competence of our municipal bodies, the public may have to see these pathetic, tattered excitants of yesterday for days and weeks to come."

The Statesman suggests that the volunteers who disfigured the city should now be made to restore to the city its "elegance" (if it possessed any). What the volunteers or the municipal "scavengers cannot clear"

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is "the vast heap of discarded values" which the politicians may be able to clear by better conduct and behaviour in their public activities in post-election days.

"Many candidates, regardless of party, encouraged, helped or connived at things they knew to be wrong; in most cases, politically, and in all, morally.

* * * *

Many in office set deplorable examples of mixing party and government, of mixing election work and official travel. The whispering campaigns were not always free from indecent references to personal lines. How many election accounts will be obviously distinguishable from what income-tax officers call 'swindle sheets?' The public will never know just how many false votes were cast. The number may well be distressingly large without necessarily distorting the pattern of representation. Those who organised such votes do know the disservice they have done to democracy, and at least one party manager has been known privately to boast of the increased efficiency of his machinery for false voting.

The real corruption may only be starting, for those who spent more than they could afford will seek ways of recovering at least part of the expense. India is justly proud of her free elections. The authorities usually do their best to make these also fair. A third requirement may be added: elections should also be clean. Only politicians and their parties can ensure that."

The preparation of voters lists and the identification of voters should be made better and less liable to falsification than these have been so far.

A. C.

Free and Fair Elections

The **Amrita Bazar Patrika**, Calcutta, finds in the elections a "great" strengthening of "democracy" in the world. The elections passed off "smoothly and peacefully" and that being so, in the opinion of the **Patrika**, "the elections were free and to a remarkable degree." The question moral values and ethical standards has been raised by the Baghbazar journal, perhaps, because, corrupt practice is all pervading and what cannot be cured must endured.

A. C.

Treachery Within The Party

While partywise there have been lit criticism of each other's moral outlook the matter of securing votes, for the reas perhaps, that all parties engaged in unf practice to win their ends; there have be some instances of party-men conniving activities aimed at lowering the prestige their own party candidates. Even we known leaders of certain parties have i dulged in such acts of treachery. T **Hindusthan Standard,** published the fo lowing remarks in their **Political Diary** February 27, 1962:

"Indeed, in some Lok Sabha constitue cies, Congress candidates entered into ove arrangements with rival parties and back opposition candidates for Assembly seats the promise of the votes of their supporte for the Lok Sabha contest."

We do not know if this refers to t election of candidates for the Asans constituency.

A. C.

Our Legislators and Rulers

It is a great pity we do not come face to fa with the parties that aspire to rule us before put our mark of approval on the pair of bullo or the ear of corn and the scythe. We may oc sionally meet a candidate in person; but he o belongs to a party and has to take his directi from the party without having any right to co mit the party to any particular policy or cou of action. We cannot ask him to agree to lo bus fares or the price of sugar in order to e our support; for, if so asked, he would no d say; *Kya Malum? Party janta.* And the party in those rarefied heights where no voters can re

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it. The political parties of India never come down to ground level and talk about the price of food or clothing or about anything, in fact, which is of vital interest to any voter. Industrialisation, Gram Panchayats, spread of Hindi, prohibition, moral upliftment, abolition of superstition and establishment of pure reasons as the only thing to worship, and so on and so forth. Everything to cost more money to the tax-payer without any three dimensional undertakings from the parties who want to be our rulers. This has been going on for fifteen years and we have been giving blank cheques to a lot of irresponsibles who never undertake to do anything precisely nor promise to give something in exchange of every rupee we pay in taxes. It is high time we learned to bind the irresponsibles down to particular policies and lines of action. We cannot go on being "free" and supercharged with "liberty" with no certainty that we shall be able to buy our next meal according to our choice or that our life's savings will not just vanish into thin air by the inflationary adventures of our party leaders. We agree that we must vote at election time inorder to keep our democracy going; but we should insist that our candidates behaved rationally and like persons who believed in entering into a sort of moral agreement with their supporters and also in honouring the agreements. Responsible and representative government does not mean irresponsible and unilateral use of political power. The whims and fancies of party leaders cannot be called political policy; and, unless the party leaders learnt to treat the public with respect and honour; the public may find out other methods of carrying on the democracy than by blindly handing the reins of government to a lot of elusive persons who made our lives as unstable as their own characters.

Social security is the economic foundation of modern human society. Full employment, a living wage, security against unemployment, illness, old age and all those other circumstances which inevitably cause suffering to those who have no defences; all these have to be arranged to build up a strong, happy and prosperous nation. A few giant factories scattered over great distance and some impressive organisations alone cannot build the nation. The country is slowly accumulating the poisons which will eventually render it prostrate and helpless. We have noted three times in the manner of persons who never learn by experience. We have no alternative either. "Vote or land yourselves into a state of anarchy" has been our sole guiding directive in the field of politics. But this cannot go on. We have to evolve methods of securing a truly and factually responsible and representative government for ourselves. This is only possible if we can make our elected rulers give precise undertakings and to honour the undertakings.

A. C.

Life Insurance in India

Life Insurance has grown phenomenally in India during recent years. The Government of India, *i.e.*, the Congress party interpret this as the result of nationalisation of life insurance. But we think that it is the natural product of the government's taxation policy and the slow and steady increase in the quantity of currency in India. For, whereas, in the thirties and middle forties of this century a man paid not much in taxes when his income was twenty or thirty thousand rupees annually, today he pays more than half his income in tax in the top blocks of his income. The income-tax rebate on insurance premia paid, therefore, make life insurance very desirable and advantageous financially and people in large numbers buy policies in order to effect tax-free savings. Also all rupee statistics appear to be astronomical in dimensions due to the fact that there are four rupees circulating today for every rupee that was being used by the public in 1939. So that the claims made by the L.I.C. boosters about the popularity of nationalisation are totally unfounded. Had there been no state ownership in life insurance in India, we believe business would have expanded even better than it has under state ownership. The main reason for our assertion is that the profits paid by the big private concerns to the policy-holders have already been cut down to a much lower level by the L.I.C. As a result, the savings effected by an L.I.C.-

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managed policy are no longer profitable. And only the tax rebate enables the government to sell their life insurance policies.

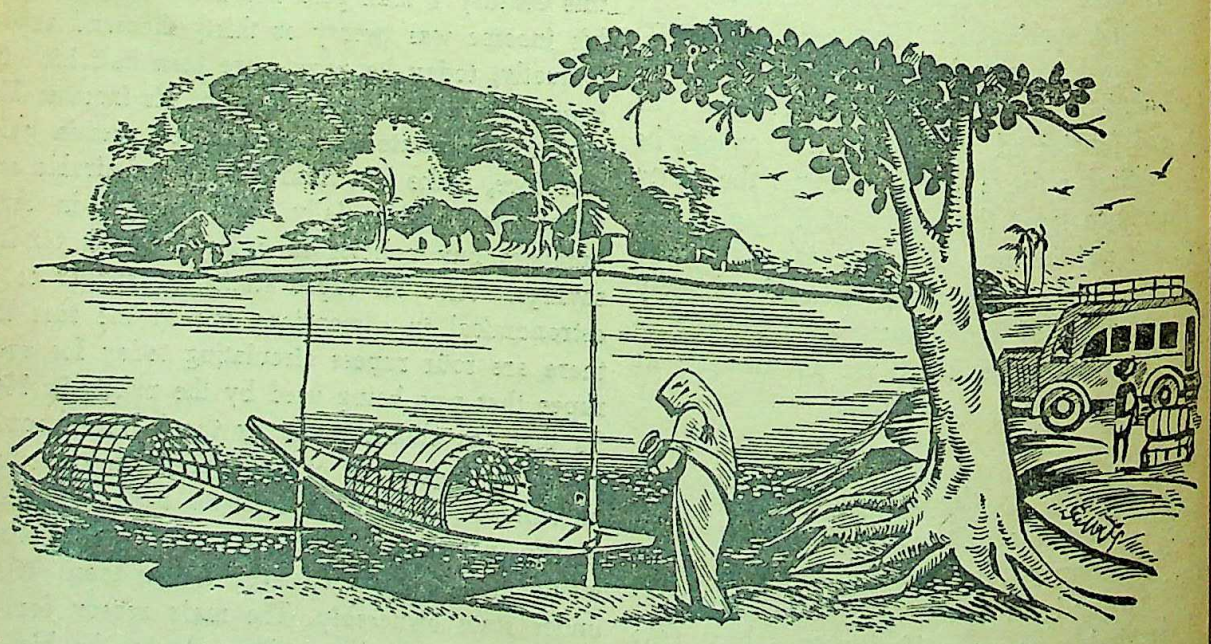
The L.I.C. management of life insurance has not been very efficient. People pay premia for long periods without receiving *pucca* receipts or policies and the settlement of claims leave quite a lot to be desired. If in spite of these disadvantages of insuring with a monopolistic institution, people do buy policies, the reasons for that must be looked for elsewhere than in the hall of glory that is specially kept for state capitalistic establishments. The popular opinion is that whatever the government undertake to manage, immediately loses in efficiency and quality. The posts, telegraphs, telephones and the railways are living examples of the relative uselessness of state management of things in general.

A.C.

Voters Lists

During the recent elections, not only was it impossible to identify a voter faultlessly but many were described with an utter regard for facts. Father's names were totally different from what they sho have been and persons in the same ho and often such as voted in 1957, were left out of the list for no rhyme or rea A highly respectable person whose f name was Bhupendranath was described just plain Bhuto and this infuriated family members so much so that they not cast their votes. And very often heads of families were left out and all s of imaginary persons were mentioned being, his or her children or employe During voting time almost all voters or party touts spend a fair amount of nation's money to get the votes cast. W cannot government introduce a system cards of identity for all persons above age of 21 with photographs and thumb pressions complete? This will push ghost voters out as well as make it easy compile useful and complete list of voter

A.C



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THE DEFINITION OF MANAGEMENT

A New Historical Perspective On The Changing Norms And Values of Management

By NARENDRA K. SETHI

The dynamic concept of management is essentially the product of our modern society and civilization. The ideals that it upholds, the beliefs that it supports and the practices that it propagates are basically parts of our own way of life. In it we find the institutions of our western culture truthfully reflected and in it, again we observe the values of modern civilization sincerely portrayed. Fundamentally, it has a dual edge on our economic society: first, it expresses faith in the vital concept of "controlling man's livelihood through systematic organization of economic sources"[1] and, secondly, it believes that "economic change can be made into the most powerful engine for human betterment and social justice."[2] Thus, it would appear that management, as a social activity underlines two distinct human phenomena: those of sustainment of human energy and of human development or growth. Both of these ideals assume economic dimensions under management, but they still are the products of a free modern society, thinking in terms of free man and energy.

Management, in order to be effective and successful operates in the framework of organization. It entails social co-operation and acceptance. An organization is, indeed, "a system of co-operative activities of two or more persons."[3] It presupposes at least a duality of action because there will be neither organization nor management if there were only one person. When the wills and actions of several people combine together, there should be a co-ordination of those otherwise the management pattern will be an unintegrated one. Co-ordination is "the orderly arrangement of group effort to provide unity of action in pursuit of common purpose."[4] Thus, it follows that management seeks to integrate the organizational activities of the group it maintains.

Though the nucleus of the concept of management can be defined in the foregoing terms yet the application of the same has assumed such breadth and comprehensive treatment that different writers have tried to define the same in various different and sometimes varying manner. The reason is not far difficult to comprehend either. Like all social sciences, management too cannot be expressed in absolute terms which would be acceptable to all. It is, indeed, a social process which admits of wide variations, relative thinking and conceptual approach.

E. F. L. Brech defines Management as: "A social process entailing responsibility for the effective (or efficient) planning and regulation of the operations of an enterprise, such responsibility envolving—(a) the installation and maintenance of proper procedures to ensure adherence to plans; and (b) the guidance, integration and supervision of the personnel comprising the enterprise and carrying out its operations."[5]

Mary Cushing Nile says: "Good Management . . . . achieves a social objective with the best use of human and material energy and time, and with satisfaction for the participants and the public."[6]

Lawrence A. Appley says: "Management is the development of people and not the direction of things. . . . . Management is personnel administration."[7]

Stanley Vance says: "Management is simply the process of decision making and control over the action of human beings for the express purpose of attaining predetermined goals."[8]

Harold Koontz and Cyril O'Donnel say: "When co-operation of individuals towards a common goal becomes organized in a formal association, the fundamental and essential component of this association is management—the function of getting things done through people."[9]

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Peter F. Drucker says: "The first definition of management is . . . . that it is an economic organ of an industrial society." And "it (management) means to taking actions to make the desired results to pass."[10] In the same vein a score of other definitions can be quoted from the abundant management-literature. But these definitions included here have been quoted with a specific purpose and aim. It is thought that each of these statements reveal to us a definite aspect of management theory, that each has developed on the previous one's approach, that each represents a full sector of a knowledge and that each of them translate the intangible values of management in an individual and different manner. These few definitions give us in varying measure an understanding of some managerial concepts.

E. F. L. Brech, a noted British management-consultant defines management both as a social process and a functional field. He tries to strike a balance between these two ideals by adopting a socio-economic attitude. For him, management constitutes a "process of planning and regulating the activities of an enterprise."[11] At first, he calls it a, "social process" but later he seems to limit his implications by stating that management is the "regulation" of the enterprise. Thus, it appears that Brech is trying to relate the concepts of management through the workings of an enterprise on the level of social consciousness. But he still does not quite attach to management the same economic and industrial dimensions which later American thinkers did.

Mary Cushing Niles, an associate of Dr. Lillian M. Gilbreth and a well-known lecturer on managerial aspects, follows the same path as Brech but somewhat on a different footing. She also calls it a "social objective" but qualifies this by thinking through the newer fields of energy and time. For her, the concept of management has a three-dimensional character. It uses human power, material energy and time. Further, she believes in universal acceptance and satisfaction as a keynote of sound management. She advances on the theory of Brech by introducing the ideal of human satisfaction. She has admitted that management "must utilize the resources of nature and of human nature for the benefit of mankind."[12] In this way, she is hinting at a new idea —that of human welfare and benefit. But it cannot be denied that Mrs. Niles is approaching the question of managerial performance from the viewpoint of a "philosophical entity" rather than as a sustaining economic factor. This is why she claims that "in a sense, both management and technology are means, not ends."[13] She fails to conceive of the situation where the powerful power of management, by its vitality and vigor can become the very "end" of our economic society and national strength.

Lawrence A. Appley gives to management an abundant human appeal and social character. In his definition, we observe two diverse factors: there is a positive acceptance of human development on one hand and there is a negation of all other responsibilities involving "direction of things". For him, the concept of management revolves solely around "Man" and he is ready to relieve management of all other assignments. This appears, on the face of it an exaggerated assumption, but as we think over it, it appears that Appley's concept of human development embraces all other fields of social activity. Thus Appley affords a yet another dimension to the definition of management and enlarges the field of managerial performance in a sizeable manner though on a single unit.

Stanley Vance reverses the process completely. First, he finds nothing modern in the essence of management theory; he states, "The concept of management is universal and as old as the human race."[14] Second, he divides the concept in two related fields that of decision making and of control. Further, he holds that management puts "a control over the action of human beings": in this way, his ideal of management is far different from the standpoint of other writers discussed above. Control implies a degree of determinism, a touch of suppression and a hint of force. Vance considers management along these lines and puts his faith in controlling of human actions. For him, management ceases to be a social process but a mere organ for the "express purpose of attaining predetermined goals." There is nothing of human welfare, social responsibility or moral obligation in this approach. Vance's definition is strange, both cool and terse.

With Koontz and O'Donnell we move on

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different plane. It is one of intellectual understanding and academic discussion. There is none of emotional jargon or social talk. In stimulating phrases they try to define the function of management. But then, as with all academic studies, their definition too has sematic questions about itself. There are at least 3 words which are difficult to define in themselves, "common goal," "organization" and "formal association." It appears, however, that the writers follow the approach suggested by Chester Barnard, one of the greatest writers on organization theory and managerial aspects.[15] But in suggesting that management implies "getting things done *through* people" they have voiced an idea which is passive as well as destructive. It implies that management does not act: it only sets into motion a set of forces or pressures which get things done. Therefore, the writers in propagating this school of thought have unconsciously presented management as a passive sepectator but a forcible 'driver' and 'motivator.[16]'

Drucker has carefully refrained from providing a full definition of management. Never once in his writings[17] has he defined management in its comprehensive characteristics. In the definition quoted above, he has mainly tried to consider it as a modern product of an industrial civilization. According to him there are at least 3 functions of management, managing a business, managing managers and managing work and workers.[18] He does not consider it as an age-old task (as Vance does) but calls it a "new institution"[19] and "something new, distinctly modern, distinctly Western."[20] In this way, without ever defining management, Drucker gives us a new understanding of the concept. His interpretation is unconventional but penetrating, anti-traditional but stimulating and distinctly prejudicial but convincing. However, Drucker does not try to think through in terms of a broad concept of international management where the values of different countries and cultures may be integrated; he is primarily a spokesman for the Western world and Western Management.

It this way, we find that the definitions given above by various writers and management-consultants reveal to us those aspects and facets of management which according to the writer's understanding and perception constituted the vital nucleus of the whole concept. They are all approaches and viewpoints only, as none of these definitions has any pretensions for being either correct or perfect. They only express the facts that their corresponding writers saw in the field of management. Whilst Brech approaches the question with the temperament of socio-economic analyst, Niles brings to the problem a philosophical intellect and sympathetic perception. Appley's interpretation is entirely 'human' in character and moves on the integral level of 'common mankind.' Vance handles the realm of management definition with the dissecting brain of an engineer and cold reason of a scientist. Koontz and O'Donnell treat the issue with the all-embracing intellect of a sound academician and the passivity of a scholar. Last, but not the least, Drucker's is a sure touch of a fresh and original economist. He brings to the issue the conception of a political leader and the understanding of a forecaster.

From Brech to Drucker is indeed a far cry. The social consciousness of one seems to have crystallized in the cultural awareness of the other. Similarly the engineering precision of Vance seems to melt in the moving human lines of Niles. Scholars and students of management will turn to these writers for a definition of their chosen field and will be amazed at their diversification and (at times) complete similarity. But they will never find two definitions alike both in terms and sense. Yet these definitions go a long way in building up a framework of study and reference. They help us in developing a perspective for the concept and an outlook for its ideas. We can decide for ourselves the approach hat we have to follow and the general state of writings on that field. It may either be the humanistic definition of Niles, the cultural definition of Drucker, the engineering definition of Vance and|or the sociological definition of Brech—they all serve as our guideposts and signs, guideposts for further development and signs for points of departure.

As a matter of fact, the relative breadth of management concept is so extensive that every passing decade and generation has seen something 'new' or 'different' in its meaning. Ever since the scientific school of Taylor[21] introduced the "technological determinism" of early 20th

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century in the concept of management, each successive generations of writers have been seeing in the concept the characteristics of their age and society. Fayol[22] saw in it the "French thesis of universality;" Sheldon[23] observed in it the "traditional love of post war British love for broad compromise" and Drucker the "economic dimensions of an industrial society." The same process would continue indefinitely and management will continue to be defined in the broad cultural terms of the age.

How does this pattern fit in the present state of our society and its cultural norms? What type of an approach is needed today to difine management in the context of present age and its acceptances? Should we be content to consider it as a mere "Western phenomenon" as Drucker does or should we try to enlarge its frontiers by defining it in terms of an international society and culture?[24] And further, will the definition of management in the United States be the same as one to be adopted in India with a radically different social system and national polity? How are we going to answer these questions in terms of modern human development and present organization? Well, in order to understand these areas thoroughly, we have to start with a few assumptions regarding the present concept of management and its application.

(a) Management is something more than planning, staffing, direction, control and organization.

(b) Management permeates all levels of industrial undertakings and enterprises, irrespective of their functions and sizes.

(c) Modern management can no longer be looked at from the viewpoint of national benefit alone: it has got to be related to the ideal of international understanding.

(d) In accordance with the dynamics of our society, newer values have to be assigned to modern definition of management.

Therefore, in the context of these ideas, modern management emerges as a social entity which is at once both positive and comperehensive in character. It is neither science nor art, nor instinct and nor practice but it is all combined in one single concept. Again, it responds to the cultural ideals of the age and nation but also retains its international perspective. In short, it represents the climax human activity as it gives a sense of purp and direction to the greatest of all posi factors of society—human work and effort. As thoughts about business, organization and pro change and as we begin to grow more conscious the concept of "free man and not so free co poration" management also undergoes a corr ponding change both in its vitality and adap bility. As our political sensibility and econo perception deepens, our concept of managem also varies in proportion to our mental adju ment. With every shift in our civilization-pattern population-trends, income-standards and pr duct-appeals, management undergoes a shift t This process of adjusting to our "outer lif goes on and management has to keep attuned it. It is because of this very reason that writ quoted above, saw in their understanding management, the image of their social norms.

Management for us, living in the first quart of the sixties has a far different meaning a direction than it had for writers living in earl decades of this century. No longer can we content to call it a "social process" or "a satisf ing agency." It is far more than a set of "rul laws and principles;"[25] it is no longer a field be summed up in "fourteen points or principles;" it has outgrown the area set by "its phases administration"[27] and it has now so broaden its application as to make the epithet "distinct Western"[28] meaningless.

Now, we no longer look towards mana ment as a pure and simple economic organ mea for providing economic performance[29] (for, we did, we would tend to shorten its grasp a impact). It means much more than that for modern society. We no longer talk in terms functional management related to producti finance, science and marketing. We try to expr the broad entity of "management as a whol rather than express it as a set of functions. A further, we cannot limit its implications to working of a 'company' only because the business of today, generating a multitude forces has outgrown the concept of a solit company organization. Today, when we talk managerial concepts we do not mean the form detached working of an administrator but vital, energetic thought-process of a long

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of events, actions and reactions. Without this broad perspective, the corporation of today will not only lose its dynamic growth but also its sustaining vitality and vigor."[30]

Considering these various aspects and facets of management in the context of modern society and understanding, we can state that the present economic structure of our life demands of management at least three duties: retaining equilibrium in socio-economic patterns of society, attempting growth in national welfare and international relations on the level of productivity and infusing new life in the character of its immediate organization though on a sympathetic level of understanding about others. In other words, it performs a triangular activity: first, it appeals to human society, then to international understanding and finally to its own self. It is a very broad and comprehensive assignment requiring a sense of purpose and a feeling of participation.

How will management set about in performing this three-fold task? First, as far as the society is concerned management will have to develop avenues of human energy and action by performing its socio-economic duties conscientiously. Secondly, by the process of co-ordinating, integrating and moulding the efforts of people will be channelled; the business enterprises around the entire free-world will be afforded a new cultural dimension through which to extend their business horizons and by active participation in the problems of others a better business climate will be effected. Thirdly, by emphasizing the concept of increased productivity, the management of today will enable the immediate organization to which they belong to develop and grow on the lines of free economy.

The application of this triangular process calls for a new approach, based more upon the socio-cultural pattern of organization rather than purely economic one, pertaining more to "effective co-ordinating agency" rather than "administrative agency alone."[31] Management, in its modern definition therefore, comes closer to being a sociological organ rather than an ecnomic organ. Further, it should not be confused with 'administration.' It is seen that these two terms are used almost synonymously by students of management theory. But there is an underlying difference between these two aspects. Whilst management is conditioned by the influence of "human dynamics"[32] administration is conditioned more by "group politics and public opinion." In the present values of society, both these ideals are quite different from each other though (of course) they may be the segments of the same social circle. Yet, in all fairness to the broad implications of management today, it will be much better to differentiate it from administration which may (or may not be) concerned primarily with distinct groups, separate customs and varying moods.

Conclusion

Management is a human activity of such an attitude and characteristics that no absolute presentation or interpretation of the same can ever be acceptable to all. Every age, every country and every society reads into it its own norms, moods, desires, hopes and growth. In the modern set of human values, management will continue to mean something more and something less than it did a few decades back. It is something more than planning and controlling, something less than administering or channelling. It is more than an economic organ, less than a social process alone. In positive terms, it can be said that the definition of management, in its modern conception must revolve round its socio-cultural ideals, must deal primarily with its contribution to national as well as international growth of understanding on the level of productivity and should be concerned with its emphasis upon the dynamics of human development.

Footnotes :

1. Drucker, Peter F. *The Practice of Management*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 4.
2. *Ibid*, p. 4.
3. Barnard, Chester I. *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass), 1953, p. 75.
4. Mooney, James D. and Reiley, Alan C. *Principles of Organization*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939, p. 5, quoted by Niles, Mary Cushing. *The Essence of Management*, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1956.

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5. *Organisation—The Framework of Management*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1957, p. 10. The author draws the attention of readers for a lengthier discussion on this definition in his book, *Management—Its Nature and Significance*, Pitmans, London, 1953.

6. *The Essence of Management*, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1956, p. 20. In an earlier book, *Middle Management*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1949, the authoress had defined the management's job as "to achieve the common objectives with the resources available."

7. *Management the Simple Way*, Personnel, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 595-603, 1943. Quoted by Paul Pigors and Charles A. Myers in *Personnel Administration*, McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., New York, 1956, p. 4.

8. *Industrial Administration*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1959, p. 3.

9. *Principles of Management*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1959, p. 3.

10. *The Practice of Management*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 8 and 11.

11. *Op. Cit*, p. 10.

12. *Op. Cit*, p. 20. Mrs. Niles attributes this remark to Dr. Lilliam M. Gilbreth's addresses in India during 1953. Mrs. Niles accompanied Dr. Gilbreth on this trip.

13. Niles, *Op. Cit*, pp. 20-21.

14. Vance, *Op. Cit*, 3. Note how Vance's definition is sharply opposed to the definition given by Appley. Dr. Vance is the Dean of the Kent State University College of Business Administration. In his writing, we find a predominantly engineering approach.

15. *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, 1938. Refer especially to his interpretation of 'formal' and 'informal' organization.

16. For an interesting discussion on this aspect see, Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise*. This article is included in Pigors, Myers and Malm: *Readings in Personnel Administration*, McGraw--Hill Book Publishing Co., New York, 1959, pp. 194-204. The author introduces his *Theory Y*, in opposition to the conventional theory of motivation, drive and pull.

17. Drucker's writings include the following:

1. *Future of Industrial Man*, John Day Co., New York, 1942.
2. *American's Next 20 Years*, Harper & Bros., New York, '55.
3. *Practice of Management*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1954.
4. *Landmarks of Tomorrow*, Harper & Bros., New York, '58.

18. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, p. 17.

19. *Ibid*, p. 3.

20. *Ibid*, p. 4.

21. *The Principles of Scientific Management*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1911. For a rewarding study of Taylor's ideas see, H. Person: *The Genius of F. W. Taylor*, in *Advanced Management*, Vol. 10, January-March 1945, p. 4.

22. *General and Industrial Administration*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. Ltd., London, 1949.

23. *The Philosophy of Management*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. Ltd., London, 1923.

24. For a recent interpretation of this idea see, Myers and Harbison, *Management in Industrial World*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1960.

25. Taylor, *Op. Cit*, p. 7.

26. Fayol, *Op. Cit*, Chapter 4.

27. Alvin Brown, *Organization of Industry*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 19[illegible]

28. Drucker, *Op. Cit*, p. 4.

29. *Ibid*, p. 7.

30. The writer is especially indebted at this point to *Mr. Frederick R. Kappel*, President, American Telephone and Telegraph Company. In his McKinsey Foundation Lecture (1960) at Columbia University, he referred to this point in his speech titled, *A Concept of Vitality*.

31. For an interesting study of this aspect and other related fields about administration and management see: Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, *Processes of Organization and Management*, Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C., 1948, pp. 3[illegible] and 56-75.

32. *Ibid*, p. 5.

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LEGAL STATUS OF CIVIL SERVANTS IN INDIA

By A. R. TYAGI

Governmental tasks have acquired today a very dynamic and positive character. Activities like the regulation and conduct of trade and commerce, administration of public health and social security, promotion of agriculture and industry and conduct of scientific investigation and research, etc., involve continuous processes and hence, radically differ from the old time governmental activities which occurred only occasionally. These processes make it necessary to have administrative offices filled with the employees who may handle things day in and day out on the basis of their special knowledge. It is because of the superior capacity for keeping these processes going, without showing favour or accepting favours, that the merit civil service superseded the patronage bureaucracy. In order to attract and retain promising aspirants in civil service, to maintain and promote competence and to husband the accumulating practical experience, a place of occupational security is accorded in the modern government to its civil servants. This status of occupational security may be secured either through civil service laws, as in U.S.A., and the continental countries or by protective traditions and executive regulations as in England. In India the general principles have been provided in the Constitution, while details have been left for executive regulation.

Life Tenure

Subject to some special provisions of the Constitution all posts, civil or military, permanent or temporary and falling under general rules or under a special contract, are held at the pleasure of the President and the Governor respectively.[1] This principle is derived from the British Constitutional Law where all public posts are held at the pleasure of the Crown. This principle there has the following connotations :—

1. The service is terminable at any time.[2]
2. Damages cannot be recovered for any wrongful dismissal.[3]
3. Arrears of pay cannot be recovered by suit even when the public servant's dismissal is held to be void.[4]
4. The right of censure and disciplinary action is included in the right of dismissal, and hence no action for defamation lies against the Government or the superior officer for any order of censure or adverse remark entered in the service records.[5]

But "during the pleasure" principle, has, by convention been converted into the "during good behaviour" principle. The pleasure of the Government ordinarily remains latent and is exercised only in cases of misconduct and gross negligence or incompetence. Normally, recruitment, conditions of service, rate of pay and emoluments and mode of discharge and disciplinary action, etc., are determined by Exceutive Rules and Departmental orders. Public servants stay in service ordinarly until the age of superannuation, and even after their retirement from service, continue to get a retirement allowance, called pension, regularly every month.

1. Art. 310 Cl. (1).

2. Shenton V. Smith, 1895, L.T. (N.S.) 130 (1895 A.C. 229). Herein Lord Justice Hobehouse had observed, "useless in special cases where it is otherwise provided, servants of the Crown held office during the pleasure of the Crown not by virtue of any special prerogative of the Crown, but because such are the terms of their engagement, as is well understood throughout the public service. If any public servant considers that he has been dismissed unjustly, his remedy is not by a law suit, but by an appeal of an official or political kind." *Ibid*, p. 132.

3. Dum. The Queen, 1896, 12. B. p. 116.

4. Leaman V. The King, 1920, 3 K.B., p. 663.

5. Canterbury V.A.G. 1842, 12 L.J. (Ch),

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Thus, in the words of Wade and Phillip, "convention requires that civil servants shall remain in office, despite any change in government. There is, thus, ensured continuity of the administrative machine and without it something like chaos might follow with each change of Ministry."[6] During the course of their active service, they are also entitled to all the privileges and facilities of allowances and emoluments and advancement and promotion. In the event of denial of any of these privileges, the aggrieved employee has a right of departmental appeal.

But all these privileges are only conventional and have only a departmental sanction behind them. They are not enforceable in a law court. The legal position, as already stated, is this that any Government servant can be removed from service at any time, as fixation of tenure and conditions of service are purely a matter of administrative discretion.

But 'during the pleasure' doctrine has not been fully accepted in India. Explaining the position, the Chief Justice of India in a recent case observed, ". . . . the rule of English law that civil servants hold office at the pleasure of the Crown has not been fully adopted in Section 240 (of the Government of India Act, 1935, which corresponds to Article 310 of the present Constitution). Section 240 itself places restrictions on the exercise of that pleasure and those restrictions must be given effect to. They are imperative and mandatory. It follows, therefore, that whenever there is a breach of restrictions imposed by the Statute, by the Government or the Crown, the matter is justiciable and the party aggrieved is entitled to suitable relief at the hands of the court. As pointed out earlier in this judgment, there is no warrant for the proposition that the relief must be limited to the declaration and cannot go beyond it. To the extent that the rule that Government servants hold office during pleasure has been departed from by the Statute, the Government servants are entitled to relief like any other person under the ordinary law, and that the relief, therefore, must be regulated by the code of the Civil Procedure."[7] Thus, in India, the rule of English Law, that the Government cannot be sued by civil servant for money or salary or for compensation, is not applicable.

Therefore, there are important limitations upon the doctrine of 'during the pleasure.' It puts the Indian civil servants legally in a better position than their counterparts in Britain. Firstly, the Indian Civil Servants have a right to recover arrears of pay from the Government just as any ordinary citizen has, for example in a case of wrongful dismissal, the aggrieved civil servant is entitled to recover arrears of pay since the date of such dismissal by ordinary action against the Government.[8] This claim, however, applies only to those claims which have already accrued and does not apply to those which might accrue in future.[9]

Secondly, though the services of the civil servants are terminable at the pleasure of the Government, yet they can be terminated only in accordance with the procedure as laid down in Article 311 of the Constitution (which we shall discuss presently).

Thirdly, notwithstanding the "during the pleasure" principle, the President of India or the Governors of States may appoint any person having special qualifications, to a civil post in their respective jurisdiction other than to the Defence Service, All-India Service and the civil services of the Union or a State, under a contract, if they deem it necessary to secure the service of that person because of his special qualifications and may, by that contract, stipulate for the payment to him of compensation if before the expiry of that period that post is abolished or he is, for reasons not connected with any misconduct on his part, required to vacate that post.[10] Even in such a case, the Government is not restricted from removing the servant from its service within the contractual period. What it is obliged to do in that contingency is only to pay him compensation for the rest of the contractual period. If, however, the employee is removed from service, due to his conduct, then he is not entitled to compensation.

6. Constitutional Law, p. 64.

7. State of Bihar *Vs.* Abdul Majid, A.I.R. 1954 S. C., p. 245.

8. Punjab Province *Vs.* Tara Chand, A.I.R. 1947, F.C., p. 23.

9. V. K. Dass *Vs.* Union of India, A.I.R. Cal., p. 45.

10. Art. 310 Cl(2).

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but he has the advantage of Act 311, to be discussed later.

Fourthly, the Government cannot alter to their disadvantage the conditions of service of those persons who were appointed by the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State-in-Council to a civil service of the Crown in India and who continued in service under the Government of India or under a State after Independence.[11] This provision was made in the Constitution in order to secure the existing rights and privileges of the members of the higher civil services who had entered Government service during the British regime.

Lastly, the Government cannot alter the conditions of service of those officials whose conditions have been laid down in the Constitution itself. These officers are: The President and Vice-President of India, the Chief Justice of India and the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Comptroller-General of India, the Chief Justices and Judges of the High Courts of States. They are officers of the Constitution and are not subject to the authority of the Government. Their salaries are charged upon the Consolidated Funds of India or the State, as the case may be, and there is special procedure for their removal from Government service.

Administrative Rights and Privileges

We saw above that while the service tenure of all Government servants is constitutionally at the pleasure of the Government, by convention this pleasure becomes active only in cases of misconduct or gross negligence or utter incompetence. Normally they hold office during good behaviour and their terms of service are regulated by Executive Rules and Administrative orders. In fact, Art. 309 empowers the Parliament and State Legislatures to regulate, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the recruitment and conditions of service of all public servants of the Union and State Governments. In the absence of such Statutes, the Constitution empowers the President and the Governors to make rules for the same purpose in their respective spheres of jurisdiction.

11. Art. 314.

While framing these rules, the Government must consult the Public Service Commission.[12] And though the Government is not bound by the advice or opinion of the Commission, yet it has to note the points of its difference with the Commission's advice in the annual report, which is to be placed before the Parliament or the State Legislature, as the case may be, for discussion. Ordinarily the Government frames these rules with the concurrence of the Public Service Commission.

The Government is, further, required to place these rules on the table of the Parliament or the Legislature, as the case may be, and thus the Legislature may change or require any rule to be changed.

Remedies for Breach of Service Rules

As a corollary to the doctrine of 'during the pleasure' of the Government, the Civil Service Rules are under the fullest discretion of the Government. The Government may change them at any time they like. In the words of the Madhya Bharat High Court, "these rules are merely administrative rules for the guidance of the officers of the Government" and they do not vest any legal right in the employees.[13] But for the accurate analysis of the position as it exists at present, we should draw a distinction between those rules which confer a right or privilege upon the civil servants and those rules which relate to disciplinary action against them.

So far as those rules which confer any privileges like seniority, promotion, etc., are concerned, they do not confer any right of legal action upon the aggrieved civil servants. They are only for the guidance of the Government and its officers and it is within the competence of the Government to confer any departmental benefits or privileges to its employees and, similarly, to withdraw them at will.[14] In all cases of non-com-

12. Art. 320, Cl (3).

13. Lilawati V. State of M.B., A.I.R. 1952, M.B., p. 105.

14. See for example, Ram Saran V. Union of India, A.I.R. 1954, Panj., p. 142; State of M.P. V. Mandawar, A.I.R. 1954, S.C., p. 493; and Des Raj V. State of Panjab, A.I.R., 1954, Panj, p. 134.

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pliance with any existing rules or of modification or alteration of any existing rule, the only remedy to the aggrieved civil servant is a departmental appeal and not any legal action. In fact, the Government of India considers it a matter of indiscipline on the part of a civil servant who goes to a law court without first exhausting all the departmental channels of redress.[15]

With regard to rules relating to disciplinary action against government servants, there appears to exist a conflict of judicial opinion. The position before the commencement of the Constitution was that all rules were within the discretion of the Government and hence no action lay in a court of law, unless the administrative order contravened any specific law.[16] Some High Courts have followed the rule laid down by the Privy Council in Venkata *vs.* Secretary of State for India. For example, the Madras High Court held in Krishnamoorti *vs.* State of Madras that the rules framed under Art. 309 are only administrative rules for the guidance of the Government and, therefore, they do not confer any legal rights upon the civil servants.[17] The Madhya Bharat High Court held the same view.

But the Calcutta and Patna High Courts have taken the view that all rules framed under the proviso to Act 309 have a force of law and hence are binding upon the Government as well as upon the civil servants.[18] The Assam High Court also appears to have taken a similar view.[19]

Procedural Safeguards in the Event of Removal or Dismissal

As pointed out, the 'during the pleasure' principle has been adopted in the Constitution in order to enable the Government to promptly get rid of its incompetent or corrupt employees. But for even such cases, the Constitution provides some important procedural safeguards, lest injustice might unintentionally or intentionally be done to anybody. These safeguards are provided under articles 311 of the Constitution. They fall under three categories, viz :

(1) the requirement of disciplinary action to be taken in consultation with the Public Service Commission,

(2) the requirement of action to be taken by a competent authority, and

(3) the requirement of proceeding with the case of taking action in accordance with the procedure as laid down in Art. 311(2).

Firstly, prior consultation with the Public Service Commission on all types of punishments except in some cases excluded under the provisions to Art. 320, is mandatory upon the Government. Under Central Regulation framed under proviso to Art. 320, the President has excluded the following types of cases from the purview of the Public Service Commission :

(a) any case relating to a person belonging to a Defence Service (civilian),

(b) any case where the President proposes to make an order of dismissal, removal or reduction in rank after being satisfied that such action is necessary in the interest of the Security of the State and

(c) any case where the President proposes to make an order under Rule 3 of the Central Civil Services (safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1953 or rule 3 of the Railway Services (safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1954.

Consultation with the Commission is held, at two stages, first to determine whether the Government servant is guilty of the charges and second to determine whether the action proposed should be taken against him, after he has shown cause.

Secondly, the Constitution requires that an order of dismissal, removal or reduction in rank against a Government servant can be taken only by an authority which is not lower in rank to the appointing authority. A disciplinary order passed by an authority subordinate in rank to the authority who has the appointing authority to that of

15. M.H.A., Memo No. 25|52-52 Ests.
16. Venkata *vs.* Sec of State, A.I.R. 1939, P.c., p. 31.
17. A.I.R. 1951, Med., p. 882, also see Lilawati *vs.* State of M.B., A.I.R. 1952, M.B., p. 105.
18. Chatterjee *vs.* Mathur, A.I.R. 1954, Calcutta, p. 187.
19. Bhugiram Hazarika *vs.* Supdtt., of police, Assam, A.I.R. 1954, p. 18.

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is null and void.[20] It is, however, not necessary that the dismissing authority should be the appointing authority himself. He may be an officer equal or higher in rank to the one who appointed him.

Thirdly, a civil servant cannot be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him. This opportunity to show cause is given twice, first when a charge has been framed against him, and second, when a definite action has been proposed. And it is necessary to give the disciplinee reasonable opportunity irrespective of the fact whether he is permanent or temporary and whether he holds the post according to general civil service rules or under a special contract. But the Article conferring this right is not attracted unless the action proposed by the Government is 'penal' in nature. And whether the action is penal or not will be determined in each case by the court on the basis of the attending circumstances and not merely on the language of the administrative order.[21] The disciplinee also gets the benefit of a regular inquiry, conducted either departmentally or under the Public Servants (Inquiries) Act, 1850. In either case he is supplied with a copy of the inquiry report.

Remedies for Breach of Constitutional Safeguards

Art. 311 is mandatory and the Government cannot contract out of the provisions of the Constitution. If a civil servant is removed or dismissed from service otherwise in accordance with the procedure discussed above, he is entitled to a declaration from the court that he had a right to the Government office at the time of the institution of the suit, and also to a decree for arrears of pay, for damages and also to the judicial writs as provided under Art. 226 of the Constitution.

The constitutional safeguards, however, are not applicable in three different circumstances. Firstly, they are not available to a civil servant who has been convicted by a law court under a criminal charge. Secondly, they are not applicable when the Government is satisfied that it is not reasonably practicable to give the disciplinee an opportunity to show cause and he records his reason in writing for denying the civil servant an opportunity to show cause. The authority should be personally satisfied that it is not practicable to give the disciplinee an opportunity and must record this fact in writing before passing the order of dismissal. Thirdly, the President of India and the Governors of the States can dismiss or remove from service any person without giving him an opportunity to show cause if he is satisfied that to do so is not expedient in the interest of the security of the State.

3. Code of Conduct

These, in brief, are the safeguards to strengthen the civil service status. But while status guarantee is an essential factor in the growth of security and competence within the services, without a corresponding sense of responsibility and restraint it may become a clog in the administrative wheel. A democratic dynamic society has, therefore, on the one hand, to ensure its civil servants a status of permanence and respect, and on the other, it has to enforce amongst them a code of conduct which binds them not only in their official capacity but also in their personal and family life. Several of the fundamental rights which the State guarantees to its ordinary citizens, are denied to the civil servants. Besides the external restrictions, governments also try, through indoctrination and psychological incentives, to inculcate in them a sense of self-control and self-discipline.

Personal Rights

The individual's private life is mostly a matter of his conscience, freedom for which is guaranteed by Art. 25 of the Constitution. But in regard to the civil servants, the State regulates even their personal conduct and private relationships in so far as they tend to affect

20. See, for instance, State of Bihar *vs.* Abdul Majid, *S. C. R.* 786.
21. Sabestian *vs.* the State, A.I.R. (1955) Trav. p. 12.

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their integrity and reputation or the dignity and respect of and confidence in, the public office. The Government expects of its servants "to maintain a reasonable and decent standard of conduct in his private life and not bring discredit to his service by his misdemeanour." It enforces monogamy amongst them, even though it might be permitted under their private law.[22] It restrains them from engaging, directly or indirectly, in any trade or business or undertaking any employment or canvassing in support of the business of an insurance agency, commission agency, etc., owned or managed by his wife or any other member of his family.[23] Further, there are severe limitations upon his right to contract. For example, he or any member of his family cannot indulge in any speculative trade, cannot lend or borrow money to or from any person possessing land or valuable property within the local limits of his authority.[24] He cannot, without the previous knowledge of the prescribed authority, acquire or dispose of any immovable property by lease, mortgage, purchase, sale, gift or otherwise, either in his own name or in the name of any member of his family.[25] He cannot even raise funds or subscription or associate himself with the raising of any fund, in pursuance of any object whatsoever. Furthermore, he is precluded from having recourse to a law court or to press for the vindication of any of his official acts which have been the subject-matter of adverse criticism or any attack of defamatory character.

Political Rights

The Government of India also regulates the conduct of its civil servants in the civil and political sphere. Its system of Government demands from its civil servants perfect neutrality in politics and unimpeachable integrity and impartiality in conduct. Therefore, many of the Fundamental Rights, guaranteed to ordinary citizens under Art. 19 of the Constitution, are denied to the civil servants.

In the first place, there are restraints upon their right of freedom of speech and expression. Rule 6 of the Conduct Rules lays down "No Government servant shall, in any radio broadcast or in any document published anonymously or in his own name or in the name of any other person or in any communication to the press, or in any public utterance, make any statement of fact or opinion—

(i) which has the effect of an adverse criticism of any current or recent policy or action of the Central Government or a State Government, or

(ii) which is capable of embarrassing the relations between the Central Government and the Government of any State, or

(iii) which is capable of embarrassing the relations between the Central Government and the Government of any foreign State."

In the second place, civil servants have no right to join political parties and engage in any type of political activity. They have, of course, a right of vote even which they are obliged to exercise as not to give any public indication of their choice. They can neither stand in any parliamentary or legislative election nor canvass any person's candidature. They may, however, with the previous permission of the Government, seek election to, or serve on, a local body. But in actual practice Government has never allowed any of its employees to stand in any local elections.

Trade Union Right

Civil servants have only a limited right to trade unionism. They may organize themselves into civil service associations and get them recognized by the Government within six months of forming the association. But no civil servant can belong to an unrecognised association. And the conditions of recognition are :

(i) The association must ordinarily consist of a distinct class of Government employees.

22. Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955. p. 18.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 12(1).
24. Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, p. 13.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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(ii) Every Government employee of the same class must be eligible for membership of the association.

(iii) No outside person should be elected office-bearer or member of the association.

(iv) The association should not adopt strike as a means of furthering its interests in any case.

(v) The association should not maintain any political fund or lend itself to the propagation of the views of any political party or politician.

Civil service associations cannot seek affiliation with non-Government employees' unions. They can, however, seek affiliation with other Government employees' associations with the previous permission of the Government.

Civil Service Associations have a right of collective representation, but subject to two conditions. Firstly, no representation or petition can be made to Parliament or any committee thereof. Secondly, representations can be made only through proper channels in the prescribed manner. No representation can be directly made to the Minister or the Cabinet or to any higher officer over the head of another officer.

Staff Committees

A limited right of collective bargaining also has been introduced in the Central Civil Services administration. In every Departmental and Attached Office of the Union Government there are two types of staff committees, one representative of the Class IV employees and the other of the Class III employees. Each type of committee has an equal number of representatives of the Government and of the employees of that department or office. On each of these committees, the Chairman is from the official side and the Secretary from the staff side. The staff representatives are annually elected classswise. These committees meet at least once in three months. Presence of one-third of the members of the staff side is enough to form a *quorum*. Decisions are taken by majority of votes on the staff side and unanimity on the official side. The main objects of the committees are :

(i) to consider suggestions for improving the standards of work,

(ii) to provide to the members of staff a machinery for making their point of view known to Government on matters affecting their conditions of service, and

(iii) to provide means of personal contacts between officers and staff with a view to developing cordial relations between them and to encouraging them to take keener interest in their work.

These staff committees are authorized to negotiate on conditions under which the members of the staff are required to work, general principles regulating their conditions of service, welfare activities of the members of the staff and on the improvement of efficiency and standards of work. They have only an advisory power and their decisions are not binding upon the Government. In fact, the system is still at its infancy stage and it has not yet developed into an effective negotiative machinery, as its counterpart in the British Civil Service is.[26]

The Indian Civil Services have no right to arbitration—a right which is so well-recognised in the trade union world. The Second Central Pay Commission has recommended to the Government the establishment of Arbitration Tribunals for civil services at an early date. But the Government has not accepted this advice. Therefore, when normal machinery of settling civil service disputes fails, the civil servants have no other recourse but to go on strike. That is the reason why strikes or threats of strikes occur so frequently in India.

But Government has met this threat of frequent strikes in an unimaginative way. It has made strikes in public service unlawful by passing the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance. This ordinance was promulgated recently when a very large number of central civil services associations had given a strike notice to the Government. Even prior to this Ordinance, there existed a rule in the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rule which restrained civil servants from indulging in strike or abetting others for strike.

26. Whitley Councils.

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Conclusion

This, in brief, is the system of civil service status in India. It evolved under the doctrine of authoritarianism as developed under the colonial regime. The State here has an absolute right of controlling the job and all its attributes, that is to say, the Government, as the public employer, determines whether the position exists, how long it continues to exist and what its duties are.

As such, the public servant has no claim in his post. Since public office is not a private right, its occupant can acquire no interest in it and the protections of the right of property and contract cannot apply to it. No doubt, the Consititution under Art. 311 provides certain safeguards against the arbitrary use of the disciplinary authority by the Government, but these give no tangible right to the employee in his post. The civil servant is, therefore, without independent rights concerning his office and all such claims, as may accrue to him under departmental rules, are only voluntarily recognised by the Government.[27]

So, the public office is outside the scope of the Fundamental Rights. As such, public employment can be regulated through governmental process in any way for the public convenience and interest. The Government has specifically laid down that "a Government servant has no fundamental right to insist that he should be retained in Government service."[28] If he wants to enjoy his fundamental right, by all means he can, but as he does so, the Government may also exercise its constitutional right of removing an unwanted employee from its service.

In contrast to the public servant's helplessness in public employment, the State has plenary rights of a constitutional order. It has control over qualifications and tenure, salaries and emoluments, classification and re-classification, and subject to certain procedural safeguards, even over removal and dismissal. The order of these rights is revealed fully by the fact that their exercise is not limited by the Fundame Rights. The citizen's right to speech, assemble, for example, does not overcome the State's r to determine the eligibility of civil servants employment. By the same claim, the State disregard whatever rights would otherwise reserved and protected for public emplo under Part III of the Constitution. Whate rights he retains are of a minor nature, w the rights which the State possesses in relati to him are independent in source and plen in character. The State submits to no obligati except those voluntarily assumed.

The concentration of rights is, thus alm entirely, on one side, the onus of responsibil correspondingly, on the other. Such is the doctri of civil service status in India.

But the doctrine suffers from a serious fl On the one hand, the State says that its relati with the employees is not like that of priv employer and employee. But on the other, emphatically assures the employee that the job "voluntarily taken" and "voluntarily surre dered." If the terms of public employment unsatisfactory, the person can decline the appoi ment, or if already employed, he can resign t job. In view of this condition, the plenary pow of the Government is justified.

But the choice is unreal. Even if the publ servant had freedom of contract, he cannot ha as we have already explained, a contract interest in the office. Moreover, if he co contract with the State about his office, th freedom of contract has no practical mean when the contracting parties are not equal. T Labour Law of this country, as of other countri has accepted this principle. Then, the ability resign also is, in actual practice, insubstanti For certain official acts, the public employe liability would not be removed by resignati Moreover, several skills are unique to pub service and do not find an easy market in priv service. Further, after years of service in t Government, an employee is understandab reluctant to give up an earned seniority a pension privileges. Thus, the freedom which supposed to be held by the public servant through which his service is voluntarily ta and voluntarily surrendered, does not exist reality.

27. For example, see Krishnamoorti *vs.* State of Madras, A.I.R. 1951, Mad., p. 882. and Naibat Rai *vs.* Union of India, A.I.R. 1953, Pay, p. 140.

28. M.H.A., Memo No. 141/51 Sasts., dated 11-8-1952.

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When the power of the Government could be enlarged by stressing its public role, the Government has readily done so and the public servant has been deprived of all contractual rights in his employment. But when the same rule might prove restrictive, the doctrine looks away from the Constitution and takes, as its guide, the private master-servant relationship. Thus the State takes no responsibility for the commissions and omissions of its employees made in their official capacity. Here the employee is left, for the most part, on his own resources. In Germany and France, the State does not only shoulder the vicarious responsibility of its employees but also incurs other obligations as a public employer. For example, the German Civil Service Law recognises, as a counterpart of the obligations of the civil servants to the State, the State's obligations to its civil servants. The State, there, is duty bound to return fidelity of its servants by being faithful to them. This duty of fidelity is not limited only to those civil servants who are in active service of the State but extends also to those who have resigned or retired. For example, when a civil servant resigns, and the State accepts his resignation but later on, he changes his mind and petitions to be reinstated, the State cannot refuse him because, as the Supreme Administrative has held, the State has an obligation to find out the circumstances which compelled the civil servant to tender his resignation. If it did not do so, while accepting his resignation, it has no right to refuse his petition for reinstatement. Not only this, but there the State's duty of fidelity towards the civil servants carries with it also a duty of care, in the sense of attention to their well-being. This, for instance, implies an obligation in law for the government to provide working conditions that would not impair the health and safety of the employees. Although temporary overwork, in unforeseen circumstances, is not exceptional, the State's duty of care would not permit unreasonable strenuous work.

According to the Supreme Administrative Court, the degree of consideration, to which a civil servant is entitled, depends in part on his general physical condition and the particular circumstances.

The existence of such a system of mutual obligations would place the whole problem of employer-employee relationship in altogether a different setting. Questions of conditions of service, employee's welfare, etc., would then not be viewed by the government and the employees from different angles, as is the case at present. But they would be viewed in the same perspective by both the sides. The State, as employer, would care for the health, safety and welfare of the employees and the employee, being free from the personal worries, would devote his best self in the service of the State. There can be no better measure of increasing efficiency in public service than establishing a system of fair remuneration, good conditions of work and a system of employer-employee relationship which gives the staff a sense of dignity and contentment. This is exactly the situation in Germany. There the rights—either of the State or of the employees—are not emphasised but the obligations. The State, on its part, cares for its own obligations towards its employees. And if ever it falters, the Administrative Court is there to correct it. Likewise, the public servants, on their part, care more for their obligations. Never has there been a tussle between the State and the civil servants on the question of rights.

In contrast with this, France has, ever since the Napoleonic regime, followed an authoritarian attitude towards its civil servants. Napoleon had mad eauthority as the taskmaster of efficiency and also the source of relationship between the State and the civil servants. The State-employee relationships were unilaterally determined there. The State not only denied its employees ordinary rights but did not even care for their well-being. The rank and file of the civil service resented this practice and "employed aggressive trade union methods to further their collective interests. When in full force, it was able to threaten cabinets and to negotiate parliamentary promises without being much bothered by the State's proprietory stake in their souls."[29] The French civil service trade unionism developed into a hard-driving force which became notorious abroad as well as at home. The administrative courts

29. Fritz Morstein Marx. The Administrative State (University of Chicago Press, 1959) p. 118.

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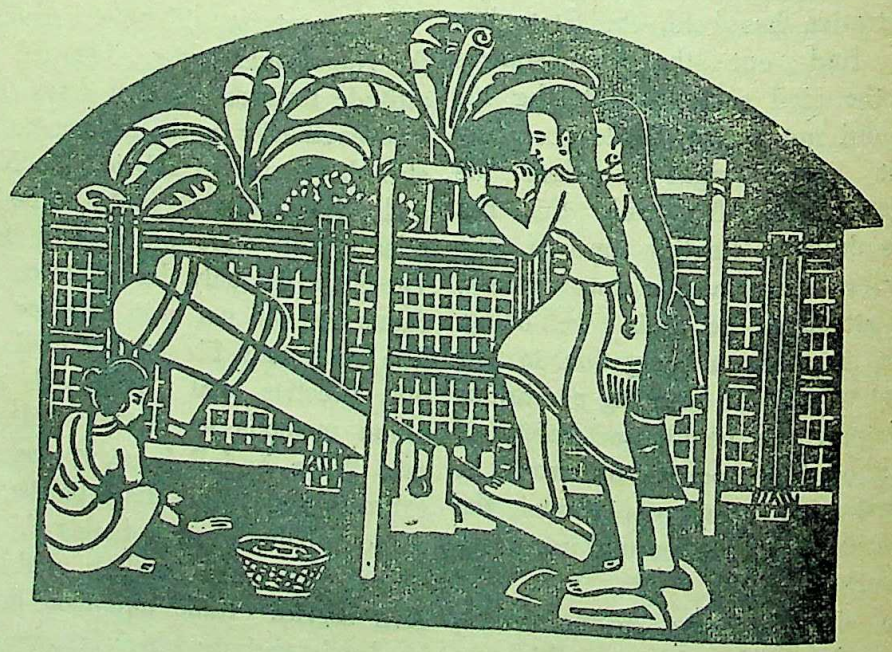
helped them in asserting their rights and thus ultimately, the French Civil Service was able to get its relationship put on a legal footing in 1946. The legal position, at present, is not very much different from that of Germany. But there is a vast difference between the spirit in which the system is working in the two countries. While in Germany the civil service is guided by a code of professional ethics which exercises internal restraints upon its members; in France each side quarrels with the other and tries to stretch the arm of law to its own advantage.

Professional ethics plays a very prominent role in personnel management. For the growth of harmonious state-employee relationship in India, it is, therefore, very essential that the government should put more stress upon its obligations to the civil servants. The rank and file of civil services here are seething with discontentment. Strict disciplinary measures that are being employed by the State since 1954 or so, are merely aggravating the situation. The State can only overawe the employees by using repressive methods. It cannot win over their hearts, condition so necessary in a social welfare administration.

For the establishment of a sound system of employer-employee relationship, it is desirable that there should be arbitration boards in every department which should adjudicate state-employee disputes regarding salary, grades, hours of work, leave, allowances and other conditions of service. The Central Pay Commission, 1957, also has made a recommendation for the establishment of compulsory arbitration machinery. At the Centre there must also be a supreme administrative tribunal to review, and hear appeals from the decisions of, the departmental tribunals. Probably, the best scheme to suit our Rule of Law system would be to constitute this tribunal as a separate Administrative Branch of the Supreme Court.[30] This would give us a further guarantee of judicial review of administrative decisions.

30. Such a recommendation was also made by the Law Commission of 1958.



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HUNGARY REVISITED

By GEORGE A. FLORIS

You get the impression that Hungary begins at the *Westbahnhof* in Vienna. Hungarian words are heard everywhere, on the platform and in the railway compartments.

Among the travellers there were Hungarian government servants on their way home from missions abroad and Hungarians living overseas returning for a visit to their country of origin.

"There are two real pleasures for us these days," a Hungarian civil servant told me after I had joined the conversation. "The one is to go abroad, the other is to return to Hungary afterwards."

By the time we were approaching the Hungarian frontier the home-coming civil servants became busy preparing or revising their lists of duty-bound goods for the customs. They could not possibly miss the chance of doing some shopping in the West. However, they knew it better than risking their jobs—and their opportunities for future travel—by making a false declaration on the border.

The "iron curtain" is still a reality in the most literal sense of the term. From the window of the train we could see the broad strip of minefield enclosed on both sides by barbed wire running along the Austro-Hungarian frontier. It was not an altogether pleasant feeling to arrive with the train on the wrong side of it.

Eventually we screeched to a halt at the frontier station *Hegyeshalom*,—known to the cinegoers from the recent Richard Wydmark film, "The Secret Ways".

"Talk to them in English," one of my travel companions suggested. By "them" he meant the green-uniformed passport and customs officials about to shamble across the train.

I did not follow the suggestion. Why complicate things? So, I refrained from using the English language at *Hegyeshalom*,—the only place in the world where my accent might have passed for genuine.

In any case, the border check went off fast and smoothly. The officer complimented me on my knowledge of Hungarian and they did not even make me open my suitcase. Soon we were on our way on the last lap of the journey to Budapest across cornfields 90 per cent of which are by now under collective cultivation.

The inverted logic of the railway companies in Austria and Hungary is at least consistent. The Budapest Express, going Eastward, leaves Vienna from the Western Terminus and it arrives in Budapest, coming from the West, at the Eastern Terminus.

It was as well that we arrived in Budapest by night. So it was easier for me to register at once the difference between the Budapest I had left behind almost 20 years ago and the Budapest I was about to meet. Gone are the huge neon lights, the resplendent, illuminated shopwindows, gone the enchanting venality, the easy-going gaiety that once earned Budapest the title "Queen of the Danube".

The erstwhile prostitutes no longer roam the streets in the centre of the city. It would, of course, be far too optimistic to attribute their disappearance to a kind of moral revival. It is rather to the contrary. The free love-making combined with cheap, legalised abortion among considerable sections of the materialistically educated young folks did more to drive the "professionals" out of business than the police measures.

It is not only neon lights and gaiety that the new Budapest is sorely missing. There is also a lack of hotel rooms during the season. Many of the old hotels had been destroyed, others were converted to serve other purposes. The luxury establishments that did remain from the "reactionary past" had all been taken up by V.I.P. visitors bigger than poor me.

So I was directed to a comparatively small hotel on a noisy thoroughfare. That was also an old building which—to my misfortune—had survived the fierce fights of 1945 and 1956. Even in that humble place it took quite some time until

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the corpulant, jovial man behind the receptionist desk managed to fix me up in a room on the third floor.

The term "room with bath" was conveniently translated into Hungarian as "room with *the use* of bath". As a matter of fact, my entire room, complete with an old-fashioned huge bed and an even more old-fashioned, clumsy cupboard, was hardly larger than a bathroom in a modern hotel. The door to the corridor opened inward and I was bound to knock it against the upper edge of the cupboard whenever I came or went. Under such circumstances I could not very well comply with the pious warning on the notice board: "Please observe the nocturnal silence".

The food was good and copious for tourists equipped with the vouchers issued by IBUSz—the Hungarian equivalent of the Russian Intourist.

Next morning, after a hearty breakfast, I went for a walk only to discover that the present Budapest is not more jolly during daylight than after sunset. People hurry to their work wearing drab clothes and mirthless faces early in the morning; they travel in crowded streetcars and buses.

As early as in 1896, the first underground railway of Continental Europe had been inaugurated in Budapest. Though now a historic curiosity, it still operates in full swing the same single line between Vorosmarty Square near the Danube and the City Park. The construction of a new underground transport system on the pattern of the Moscow Metro had been started with much ado by the Communist authorities some years ago, but ended in dismal failure. The methods suitable for totally different conditions did not prove viable in Budapest. The abandoned building sites still mar the centre of the city.

In spite of the anthill-like hustle and bustle of Budapest's two million inhabitants the streets of the city do not appear particularly busy by Western standards. Only four to five years wages could buy a car for an average worker and therefore few people can afford such a luxury. So, apart from delivery vans and the public transport there are not many vehicles on the road, even bicycles are scarce. It is the police, not the traffic that the pedestrians have to worry about. A lady I met operated a highway code of her own: she crossed the road whenever the polic man looked the other way.

The harassed housewives do their shoppi —many of them go out to work and must sh early in the morning or during lunchtime— state-owned establishments that can at best described as "utility". The goods are frugal a so is the general outlay of the shops. There nothing grand style about them, except perha for the prices they charge. Clothes are dear a there is a recurrent difficulty in the butter a meat supplies. The only reassurance Comra Janos Kadar could give the food-conscious Hu garians was that the meat shortage had develop as an aftermath of land collectivisation and w likely to continue for many months to come.

The buildings—including the once glori palaces—are just as drab and worn-out as t people who surge in and out of them. The f blocks of flats which have recently been re-de rated are not much better off for the change. T vivid-coloured, low quality paints were us making the houses reminiscent of old women w try to rejuvenate themselves with haphazar applied cheap lipstick.

Within the houses most of the flats had b come smaller during the post-war years. To a away with the hated system of "co-habitati whereby the one-time owners of large flats h to admit strange lodgers into their homes, t dwelling units had been divided up. The famil furniture and the old portraits on the walls s evoked the past memories when I was visiting shrunken homes of relatives and friends.

After a day or two in the hotel, thi changed to my favour. To my surprise I learn —one of the cases of "life being stranger th fiction"—that the Manager of the hotel was old school-friend of mine. In the course of brief yet cordial chat we revived some 30 ye old memories of our time-honoured pictures grammar school in an odd, feudal corner of p war Hungary.

"Pack your things," my friend told me sequel to our revived acquaintance. "You c remain in the worst room of the whole establi ment."

So I moved into a larger room. There door could be opened to the full without kn

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ing against any cupboard and so I stopped interfering with the cherished "nocturnal silence".

Circulating in contemporary Budapest you don't need to spin a network of espionage to discover the true mood of the people towards their Communist masters. Admittedly, there are no open signs of defiance, people don't broadcast their discontent in the streets and even the hated Red Stars on the facades of houses and factories are left undisturbed. However, the official Communist address "Comrade" is practically confined to the higher echelons of state administration these days. Ordinary folks call each other "Colleague" or "Fellow Craftsman".

To ladies the traditional form of greeting, "I kiss your hand", is still very often said, though seldom carried out. Catholic priests are still addressed in the old Hungarian manner as "Very Reverend", not simply as "Father" in the Western fashion.

Members of the former high society can still be seen in the elegant catering establishments. The waiters treat them with old-worldly courtesy, even if they cannot afford to order anything but cups of coffee or bottles of fruit juice.

The public flocks to the occasional Western films which are shown in Budapest, while the Russian pictures often run in front of empty houses. For the benefit of those fond of reading "reactionary literature" clandestine lending libraries are being operated, circulating books which are banished from the shelves of state-owned bookshops and public libraries on account of "bourgeois decadence".

Aware of the sullen hostility of the vast majority of the population, leading Communists and fellow-travellers seek to justify themselves discreetly whenever they hope to find sympathetic audience.

I heard an important civil servant explain that although he was entrusted with momentous decisions, he was not a member of the Communist Party. Another of whom I knew full well that he was in-charge of an important department in a Ministry tried to belittle in front of me the part he was playing in the run of things.

Upto October 23, 1956, the population was afraid of the Communist masters; since the uprising, the fear has been mutual.

The Communists have most probably always been aware that they would never quite convert Budapest into a red city. So they began to build the new industrial townships for reasons of economics as well as politics. *Sztalinvaros*, "Stalin City", was the first and best-known among them.

When I went to the main Budapest office of the IBUSz state travel agency to inquire about a trip to *Sztalinvaros*, by a queer lapse of the tongue I asked for a ticket to "Stalingrad".

Noticing the bewildered gaze on the face of the pretty young brunette behind the counter I quickly corrected my error, adding however, in way of explanation, the old Hungarian saying: "He who says 'A' shall also say 'B'."

If she had a sense of humour, that was not the place to show it.

The bus ride from Budapest to *Sztalinvaros* was pleasant early in the morning. On the way we stopped in a "co-operative village" and that enabled me to take a brief look at a small centre of collective farming. On the whole, the village appeared like any Hungarian village in the past. However, in all fairness I must admit that there were not so many shops in rural areas in olden days as there are today.

The huge steelworks and the new township of *Sztalinvaros* are impressive feats of human endeavour, particularly because they have created more problems than they have solved. According to the original plans the new steel city should have been erected more to the South, near the Hungaro-Yugoslav border and the coal deposits of the Mecsek Mountain. However, Tito's secession from the all-Communist fold rendered far too risky such a venture. So a new site was picked at about 30 miles distance South of Budapest.

Sztalinvaros has, therefore, neither coal, nor steel supplies anywhere near-by. It has been built on a steep hill above the Danube and that will necessitate a costly system of elevators or conveyor belts to lift the supplies from the boats to the Works,—when the harbour installations will be completed. The soil consists of sand and clay and a great deal of grouting has been required to enable it to sustain the vibrations caused by the heavy machinery. Even so, it is still uncertain, how the artificially reinforced ground will hold in the future.

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At the end the Communists—after the usual blunders comparable to those committed at the abortive underground railway construction in Budapest—did reach their goal. Now they have 30 to 40 thousand working class people living in a model township of functional architecture complete with schools, nurseries, places of entertainment and relaxation—and with the conspicuous absence of any church.

Now the people there go quietly after their business, avail themselves of the amusements to gather strength for the continued robot, just as anywhere else in Hungary. But is this new type of man really so dependable from the Communist point of view? Five years ago the freedom fighters in *Sztalinvaros* continued to defy the Russians and their Hungarian minions at a time when the resistance had practically been broken anywhere else in the country.

On my roundabout trip back to Budapest a peasant woman sat next to me in the cross-country bus. We began to talk and soon reached the problem that pained her most: the collectivisation of the land, the renewed drive for which had started in 1959.

"We cried, when we signed our entry into the collective farm !" she said.

"Why did you sign then ?" I asked naively.

"Why ! They forced us."

It was part of wisdom to abstain from pressing for details regarding the nature of coercion applied to them. We were not alone in the bus.

Russian soldiers are seldom seen in Budapest, but you can encounter them in some of the provincial townships. Their number is estimated to be in the region of 50,000, most of the time they are confined to their barracks, only their officers are allowed to visit Budapest on a strict rota system. Occupation duties in Hungary cannot be very popular with Russian servicemen nowadays.

At the end of my stay in Hungary I spent the last night in Budapest in the company of a very intelligent skilled worker. He is an interesting case altogether: a practising Catholic, a sympathiser of the regime. On Sundays fulfils his religious obligation in a chapel where not many people are likely to him.

He has found a compromise solution for religious education of his children as well. did not sign the declaration form demand from those wishing their children to atte religious instruction at school, because that mi have jeopardised his good standing with the masters. However, he arranged for a nun— of those numerous nuns who go about in civil clothes and earn their living by nursing, teach or menial work these days—to come to his ho and hold private catechism classes there.

"The priests should confine themselves religious matters," he repeated the usual cli "without meddling with politics."

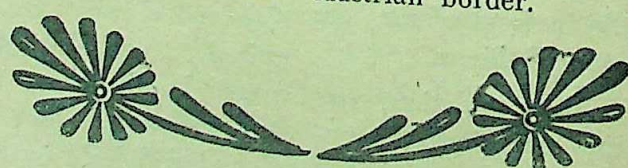
However, when I brought up the thor subject of the "peace priests"—clerics ope co-operating with the Communists who at ti are indistinguishably intermingled with the lo priests in the Hungarian churches today— answer was worth consideration by all of us, our home East or West of the Iron Curtain:

"We should see in the priest at the alter vicar of Christ, without scrutinising his perso character."

Upon leaving the country I talked Hungarian at the frontier again. My Brit passport had already been examined by a gre uniformed frontier guard. However, hearing talk in Hungarian, the guard's superior offi a hard-faced, powerfully built man, turned me : "What is the purpose of your journey?"

The cool, penetrating voice, so typical the political police whatever its up-to-date guise, made me lose a good deal of my poise was left to the first guard to enlighten superior that I was a departing foreign tour not a Hungarian citizen going abroad.

This little incident made me all the hap when, a few minutes later, I re-crossed Austrian border.



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CREATIVE WRITING FOR CHILDREN

By Dr. DONALD L. BARNES
Ball State Teachers College Muncie, Indiana, U.S.A.

I. Introduction

At heart we are all story tellers. Each of us has a story to tell, and everyone is seeking an audience which is really interested in him. Childhood is a time when impressions are coming fast. The child is eager to tell his story. He wants to share his impressions of his home, his family, his pets, and himself. He needs only to be inspired with confidence and to be assured that you are eager to hear from him. When every child feels that he as an individual is interesting and is contributing something that is valued by the teacher, even the most timid will want to express his thoughts and feelings.

Many people have thought for a long time that it is difficult to get children to express themselves in writing. Many will say that they have nothing to write, but we know that this is not so —children do have ideas to express.

It is the purpose of this discussion to point out some of the many things which may inspire children to express their thoughts in the form of creative writing.

II. What Is Creative Writing

It might be well to see if we can first define creative writing.

Applegate says that creative writing might better be called recreative writing, since it recreates for the reader the experiences of the writer. In general, creative writing tends to appeal more to the senses.

Mitchell says that creative writing by definition demands first subject-matter. This subject-matter is drawn from innate ideas or from the material world transmuted by imagination, emotional understanding, quickened perception, observation, and experience.

In its early stages creative writing should be creative first and writing second. It has its beginning in kindergarten when some little boy says, "I'm Tommy Clark. I got a dog, home, and a baby. I like my dog." Such a story was not made up to fit a specific order given by the teacher. It grew out of a child's natural impulse to share something with new acquaintances. It is not a lesson in composition nor an exercise in grammar.

Creative writing is the spontaneous translation of experiences into words. It is differentiated from other forms of compositions by the absence of external motive, for it is done primarily for its own sake, and comes from experience possessing intrinsic rather than practical value.

McKee tells us that there are three forms of creative writing to guard against. The first kind is that in which the teachers believe that just any self-expression is enough. Here any kind of writing is considered creative, whether or not it has originality, ideas, or expression. The second is the situation in which the teacher offers the child no help or guidance in order that the quality of his writing might grow. The third kind of writing to avoid is the copying type, where the child is asked to write a story that merely copies the form of another story that he happens to be studying.

III. How to Get Children to Write

All normal children can write. But the experience is certainly not limited to the above-average or even to the average group of children. The retarded child can also write. After all, he has many experiences which are meaningful to him and he can be stirred just as much as anyone.

How is story writing begun in the first place? When a teacher has a new class, how does she go about stirring into action this story-telling power? During the first days, she may try gathering the group around her to share stories that other children have written. By doing this, we are lay-

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ing the ground work for future story growth, establishing good listening habits, and perhaps creating a desire within the student to want to write. This whole process of initiation is of great importance. Whether we are working with a third or a sixth grade, we should use this warming-up process until their inner desire to write is promoted into action. With some groups, two or three weeks may be enough. With others, a whole sesmester may be necessary. Finally in a casual way, we may suggest that they begin writing stories. One who wishes, may write while the others carry out another kind of activity. No one is forced to write, but those who try are given praise.

Children will want to write if the atmosphere and the environment are conducive to creative writing. The writing must be within the child's realm of experience. The teacher can't possibly know what will have meaning to the child. He cannot be told when to write. When an experience has deeply impressed the child, or an idea is struggling for expression, then is the time for the child to do his writing.

One teacher with the use of cardboard and a small amount of lumber provided what the children called a writing castle in the room. She equipped it with a comfortable desk, some paper, and a pencil. Whenever the children felt they had something worthwhile to write, they could go to the writing castle and translate their ideas into words.

The teacher's attitude toward creative writing is very important. Without a sympathetic understanding teacher who gives much encouragement, few children will try or even dare to express themselves. The child does not bring his innermost feelings to a person who will not listen sympathetically. A discouraging word or lack of interest may disrupt any creative urge a child may have.

Ball says that the teacher constitutes one of the important motivations in creative writing, one who is always trying to gain personal enrichment. If the teacher is very enthusiastic, the enthusiasm can and will be transmitted to the children. This enthusiasm will help elicit responses from the children.

This kind of teacher believes that in the beginning of creative work, this joy and confidence gained from writing is all important. Later, will be time for correction of spelling and

The kindergarten teacher has a golden portunity to lay a good foundation in cre writing. The child coming to school for the time is filled with a wealth of new experie and vivid impressions. He seeks to reflect feelings in pictures and oral stories; conseque his earliest attempts at creative writing may b the form of pictures with long oral explanat

In the first grade pictures are still dr but before many weeks, labels begin to appea these pictures. The labels are then replaced stories telling about the pictures.

In order that a child may write, he m have experiences or imagination. To start t working, the teacher might do several things. might begin by showing the child pictures, ta walks for trips, studying pets, having garden anything to make the child sensitive to th around him.

Some teachers in attempting to develop w ing ability resort to more practices, more d more dictation, more lessons in how to wri letter. The development of craftsmanship sh come later. We should cease to interfere with flow of ideas and words on to the paper. We m omit drill at first and encourage respect for variety of ideas.

Mitchell states that one device for he children develop the desire to write is a test find out how many words each can write in minutes. The children are simply told to w as many as they can in ten minutes without gard for spelling. Most think this is an amu game, and wish to share the results of their p with others. Reading aloud what they written is fun for them. It also reveals their i ests. Usually children ask to do it again. As repeat the game, their awkwardness disap and they are ready to write. Having a large in the room where each child may be able to a record of his writing aids in the stimulati more writing.

If each child has his own wordbook, h enter in it the words he needs to write. This him to become more independent in his w After children have written several stories naturally want to improve. One teacher the children in this way with their spelling

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provided an alphabetized address book for each child. When the children asked for the spelling of a word, she would write it in their books rather than on the chalkboard and there it would remain for future use.

Group work in creative writing stimulates the children in individual writing. Sharing experiences, ideas, and thoughts in a group situation usually encourages individuals to think of experiences about which they might write. Group work helps timid or self-conscious children forget themselves. It also helps them see value in their own thoughts and interpretations.

It is sometimes helpful to ask children about the thoughts they have before they go to sleep at night. Some fascinating thoughts come to children during the twilight hours. Sometimes only one word is needed to help a child initiate a train of thought.

Too many teachers are shocked by what children write. The child must feel free to say what he feels. Youth should be encouraged to express feelings without fear or rebuke. It is better for children to say what they think, than to keep all of their thoughts locked inside. Creative writing is one way children may express themselves in an acceptable manner.

Burrows explains that some children can write in the midst of activity while others want to be alone. Some like notebooks, while others choose the freedom of one sheet of paper. Some have thought out the story in advance, while others write the story as they proceed. Sometimes children like to write with a partner. After experimenting, it may become apparent that a child feels freer and more secure in this situation. Some children who have produced very little alone, have created unusually well with others.

One teacher, on a pretty September day, took her class outside to enjoy nature. They looked at the clouds, talked about them and then the teacher read a poem about the clouds. She asked the children what they would do with a cloud if they could lasso it and bring it down to earth. They had many ideas. One child said he would mount the cloud and ride around. Another said he would make the cloud his sail-boat and sail over the ocean. When they went inside they wrote their stories. This was the teacher's first attempt at creative writing. The results were very pleasing. Two or three of the children expressed themselves beautifully. It is not to be expected that every child in a class will create something unusual the first time, not even the twelfth time. If one child expressed a truly original thought, creative writing is worth the time given to it.

IV. Evaluating Creative Writing

We should never hold a child to adult standards in creative writing. When the creative urge has spent itself, the correct spelling, punctuation, language usage, and form can be refined. If the child is forced to try to make a perfect copy, much of his creative urge may be destoryed. Many children will realise that their spelling is incorrect and will ask for help; others may realise that this slows down their thinking and they cannot get their thoughts on paper. For this reason the child should be led to see that he can refine his writing afterwards.

V. Topic or Interest Areas

In the American kindergarten, the favorite topics are related to the home and family, pets and toys, and children's immediate experiences. But by the second and third years, children begin to look out into the community for their subjects. They may write about the policeman, the fireman, or any of the other community helpers.

Many children are interested in writing letters to children in other cities. Some may write news articles or stories for the room or school newspaper, lables or explanatory statements for exhibits, notes to parents and friends, or stories to be read to the other children just for fun.

Many children like to write make-believe stories about fairies, giants or witches. Some write autobiographies or scripts for radio. Other groups seem to enjoy creating poems. Actually, no sharp dividing line between prose and poetry need be made. If rhyming seems to come rather naturally for some children, it is well to let them go ahead with this.

Children often write about things they have enjoyed touching, smelling, or seeing. Sensory impressions are very important to children.

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VI. Values of Creative Writing

In our anxiety to keep unpleasant things from children, we sometime put them in solitary confinement with the things they fear most. Children are very frank. What may appear to be poor taste to us, is often an honest statement of fact from an eight year old. We may overlook the fact that the more disturbing his experiences, the greater may be his need for sharing them.

As many children become interested in creative writing, their personalities develop. Even the very timid child who has nothing to say in class may have something to write and in writing he may reveal clues to deep emotional problems. All children release thoughts and feelings when writing. Belief of emotional tensions which have accumulated over a long period of time may be achieved through creative writing.

The rewards of creative writing are many, and they reach into many fields. There is usually a great increase in vocabulary and sp accuracy. It develops children's abilities to re and interpret, to examine thoughts and fee Even children who never learn to express t selves will develop a greater appreciation fo world around them.

VII. Summary

Writing can be satisfying to the child when he has felt a need for it. Sometimes need is practical; sometimes it is putting words unique ideas and feelings. In any c teachers should realise that forced situations bring little success.

The child that is creating is learning is doing something in which he is interested doesn't have to be driven to work. He will sp hours creating because he enjoys creating.

The teacher may be the most impor person in the creative writing program. W praise and planning, she can look forward rewarding experiences.

PAINTINGS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE THROUGH WESTERN EYES

By MRINAL GHOSE, M.A.

Long after his universal appreciation as one of the greatest of poets that the world has ever seen, towards the last phase of his dazzling career, Rabindranath Tagore the versatile Nobel Laureate suddenly expressed himself in lines and colour.

The highest tributes of appreciation were offered to the poet-painter by the most eminent art-critics of the West when his paintings were first exhibited in 1930 in France, United Kingdom and Germany. Tagore's pictures at the Paris Exhibition elicited unstinted praise from Mousieur Bidout, the celebrated French art-critic :

> "A latent genius was asleep, ... For almost a life-time, this genius has been kept in the shadows, for the highly developed faculties of the conscious mind left no room for the expression of this hidden force. One fine day it revealed itself, and the poet felt that another person was being manifes in him, but the new minister has not cha the laws of the state."

Contesse De Noaille, the poet and art c noisseur of France observed :

> "Tagore . . . . is timid before his crea to the fineness and brilliance of which one of us is a witness. We praise him naturally as for him he doubts, questi hesitates and smiles."

The noted British critic Mr. Kaynes-S wrote in the Birmingham Mail :

> "There is an immense amount of e ment in this group of drawings . . . . quisite handling of line and form in w human figures derive their beauty and t value as a design, not from direct re blance to human figures, but rather f the quality of the line by which those fig are expressed . . . . . .

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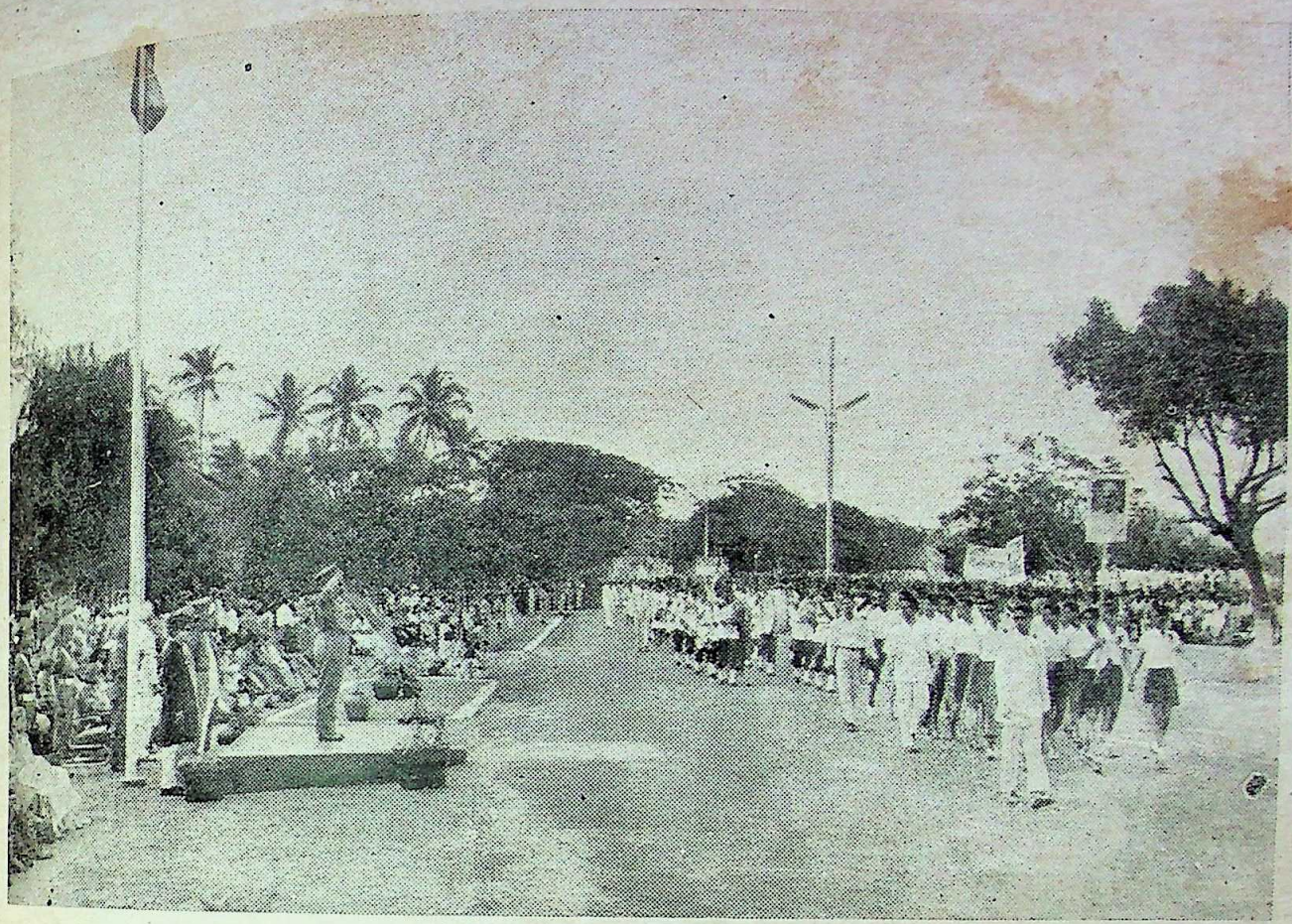
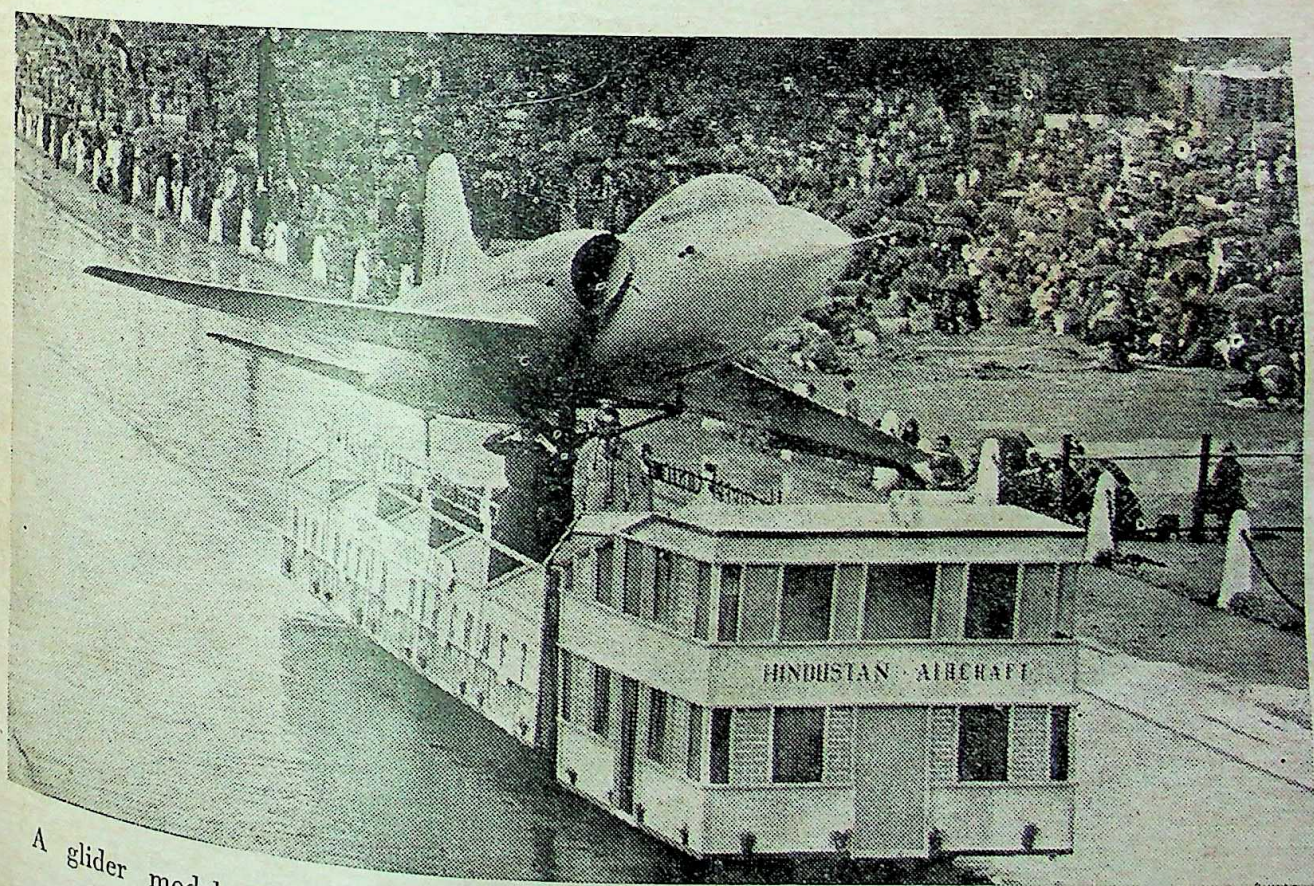


Major General K. P. Candeth, Military Governor, Goa taking salute at Panjim



A glider model of the supersonic jet fighter displayed on Republic Day in New Delhi

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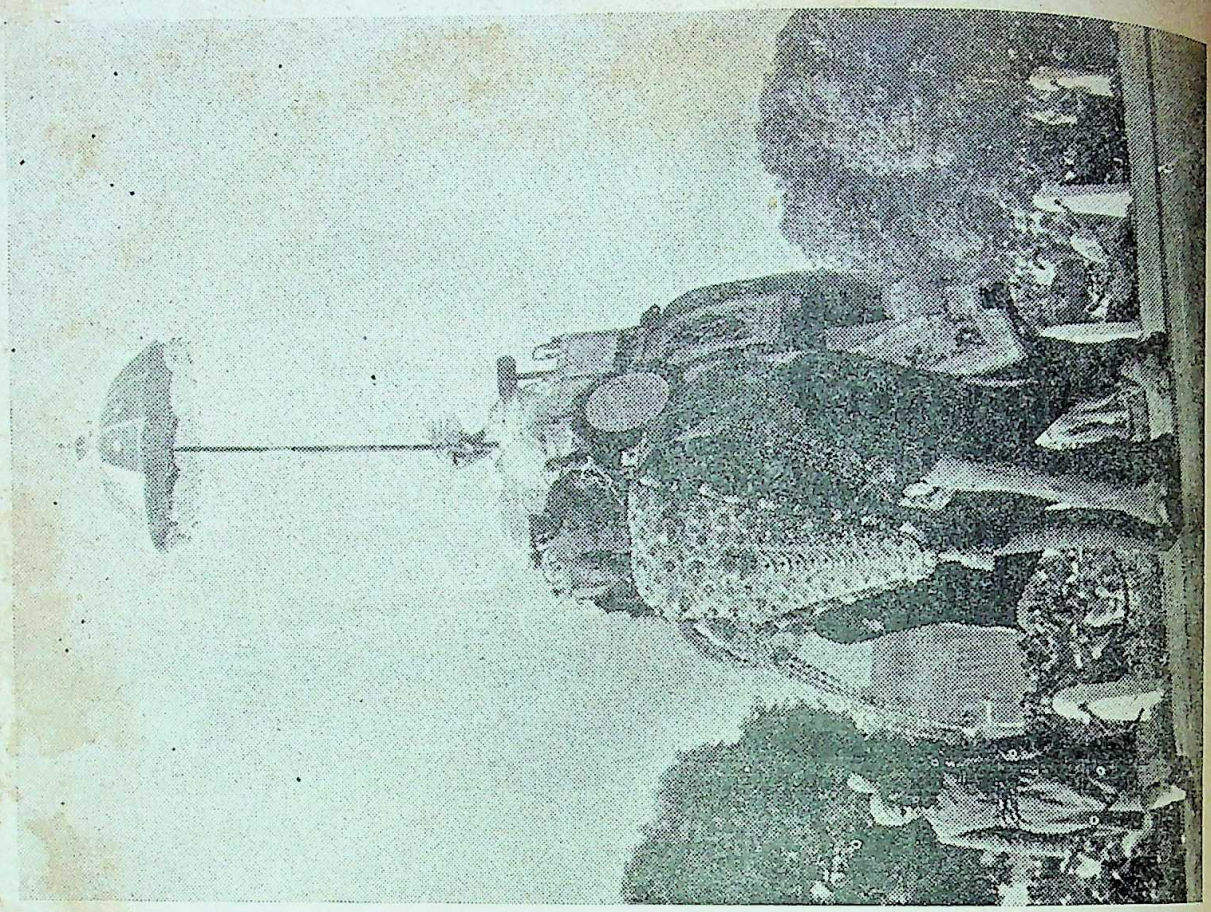
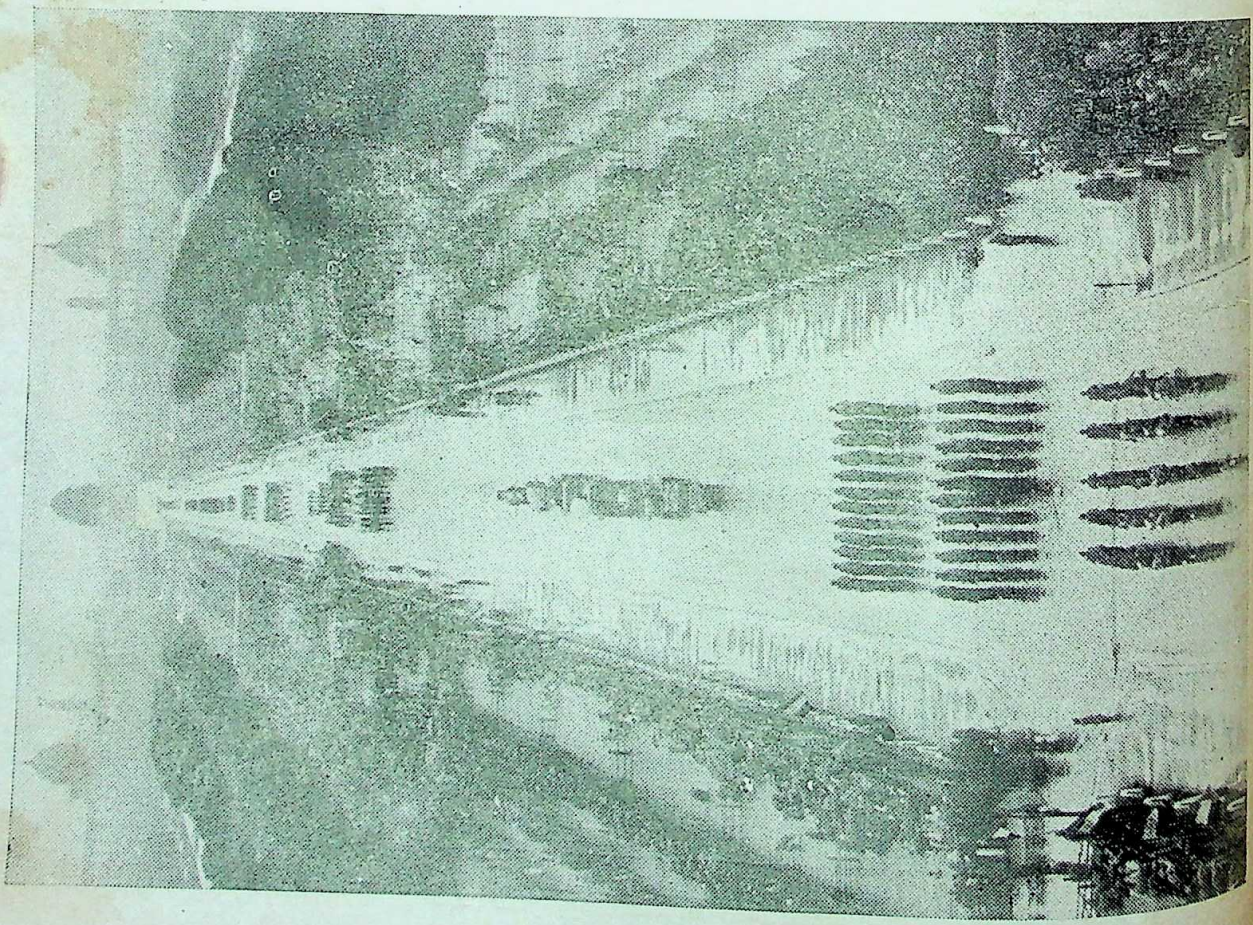


A Little Ceremonial Elephant at the Durbar on the Republic



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Some of these latter are of astounding power, their very deep tones and wonderfully harmonious sequence produce exactly the same effect of rhythm as that which is to be observed in purely linear work and we might sum up the whole of this exhibition as being a marvellous example of the sense of balance and of harmony, even in the most fortuitious of its forms."

The eminent art-critic Joseph Southall of Birmingham commented thus :

"The drawings of Rabindranath Tagore prove that the poet though a master of the use of words, feels that certain things can be better expressed, or perhaps only expressed in the language of line, tone and colour.

These things are not outward facts such as those of anatomy and perspective, and the rules that can be taught in Academies which became too often a hindrance to the freedom and vitality of imagination. Tagore's drawings are, as I see them, the work of a powerful imagination seeing things in line and colour as the best Oriental sees them . . . . . The colour sense is indeed superb . . . . We look and look silently, and immerse ourselves in these pictures, and thus here and there if we are humble enough deep answers into deep."

The critics and connoisseurs of U.K. and France have spoken highly of Tagore's superb colour sense, marvellously rhythmic lines, bold, masterly and facile brush-sweeps etc., etc. In short the great vigour, vitality and originality of expression, masterly skill and wonderful technique of Tagore's Art Studies impressed the British and the French critics very much.

But in the continent the German critics were loud in their applause to observe the inward and transcendental appeal of Tagore's paintings. To them these masterpieces of Tagore were not mere 'fantastic creations,' but they had a language of their own. Regardless of anatomy and perspective and all the formulated techniques of the art academies, the great poet painter in his seventieth year expressed himself in line, tone and colour in moments of ecstatic trance. To them his paintings were as if reflectious of form, type, colour, tone, rhythm and line visualised in the dreamland deep down in the subconscious region of a Great Oriental Mystic's mind.

The German critics were filled with rapturous amazement to find certain resemblance of Tagore's art with those of some famous German artists of the day. In "Vossische Zeitung," Berlin, dt. 16-7-30, we find :

"Most remarkable is how this way of Tagore's to look behind the object of this world meets with European and especially with German artists of our days. Some of the animals might be illustrations of Christan Morgenstern. Then occur special allusious of human figures that remind us of Munch. There are groups and heads that let us think of Nolde—the head of an Indian in black and white looks like one of his early wood-cuts. Free play of humour reminds us of Paul Klee."

Again in another German journal "Mannheimer Tageblatt," dt. 22-7-30 :

"Tagore has brought with him a surprise this time . . . . He paints. Dreamy formalism . . . . signs of Nolde, Kleen and Kubin are everywhere apparent. All is full of rhythm and inner melody. Tagore shows an amazing taste in colour."

It may be mentioned here that some German artists including those refered to above, after World War I, being completely disillusioned at the traditional Greco-Roman ideal were ushering in a new revolution in the realm of European Art. They were celebrated artists and professors of art academies and were too familiar with new 'Isms' in art then sweeping over all Europe. But the case of Rabindranath Tagore was entirely different. He was neither an artist by profession nor a man to be led away by all these cross-currents of new—fangled 'Isms.' Moreover, in this connexion we should never forget what the Great Master, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore had said about the art of Rabindranth :

"His art was his very own. One cannot imitate it, nor can one explain it to one's own satisfaction."

But then, why this spontaneous comparison of Tagore's inimitable art-studies with those of the famous continental artists who at that time were the great exponents of abstract paintings in Germany ? Regarding this an art-critic of Berlin wrote in "Vossische Zeitung" dt. 16-7-30 :

"Again we perceive how the intellectual

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movements of the time go around the earth, again we see how necessary it was for the revival of imagination to descend down to the depth from where life comes, so as to get rid of the aweful routine of illusional realism."

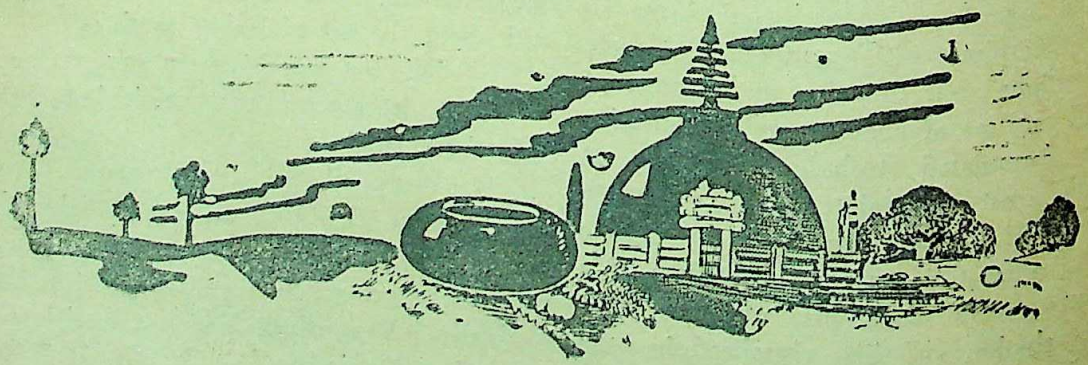
In 1930 when 300 Tagore's paintings were exhibited in 'Galerie Moeller' in Germany, the country was already inundated by Impressionism, Expressionism, Futurism, Collectivism, Suprematism, Post-impressionism, Cubism, International Dadaism and Surrealism, etc., so called art movements of the West.

During those days the members of "Der Blaue Reiter" a well known art-association of Germany assiduously painted hidden things behind the veil of Nature's outward appearance and consequently man and nature in their material aspects were completely erased in their apparently intangible shadow pictures which were as if composed of dream and memories. To a certain extent they were under the spell of Picasso and Cezanne. Franz Marc, Paul Klee, Augustus Macke, Vincent Van Gogh, Wassilij Kandiusy were the most remarkable representatives of this school of abstract painting. Marc and some of his artist friends throwing aside brush and colour, palette and easel marched to the war-fronts. There in the trench of the Western Fronts, fire-arms in their grips, choked with the gun-powder smoke, almost deafened with the thunderous roar of the death-dealing shot and shell, clash and clatter of the tanks, these artist soldiers witnessed the unspeakable horror and devastation—the direct outcome of World War I.

After the armistice, returning home from blood-bath of the Western Fronts, these ar reembraced their old profession. But this ti thorough change of outlook on man and th had come over them. Now the visible Na failed to appeal to them any longer and str enough in the post-war period they began portray creatures and objects alien to Nature, seen as if in their own ego. A few lines of M published in a German magazine quoted be would serve as a pointer to the above:

"We are to day seeking behind the veil Nature's outward appearance hidden things wh seem to us more important than the discove of the Impressionist."

The horror and devastation consequent u militarism engineered by the so-called w mongers disillusioned these artists comple and they were filled with exuberant joy a wonder to find Tagore creating in his o inimitable way a Great Art regardless of anato perspective and other traditional rules o technique of the art academies of the West a the East. Moreover the latent Nordic culture the Germans, their Teutonic urge to leave t beaten track and to court the New and the u known drew them instantly towards the mas pieces of Tagore then exhibited in the Gal Moeller. Great was their amazement and joy find in Tagore's hand the illuminating, flam torch of that new light and fire which they w trying to enkindle in the realms of art. Hence Europe the German appreciation of Tagore's was so hearty and so spontaneous.



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THE IDEA OF THE NATION IN EXTREMIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

By O. P. GOYAL,

Lecturer, Political Science, Punjab University

Historians in the west are generally agreed upon a modern origin of the idea of a nation. The idea of a nation which is the basic term for Nationalism is generally considered to be a product of the French Revolution and is believed to imply 'a common political sentiment'.[1] The western idea of a nation may be understood as to mean a body of men who have a distinct desire to constitute themselves into a separate state with a sovereign status for the pursuance of their material ends. It was this idea of a nation which influenced the Indian Moderate leadership in India. In fact, their idea of a nation was a complete imitation of the west. This was criticized by Indian extremist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipinchander Pal and Aurobindo Ghose. Their main contention was that this wholesale imitation of the idea of the Nation as it existed in the west only lead to denationalisation rather than to the organization of an Indian Nation. Thus, B. C. Pal criticized the standard of judgment which the Indian Moderate applied to the examination of his own country and culture. Judging them (the Indian masses) in the light of the history and achievements of Europe, he wrote, he (the Indian Moderate) constantly condemns his own country and culture and with the relentless pity of the missionary propagandist seeks to ruthlessly improve them more or less after these alien ideals.[2] Lala Lajpat Rai also commented that the English-knowing Indian prided himself in imitating his master. He took his dress, he took his cheroot and pipe and also his cup and beefsteak. He began to live in houses built and furnished in the English way. He detested Indian life and took pride in being anglicized. Everything Indian was odious in his eyes.[3] Similarly Tilak hated the imitation of the western idea of a nation.

However, the Indian Extremist Leaders did not merely condemn the western idea of a Nation, but also evolved a distinctly Indian idea of a Nation which was unique and clearly distinguishable from the western idea of a Nation. "The fundamental difference between European Nationalism and Indian Nationalism", wrote B. C. Pal, "lies in the excessive emphasis of one on territorial and of the other on cultural unity."[4] He continued, "Economic conflicts, industrial competitions, greedy rivalries for the acquisition of unappropriated territories and the possession of unexplored markets, these are what have contributed to the quickening and preservation of nationalism in Europe and have kept the nations apart from one another."[5] And he commented that, "a nationalism of this type must inevitably become narrow and selfish, intolerant and aggressive"[6] which according to him was the general characteristic of nationalism in Europe. "However, this type of narrow, selfish and pathological patriotism (and B. C. Pal uses patriotism and nationalism as synonymous terms) was never developed in ancient India."[7]

According to the Extremist leaders, the nation was conceived not as a territory but as a spiritual being and the nation was to be organised not on the basis of common self-interest but on the basis of common feeling that "we are all sons of one common Mother."[8] The origin of this concept of the Land as Mother can be traced back

1. See H. A. L. Fisher. *The Commonwealth*, London, 1924, p. 196. See also Hayes Carlton J. *Essays on Nationalism*, New York, 1941, p. 3. Hans Kohn. *Force or Reason*, (Cambridge Mass), 1937, p. 198. Barker, Earnest, *National Character and the Factors in its Formation*, London, 1927, p. 7.

2. B. C. Pal, *Soul of India*, Calcutta, Chowdhry and Chowdhry n.d.), pp. 73-74.

3. Quoted by D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokmanya Tilak*, p. 59.

4. Pal, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 134.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 134-35.

6. *Ibid*, p. 143.

7. *Ibid*.

8. Aurobindo Ghose, *Speeches of* p. 140.

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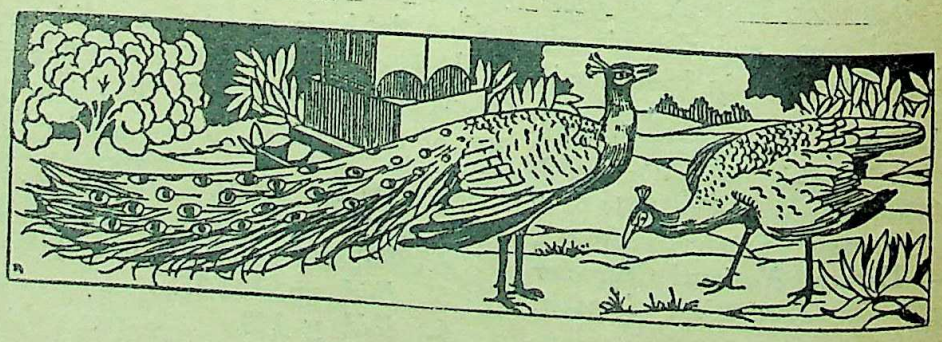
to the Vedic conception of the Earth God. This concept was now revived. Thus Aurobindo pointed out that land the Mother was a living thing. ". . . . . Your common Mother that is not merely the soil. That is not merely a division of land but it is a living thing. It is the mother in whom you move and have your being."[9] Similarly, B. C. Pal, believed that the Mother is a Personality, is a living being. Talking of the Personality of the Mother he wrote, "The mountains, these rivers, these extensive plains and lofty plateaus are all witnesses into the life and love of our race, in and through which the very life and love of the Mother have sought and found uninterrupted and progressive expression. Our history is the sacred biography of the Mother. Our philosophies are the revelations of the Mother's mind, our arts, our poetry and our painting, our music and our drama, our architecture and our sculpture, all—are the outflow of the Mother's diverse, emotional moods and experiences. Our religion is the organised expression of the soul of the Mother."[10] He continues later, "We are born in this land. It receives us into its bosom even as our human brothers do. It supports our life with its own substance even as the nursing mother supports the growing life of her own baby. This land is literally the Mother of our physical existence. It is, indeed, the physical body of the soul of our land and nation."[11]

Moreover, the cult of the Mother among the Hindus is part of our general spiritual culture. Therefore, the concept of the land as a Mother has a distinct spiritual basis. For them the love of their land and people was "an organic of our ideal of the love of God."[12] This is pletely different from the secular nationalis the west which is a mere civic and at best a political sentiment. On the other hand, for Indian Extremist Leaders, nationalism was religion that had come from God. Aurob Ghose identified it with *Dharma* itself. Thus said, "The Hindu nation was born with the S *tana Dharma*, with it, it moves and with it grows. When the *Sanatana Dharma* declines the nation declines and if the *Sanatana Dha* were capable of perishing with the nation would perish. The *Sanatana Dharma*, that nationalism."[13] The spiritual basis of this In idea of the Nation strikes to be typically Hegel However, one major difference with the Hegel line of thinking is to be noted. The Indian tremist leader, in line with the trend in mod Indian political thinking, do not isolate the idea of the nation with their idea of humanity Actually, "Both individual humans as well the collective entity called Humanity are ex manifestations of Narayana. They are b equally Divine. The one is inseparable from other and both from God."[14] Thus, Aurob Ghose explained that "our ideal of patriot proceeds on the basis of love and brotherh and it looks beyond the unity of the nation envisages the ultimate unity of mankind."[15] this ideal of human unity or that of univer brotherhood which is implicit in their idea of Nation, that separates the Indian Extremist ers from Hegel and keeps them apart.

9. *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.
10. Pal, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 199.
11. *Ibid*, p. 191.
12. *Ibid*, p. 192.
13. A. Ghose, *Uttarpara Speech*, p. 20.
14. Pal, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 193-94.
15. Aurobindo Ghose, *Speeches*, p. 175.



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LIMITATIONS ON PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY

By BHASKAR CH. DAS,
Allahabad University.

The Parliament is the legislature of the country. It is an assemly of representatives where discussions take place about the affairs of the nations. It functions as the spokesman of the people and has necessarily the final word in the Administration of the country and her colonies. The Indian Parliament consists of the President, and the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. It has its powers co-extensive with 97 items in the union list and 47 items in the concurrent list. Art. 246 of our constitution clearly lays down and it has been interpreted by the Privy Council that the powers of the Parliament are not limited by those of the State-legislatures. Thus the Indian Parliament in the supreme Legislature for India. The Parliament makes laws, amends them and the constitution, controls the purse, ventilates grivances of the people, controls the Executive of the country and elects the highest national Executive and can investigate cases against them and can impeach them. The Parliament is the nation-in miniature. Prof. Dicey in the 19th century said that the British Parliament is a Sovereign body. When 'the Sun never set in the British Empire' and 'Britannia ruled the Waves,' the Parliament could make "everything except making a man a woman and a woman a man." The Supremacy of the Parliament is unlimited, inalienable and unquestionable. Sovereignty admits of no other organ or individual either above it or to control it. The British Parliament can remodel the British constitution. It is not only the law-making body but also the constituent body for the country. It can confer dictatorial powers. It can change the religion of the country. It can pass the Act Indemnity to legalize all illegation. It can declare war as well as conclude peace. Indian parliament could even reprimand the Blitz-Editor for the breach of privilege of an M.P. The British Parliament can introduce Communism in Great Britain. It can make and unmake anyhow it likes. Thus unlimited legislation is the most outstanding characteristic feature of parliamentary system. So Prof. Dicey went to the extent of saying that the British Parliament is sovereign in character. But things are not so as they appear to be. There are several limitations. The difference between surface appearance and inward reality is to be noted.

Historical Background

The modern-parliament owes its existence to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman times of the Ancient days. The British Parliament has been the mother of parliaments as the American Congress has been the father of federalism. The earliest document which contains the word "Parliament" is the Eleventh Century Chanson de Roland meaning the talk between two persons. King John granted charters to the barons in 1215. However, by 1258 the 'parliament' had evidently continued to acquire a definite meaning. The essence of parliament became discussion and deliberations. From the 19th century onwards popular control over the Government started; and as the Legislature was the repository of popular sovereignty Government responsible to the people remained responsible to the Legislature both collectively and individually. Thus the Legislature had the responsibility of direction, supervision and control and the executive organ functioned under the legislative organ.

Control of the Cabinet

The modern executive, is in a miniature, the old absolute monarchy. The Cabinet more than the parliament is sensitive about the powers and the functions of the parliament. Because the Cabinet gets its powers enhanced by the submissive parliament of today. In the 19th century, popular sovereignty and the sovereignty of parliament were paraded so much so that Herbert

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Spencer lamented that if divine rights of kingship was bad, the omnipotence of the parliament is worse. People wanted to curtail the growing powers of the parliament. Due to the First World War and the emergence of the Soviet State every State assumed more and more powers. The Cabinet acted as the main-spring of the machine to exercise them. The divine rights of parliament have been replaced by cabinet dictatorship. Instead of the cabinet remaining responsible to the parliament, modern parliament is submissive to the power-hungry cabinet. The decision of the cabinet and the formulation of their policies are just formally approved and passed by the parliament. When the Crown has been reduced to "a magnificent cipher" or "a convenient working hypothesis," the prerogatives of the crown are now enjoyed as the powers of the cabinet. Because the cabinet cannot be turned out and no vote of want of confidence can be moved against it. The cabinet dictates according to its sweet will. Therefore, 'bureaucrecy thrives under the cloak of ministerial responsibility.' The parliament actually works as a general post office and approves the papers and stamps them formally. Again the decision of the cabinet is the result of the ruling of one-man—the Prime Minister. He is the leader of the Nation and his personality silences all criticism inside the country. The cabinet is not the whole but a part of the parliament and it actually rules. The democratic Governments are party-Governments. Parties have affiliations with several economic and political organizations of the country. So the party cannot ignore their interests. The direction of the party in power, appears as the decision of the cabinet. The decision of the cabinet is the decision of the Nation. Thus the modern parliament legislates on agreed matters. The cabinet thus controls the parliament and acts for it and gets things passed by the help of majority support.

The Force of Conventions

The customs, conventious, practices, precedents, usages and traditions play a very great role in checking the parliamentary affairs of the country. Law Courts safeguard the laws but the public opinion safeguards the enforcement of the conventions. Violation o conventions may res in revolution in the country. They are the ba of democracy, spirit of the Nation and th clothe the dry bones of the constitution and a inherent in the flesh and blood of the citizen The older the Government is, the more its number of conventions. The Swiss Feder Council reflects the will of the people. Th British people are very conservative by natu and will never allow a slight tinkering of th conventions. They think their past as glorio future uncertain and present disgraceful. Th Prime Minister is the representatives of th people. As Dr. Jennings says "the Gener Election of England is primarily the election o Prime Minister." So he looks to the enforce bility of that which appeals to the people's wi and mind most. A convention is that, the secrec of parliamentary papers must be maintained fo which a man like Dalton had to resign. If th parliament is not convened every year to ann the Army Act and to pass the Budget, the Navy Army and Air Force of the Government will be come illegal and the Government cannot spend single naye Paisa. The office of the Prim Minister as well as of Her Majesty's opposition are examples of conventions. Thus the parliament will never legislate on matters which will violate the conventions of the country. The convention are on organic principle of the constitution a the sovereignty of the parliament itself is an hence beyond the possibility of the competenc of the parliament. The parliamentary enactment should not hurt the sentiments of the people o act contrary to it. Legally it can, but practical does not.

Delegated Legislation

The device of delegated legislation an administrative adjudication have also limite the powers of the parliament. Due to the over burdened functions of the parliament and th technical and complex nature of the moder problems delegated legislation has come int being. The parliament only decides the skelet laws but the administrative Departments form late the necessary rules, and regulations, etc., t make the laws work. Thus the parliame delegates a part of its responsibility to th

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executive both for the sake of relieving its crowded programme and also for adding to the efficiency of the executive. It is justifiable due to the enormous growth of the sphere of State-action. Lord Herwart calls this device as 'New Despotism.' If the parliamentery supremacy was worse, the new despotism is the worst. This is a vital check on the parliament's functions.

Judicial Review

In the United States, the Acts of the parliament (Congress) are subject to judicial interpretation and review. The Judiciary can give the final verdict regarding its validity and constitutionality. It can make the Acts illegal and hence invalid. In England, due to the unwritten nature of the Constitution and supremacy of the parliament the scope of the Judicial Review is less. Still then the Judges have their own contributions. They interpret the laws and make Judge-made-laws. The parliament takes note of it also.

International Law

The parliament is circumscribed by the practices, agreement and treaties of International Relations. The law of the land cannot be contrary to the principles of International law. This is a recognised principle of British constitutionalism and so also is the case with the parliaments of other civilized nations.

Constitutional Limitations

The powers and functions of the parliament are limited by constitutional limitations in regard to ligislation both for the country and her colonies. The Constitution prescribes the scope and manner of law-making and so on. Thus Dicey's statement that "the power of the parliament extends to every part of King's dominions" is fundamentally unrealistic. The sovereignty of parliament thus seems to be a legal fiction and not a practical one. The modern parliament merely acts as the trustee of the people. It is said, the American Congress is non-soverign, the British Parliament is sovereign, but the Indian parliament is semi-sovereign.

Rule of Law

The Rule of Law implies the equal application of law and equal treatment of all before the eyes of law. So the parliament cannot legislate some thing which is contrary to the Rule of Law. Thereby it imperils its own sovereignty. Rule of Law is thus a significant check on the legal sovereignty of the parliament.

Voice of Press

The Press moulds the public opinion. Under the currents and cross-currents of propaganda and counter-propaganda the affairs of the modern world are conducted. Democracy can only succeed by the vigilance of public opinion. Because eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. So the people get the press they deserve. The modern parliament is careful about the comments of the press and modifies its decisions accordingly. A comment of the *Blitz* could move the Indian Parliament to reprimand the Editor due to breach of privilege.

No Government likes to be unpopular. The party in power has a hope for future to come back again to power. So no parliament will like to wound the feelings of the people or to encroach upon their life, liberty and property.

On the whole, these factors cast a great influence on the activities of the Parliament everywhere to an unlimited extent. The Parliament consists of persons who are also subject to the same law. Each M.P. has a hope to come to power again. So his action of the present will count a great deal for future considerations. His act of betterment will enable him to receive fresh petrol from the people to keep his vehicle of political career on motion. Thus the real sovereign power rests with the people. To determine the membership of the Lower Chamber of the House and thereby decide the policy of the House and then of the Nation as a whole. The parliament legally can make and unmake any law it likes. But actually it cannot ignore the morals of the community, wishes and interests of the people, common law, and expediency of the country, etc.

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RIFT IN THE LUTE—TAGORE'S DRAMA

By JOGES C. BOSE

BRILLIANT in quiet incisiveness as the dialogues of Tagore's *Vidai-abhishap* and *Karna-o-Kunti* struck me, I thought how immensely great he must be as a dramatist as well. I was then too young to have the sense of appreciation that in a drama it is the tenseness of the situation which gives edge to an utterance and, besides, there are other ingredients to make it pass muster. This is why I witnessed Tagore's *Raja-o-ranee*, the first in my way, with a high expectancy. It did not, however, at all affect me such as the depiction of a tragic incident on the stage haunts the susceptible. Drama is essentially the impression; and I have failed all these long years to get over the handicap of that impression of my boyhood.* Truly, it has acted as a bar to my proper appreciation of Rabindranath's dramas. What is it he lacked which pinched my untutored imagination? I found no satisfactory answer till I read Shakespeare's tragedies.

Making a due allowance for the fact that the impact of a drama through perusal is less intimate and gripping, with Shakespeare I was ill-at-ease and puzzled as to how he who smells so much of brass, brawl and buffoonery could be the greatest dramatist in celtic letters, nay, of the world. It was all the more an uncomfortable position for me, because I dared not breathe what was, obviously, a rank heresy. But as I began to read his tragedies, I was, straightaway, entrapped by their epic depth. In fact, over my pathway some fleeting figures began to cast their shadows, silhouetted in their deathless excellence. I took to spoutting about them, much like one suddenly in possession of something very extraordinary. This is, possibly, one sure test of immortality; that I have read them good many times is the other.

I visualise Othello, stuck up in the tortures of suspicion in his wife's fidelity and in the shade Iago asking of those near-by, 'Is my lo angry?' : Hamlet, a glorious promise, wasti himself on the barrenness of 'To be or not to b King Richard pathetically panting for a wink sleep to weigh eye-lids down and steep senses forgetfulness: Lear, the doting father but eve inch the King, as 'he sleeps well after life's fi fever', the rumbling peals of his swearing agai filial ingratitude still then audible as it we and, what is classic for all time, the blas heath, where the weird sisters were prepar charms by which to read ahead the destiny o —the Judas' Kiss, the coup and the husban forlorn hunt for 'a sweet oblivious antidote' raze out the troubles of his wife's brain. Th are landmarks of human drama for all ti What, however, is particularly thought-pro ing is that they standardise the Hindu concepti of the Law of *Karma*. It is, in a nutshell, t every event is the effect of a cause operating conjunction with an invisible force. It confu the average westerner, at one with Bernard Sh holding that 'Shakespeare's characters are li like, but their actions are forced from with Boris Pasternak, rather, bears close to the vi point of the Law of *Karma*, when he spe of Lear using the language of the Old Testam prophets. Anyway, the ease and happiness which Shakespeare works out the balance betw man's will to do things leading to a catastro on the one hand and the compulsion of circu tances in which he cannot help doing them the other is his irresistible appeal to an Ind It is the absence of this overriding fascina of the balance, which stands in the way Rabindranath's tragedies bring a success. As reaction to an artist must be open and frank feel, for what it is worth, no sense of recoil to them all with the same brush, more or less.

And, yet, when Tagore makes his drama vehicle of a thesis, whatever be the merits of drama as a drama, I maintain that he sc himself well. To take his *Prakriteer Pratis*

*This explains why Rabindranath, the dramatist, is not in accord with the writer's articles on Tagore, the poet, patriot and philosopher, published in *The Modern Review*.

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Nature's Revenge, we have the clash of two forces—one ascetic, shy of worldly attachments and the other rooted deep down in the affections of human breast. Written at the age of twenty-one or so, Tagore gives us the story of a hermit, who stole away from human habitations for an undisturbed contemplation of God. One day the hermit happened to stumble upon a small young girl on the footway, hovering between life and death. He succoured her back to life and would not leave her to the freaks of fate. In the process he realised that one concrete attribute of the Infinite is his faculty of zest for the finite. The hermit exclaims—and this is the pith and marrow of what the dramatist stands for—

> With eyes shut and all worldly things left out,
> Where really had I gone in search of thee, oh
> my Lord !*

The drama, with its songs delivering the sense of tranquil restoration, slips by, but the underlying thought saturates the audience fibre to fibre.

Nateer Pujah, which signalises the willing, reposeful surrender of the devout, gathers momentum in the compactness of a sonnet. The heroine of sweet calm is a stately granite against all assults on her faith in Buddha. By her death she hearlds the birth of a new, transfigured life, brought home by a song tuned to a dance, symbolised by the bodily existence narrowing down to a flicker of ecstacy.

Tagore's controversial *Chitrangada* is truly representative of the dramatist and calls for a more or less elaborate dealing. It woefully lacks the elements which make drama a success, but it has, all the same, held the floor with the elite for over sixtyfive years. People have before them a woman, who, born in the full blaze of Victorian morals, confesses unabashed to her sex, because she is proudly conscious of her mission that she is out to secure her rightful place of love and honour as a wife to double the joys and lighten the burdens of her husband culminating in her fulfilment as a mother. The conception, in sober prose, is as old as the beginning of the world. But the sense of beauty, which abides, is in Tagore investing the woman with power to attract the man, despite his traditional, innate, nomadic turbulence, to cling to hearth and home.

Chitrangada is the daughter of a King of Manipur in Assam in the days of the *Mahabharata*. For reasons we need not bother about, she grows up in habits and other pursuits, which become a man and not a woman. At one arresting snatch of undeniable youth, however, she meets Arjuna, whose tales of valour have coloured her imagination since the days of childhood. She pauses to read in the stir of her blood that she is a woman, and is in the intriguing presence of a man—no other than the idol of her dreams. In fact, she realises that she is smitten with a craving for Arjuna. The moments are precious and bid fair to fleet by. She cannot, therefore, rest content to rely on her resources unaided and invokes Madan, the God of Love—the same as Greek Eros—to help her work the chance. She is now made lovely beyond compare, and is clothed, with a raving appeal, but on condition that the glamour is to last for one year only. Fully aware that it is to wear out as the year completes its cycle, what in Chitrangada mounts the top is the serenity of her wakefulness that increasingly as physical charms fade out, inwardness is to develop compelling attachment. Her sense and sensibility and level-headedness would not let the secret of love sag or volatilize. In the spring-tide of life, when reflectiveness has little sway, she is cool and circumspect. She cautions her impetuous lover to look facts in the face, lest the summer that woos is not too soon the winter when wed. There was hardly time for romance and a mutual understanding. It is virtually a case of one throwing into the arms of the other after a few twinkles of the eye. We have not, therefore, in Chitrangada the idyllic felicity of Tennyson's 'Ask me no more'. She has, however, what is Tagore's own, the strange, solemn satisfaction of founding a home, whose moral and social values she is to guard with a painstaking devotion.

> She told the God of Love,
> If I had had the time, I would not have
> besought thee.
> But inch by inch I would have my ground
> gained to conquer him.
> I would have been an associate by his side;

*All translations are mine.

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A charioteer in the field of battle fierce;
An attendant in arms while a-hunting;
A guard keeping watch over the tent at night;
And, at all times, I would fain assist him in rescuing the oppressed, which so eminently befits him the true soldier that he is.

To Arjuna she said,

I am Chitrangada, no Goddess for worship or for lodgement in bonnet high.
I be sure, I am not the common type that thou should in proud disdain tend in the rear.
If it be thy choice to let me function as thy life's companion in weal and woe,
and make me share thy problems hard in all strenuous undertakings and journeys, that danger spell, shalt thou truly assess what I am.

The poet makes, Chitrangada's longings for Arjuna tone down to idealise into a feeling of adequacy as she says, to her spouse,

Should the child I bear thee be a son,
I shall so rear him up in arts which a warrior become that he shall be Arjuna, the Second.
I would then make a gift of him to his father,
who would then and then only appraise me correctly.

Passion, says Schopenhauer, depends on an illusion, which represents that which has value only for the species is of value to the individual; and the deception must vanish after the attainment of the end of the species. Rabindranath introduces Eros and the atmosphere of illusion. Here also the veil of deception is withdrawn after the species has attained the end. Yet the difference is fundamental. Schopenhauer's individual discovers that he has been 'the dupe of the species'. Rabindranath's individual is assured of his or her completeness over an enduring line of moral greatness, which sustains society and what it stands for as the gifts of civilization.

There was at one time a determined bid by a few literati, acting in concert, to ferret out obscenity in Rabindranath's *Chitrangada*, where the heroine is given an upper hand to finalize biological necessity, was the target at point blank range. I would not dispute that in *Chitrangada* there are some frank touches on woman's anatomy—'the wonder', as Rabindranath says, 'of divine art wrought in a fragile human frame'. The real point for determination is whether they have been emphasized. Is a Beatrice, in the classical picture of her first meeting with Dante, displayed somewhat bare in points and habits? Were it immoral on the score, she could not have conquered time and space.

There is, then, the charge of those who discern Ibsen's Hjordis in Chitrangada. As Hjordis meets Siguard, her lover of pre-marital days, years after marriage, she harps upon his desire for a woman willing to follow him on a Viking quest armed in steel and spurring him on to the fight. She says, 'I will put on my armour and follow you wherever you choose to go. Like a splendid Valkyn will I follow you, and urge you on to the fight and to heroe's deeds, so that your name may be famed abroad. When swords are flashing, I will stand by your side'. She predicts it by her outspoken avowal, 'I love you and dare say so without a blush'. This thrumbing on the string of wild abandon bears no comparison with Chitrangada's pursuit for Arjuna to make him accept her as his wife, fit as well to follow him to the hazards of a warrior's life. One breaks down the home she had by an act of treachery and the other offers herself, with all the fostering which belongs to her maiden breast, to build a home, cemented layer to layer by a community of interests. In all fairness, it needs to be stated, by the way, that Ibsen either is a radical, or a rebel, but no iconoclast. In the very *A Doll's House*, the representative book on woman's revolt, he makes Mrs. Linde pine for 'a home to bring comfort into'. In *Ghosts*, he makes Bishop Manders chide Mrs. Alvin 'not to pin all faith to the happiness that was bound with the spirit of revolt.' Nora, the heroine of *A Doll's House*, rises up in arms against her husband, because he was as much sought to capitalise the helplessness of his wife, and nothing more. Tagore is firm and pronounced against the woman ever neglecting or abandoning the sphere, where by the qualities of her personality, it is her privilege to dominate. *Chitrangada* is a fine work of art, instinct

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the urgency and absoluteness of a protest in support of a common dedication with man, shoulder to shoulder.

As I do not attempt any study in criticism but do only state my primary reaction, rather, emotion recollected, I forbear discussing any drama of Tagore I have not seen on the stage. This, however, I would not withhold that his much-talked-of *Rakta Karavi* leaves me cold. By the time Rabindranath wrote it, machinery and what it stands for and the many bad things accruing from it to the society had been argued to the dregs. Rabindranath adds nothing new. In fact, much of what he says is trite and of jaded interest. I read and re-read the book to find out what light this master-mind might possibly vouchsafe, but I did not advance a bit from where I started. Be that as it may. I would better turn from any such acid delineation to his delightful, ever-green comedy *Chira Kumar Sabha*, The Council of Confirmed Bachelors, who, really, did not, at all, seek confirmation.

Chira Kumar Sabha has had of all the dramas of Rabindranath the highest run on the public stage. The story, I am afraid, is not set on hard lines. There is, from the very start, something absurd lurking, but nothing wishy-washy to water down its sparkling animation. The characters breathe vivacity, but are just pulled in time from lapsing into boredom. As the inevitable to the inevitable corruscates, we are regaled with some tight moments of joy and laughter; and the story develops crisp into a class comedy. What, again, is a factor of vast import is the pointer background. The portrait of Pundit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, of the earth but not earthy, is the only picture in the bald setting of the council-room. Did Rabindranath seek to counterweight Swami Vivekananda, laying down celebacy as an indispensible term of service to the motherland by looking at Vidyasagar, who served her as though it was an obligation, he owed to himself? *Chira Kumar Sabha* is in no sense a rehash of *Love's Labour's Lost* or *The Princess*.

What, finally, in Tagore, the dramatist, is an insuperable error—I might say a bane on the public stage—is his high intellectualism. His fine subtleties elude the audience. They have to be on the tiptoe to follow their significance. A pun, a twist or an antithesis is often the button to press for light. To appreciate his drama played, one has, in fact, to rise to a certain height. The other drawback is his constitutional incapacity to rivet attention, for any length of time, on the seamy, unseemly and what is basically violent. Lacking, therefore, in passions of the rough and tumble, what he presents in respect of them is a fake—inasmuch as his Vaishnov songs, under the pseudonym Bhanu Singha, despite their boundless felicity of expression, have not the intensity of Vidyapati or Chandidas. This is because love has for him no lure of the forbidden or out-of-bounds. He does believe in it as neither a game of steeplechase, where the zest is in clearing the hurdles. Over and above, Tagore —and this is like the lump of leaven which leavens the whole lump—is too much of a lyrist, with harmony as the breath of his nostrils, to be a dramatist having had to portray a life of lived reality. Where, however, he can well afford to be free from such inhibitions, as in a social comedy, he is, I should think, at his best.

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MIGHTIEST U.S. ROCKET ENGINE TESTED

PROGRESS toward manned flights to the moon and distant planets is seen in the successful performance of F-1, the mightiest rocket engine ever developed in the United States. In more than 25 recent test-stand firings, the new single-chamber liquid-propelled engine has met and even exceeded its designers' power goal of 1,500,000 pounds (680,000 kilograms) of thrust. After flight tests in 1963, the F-1 is expected to become the nation's basic booster engine, with the power and versatility to advance space flight during the next decade.

U.S. scientists are planning a booster powered by a cluster of eight F-1 engines to propel large, heavy vehicles far into space. The first U.S. rocket to be powered by a cluster of engines is the Saturn C-1, which was test-launched with great success recently. The F-1 has demonstrated thrust equal to the Saturn's eight engines. A cluster of eight F-1 engines will generate the equivalent of 220,000,000 horse-power—equal to the power of 2,400 big jet planes of one million automobiles. By comparison with the Saturn, which is expected to place a 45,000-pound (19,412 kilogram) space vehicle in low orbit around the earth, an F-1 eight-engine cluster will be capable of propelling a 400,000 pound (181, 440 kilogram) vehicle into outer space.

The F-1 engine, developed by Rocketdyne, a division of North American Aviation, Inc., Canoga Park, California, is part of the logical, step-by-step space program being carried out by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. This program began with the series of Explorer, Pioneer and Discoverer satellites and is being continued with the Project Mercury man-in-space flights. The next steps will be Saturn C-1 and C-2 and finally, powered by the F-1 engine cluster, the Saturn C-3 and Nova rockets.

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Members of Rocketdyne's Design Review Board view a drawing of the F-1 rocket engine flashed on a big screen. They are discussing a proposed change in one part (at end of pointer). In numerous sessions during the development and testing of the engine, these scientists made final decisions on every design detail to assure the safety and reliability of the F-1. Employees of North American Aviation, Inc., have had eleven years of experience, during which nearly one thousand rocket engines have been designed and built by the Rocketdyne Division.

With a thunderous roar, fire belches from the F-1 rocket engine on a test stand in the Mojave Desert, California. In more than 25 captive firings, the engine has performed perfectly, even exceeding its designed thrust of 1,500,000 pounds (680,000 kilograms). These captive firings have been carried out on three different test stands, one of which is the nation's largest, capable of accommodatng the entire cluster of F-1 engines planned for space-launching.

Rocketdyne engineers monitor on closed-circuit television a test of the F-1 rocket engine. They are in a concrete underground control center, but they have a clear view of the test being conducted overhead. The center is equipped with many types of instruments, which enable the engineers to analyze fully the performance of the engine.

The F-1, is the mightiest rocket engine ever-built in the United States. Although it looks tremendously complex, it actually is an incredibly simple booster engine. It has less than one sixth as many moving parts as an airliner's engine. An important feature of this rocket engine is its ability to operate in flight without electrical power. On the launch pad, electricity will

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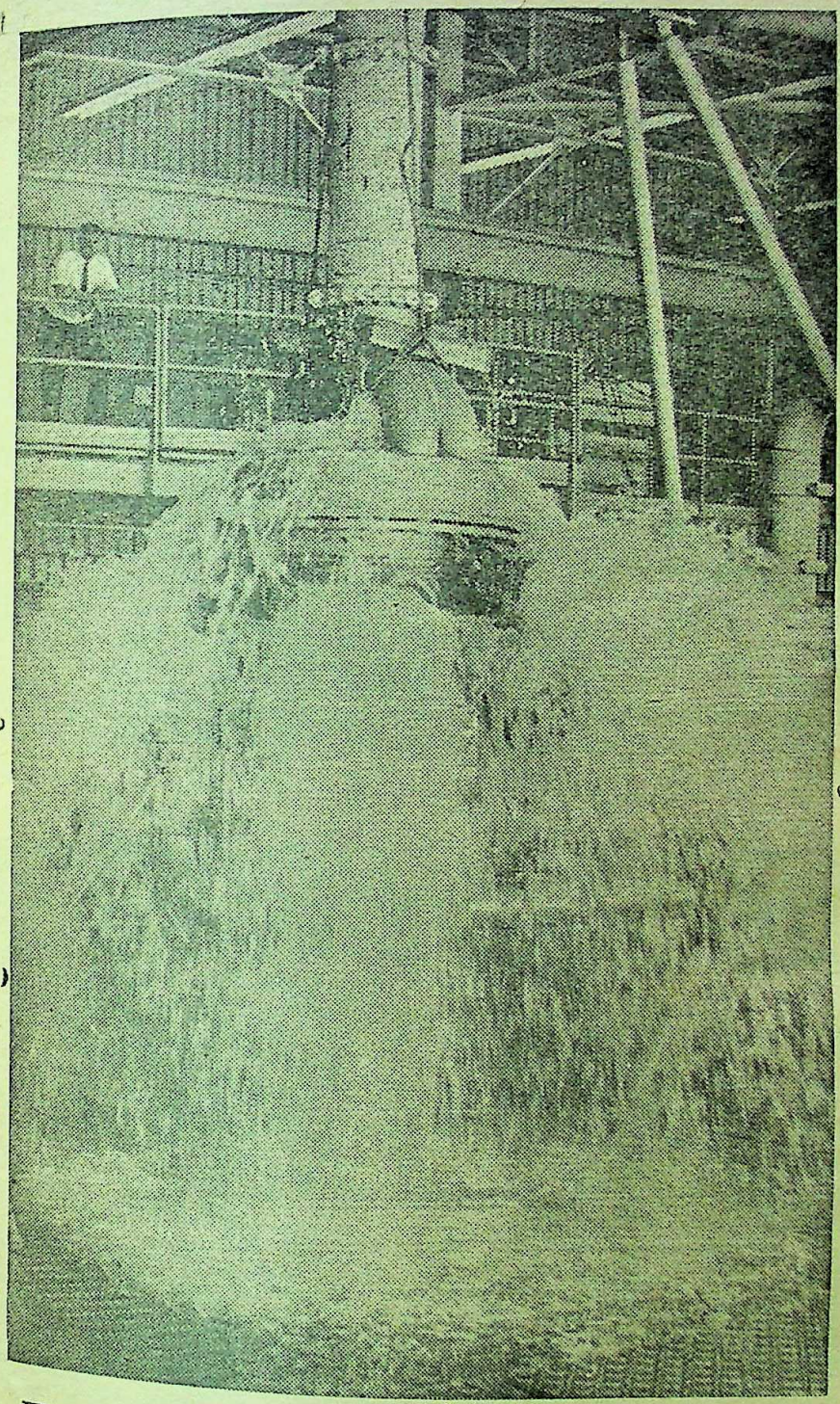
sed to start the power plant, after which the gine will operate without the danger of electri- al malfunction during flight.

the thrust of the Redstone rocket engine which launched the first U.S. astronauts on their sub-orbital journeys into space.



Water under high pressure flows through an engine down in one of the many different tests performed before the F-1 was fired at full thrust

At night under the lights, the thrust amber and nozzle of the F-1 (lower left) glow ightly in their cradle on the test stand. In cap- e tests, this engine has demonstrated four mes the thrust of the Atlas ICBM and 20 times

The "business end" of the F-1 engine through which a fiery blast will escape as three tons (2.72 metric tons) per minute of liquid oxygen and propellant fuel are fed to the engine by a turbopump operating at 6,000 revolutions

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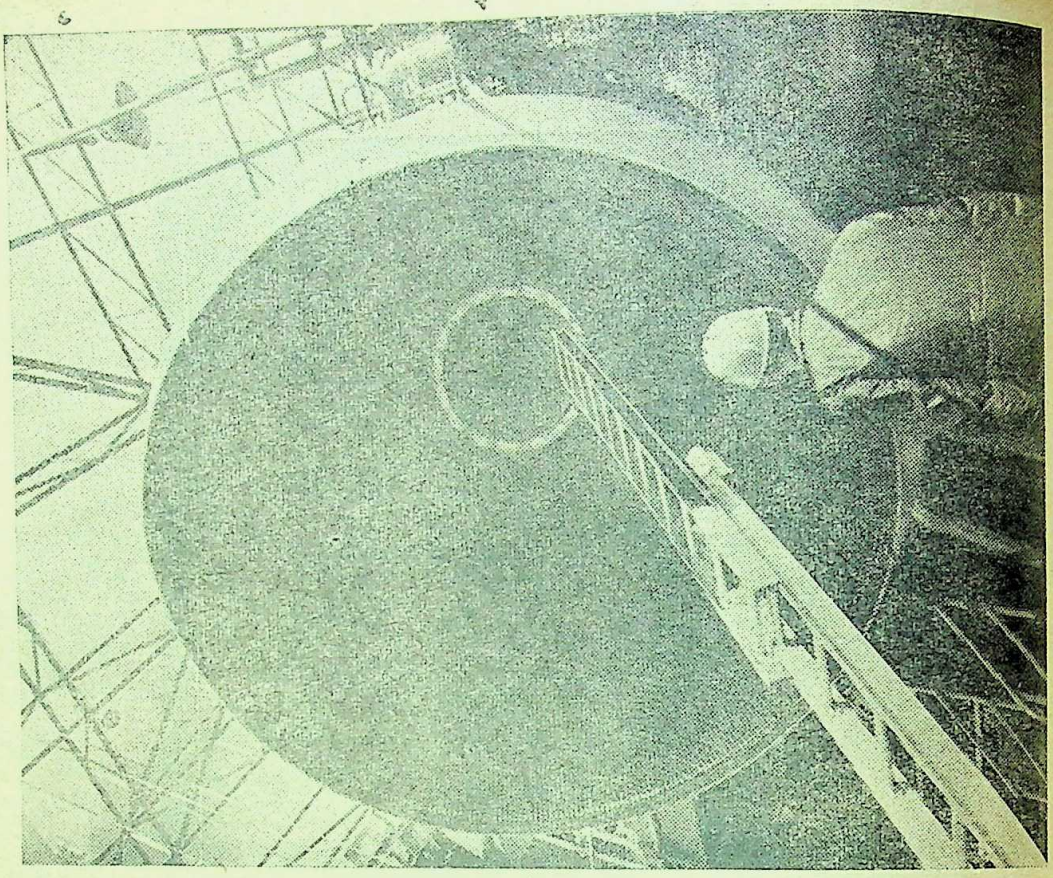
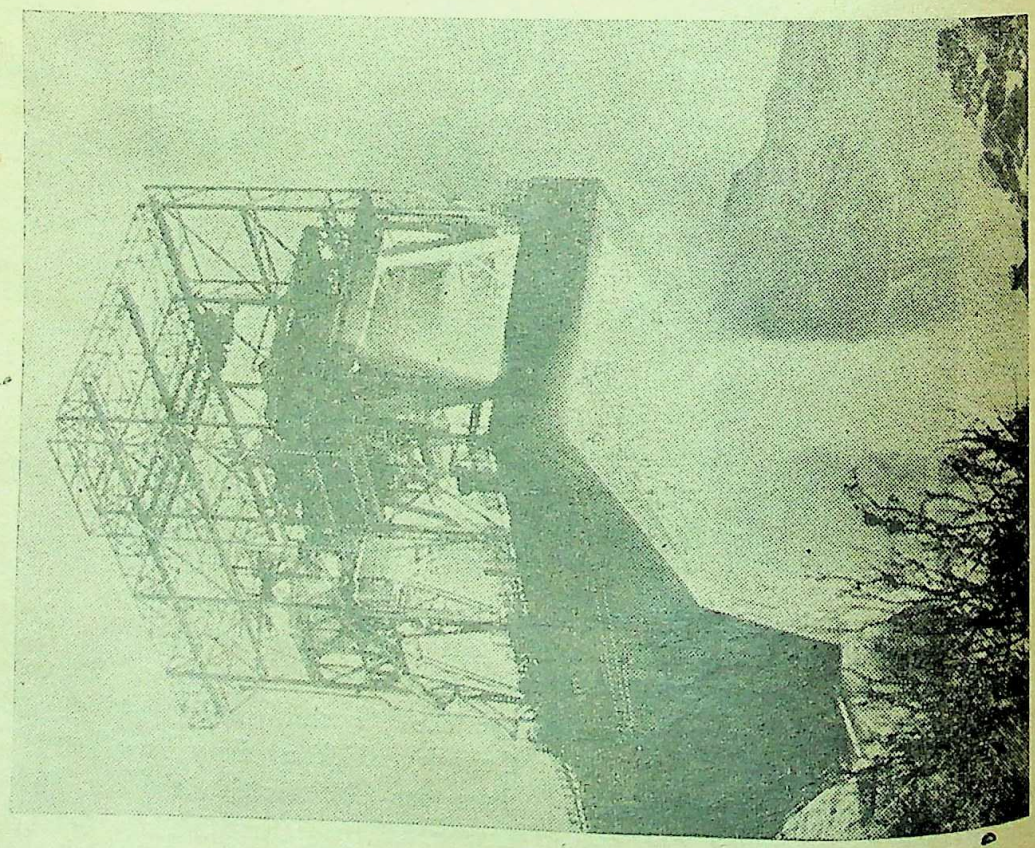


"Business end" of the F-1 engine through which fiery blast escapes liquid oxygen



Fire belches from the F-1 rocket Engine at the time of a test in the Mojave Desert, California

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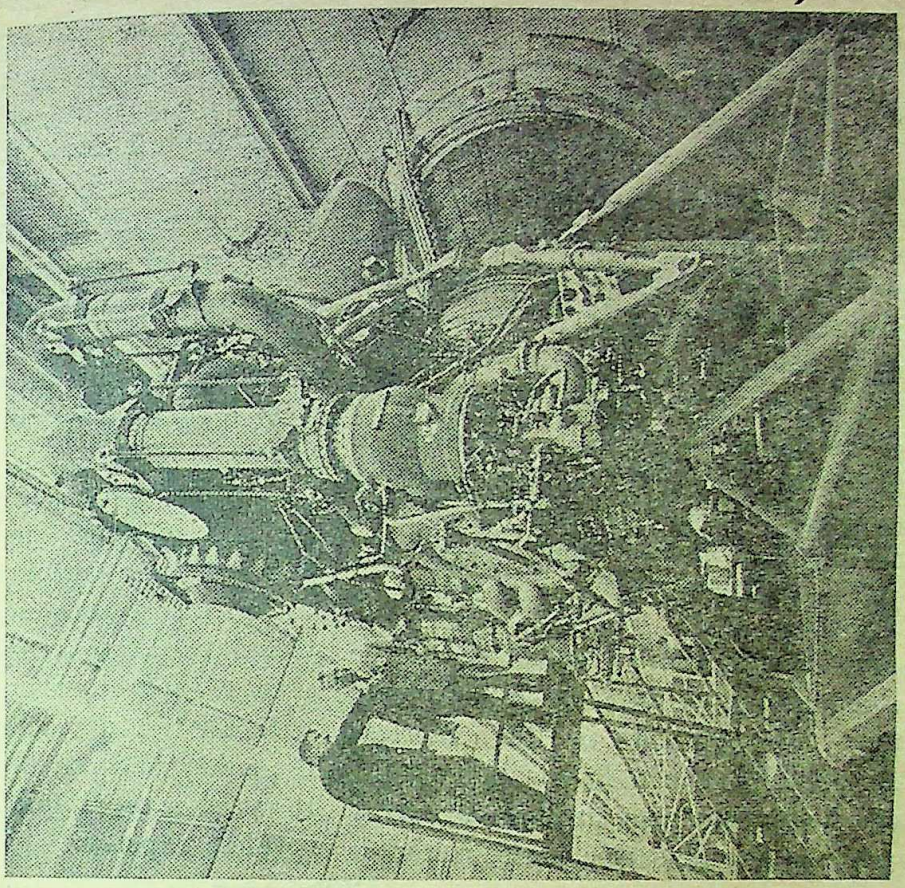
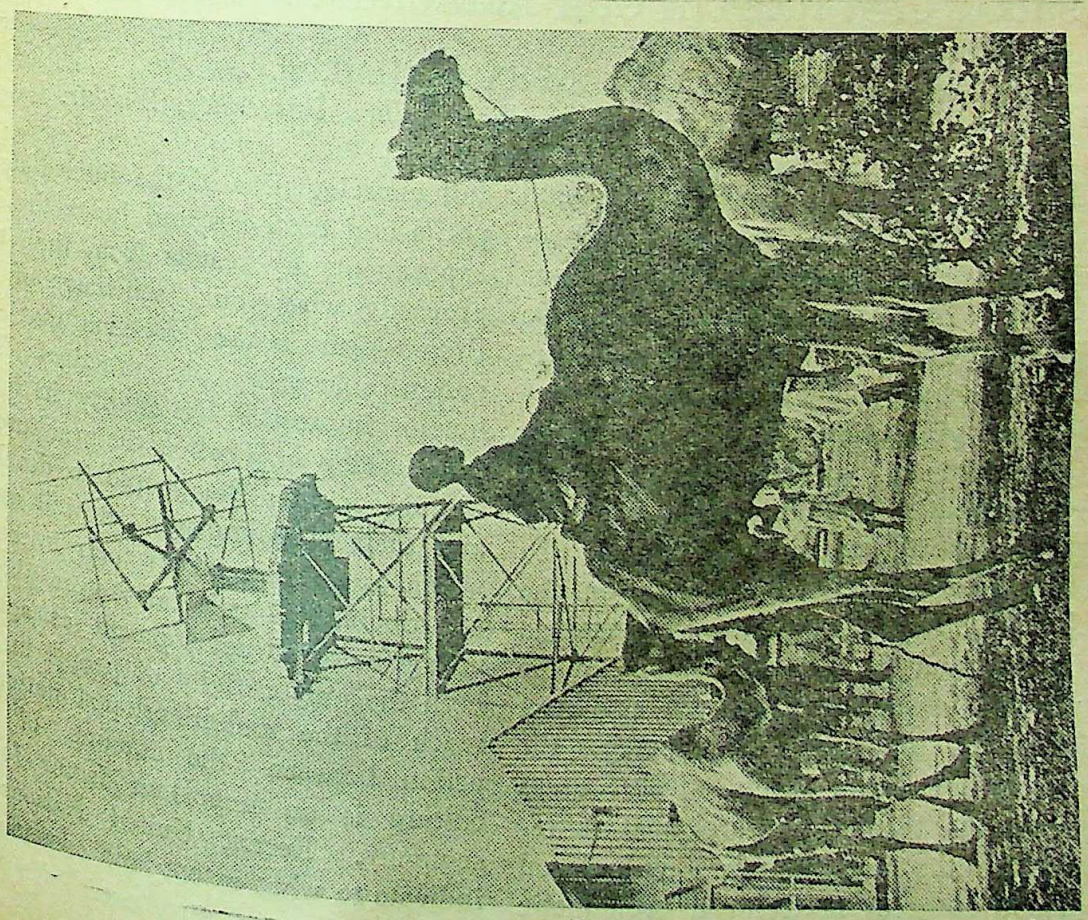


F-1, the mightiest rocket engine built in the United States



Camels pause in front of the project Mercury communications station at Kano, Nigeria

"Business end" of the F-1 engine through which fiery blast escapes liquid oxygen

Fire belches from the F-1 rocket Engine at the time of a test in the Mojave Desert, California

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per minute. When the F-1 engine is fired, flame and hot gases are thrust downward and then turned outward at a 90-degree angle by a 2.60 ton (235.57-metric ton) water-cooled flame deflector.

The large circle of metal for the thrust chamber of the F-1, like other parts of the giant engine, required special handling techniques. Many metal-working experts were specially trained in new welding and brazing methods. Fantastically accurate measuring devices were used to maintain quality control of fabrication. A tape-fed fully automatic milling machine speeded construction, with the result that one milling job formerly requiring 300 hours was completed in 30 hours.

Brazer-making tubes for the chamber of the F-1 engine is working in an inert atmosphere, an important development in the fabrication of safe, reliable engines. Fabrication of the F-1 presented Rocketdyne with an imposing array of challenges. The size of engine parts, materials used and tolerances necessary posed pr more difficult than had existed in the past fabrication of nearly one thousand rocket en The huge gas and electric brazing furnaces to build the F-1 dwarf the men who created

Rocketdyne worker cleans the welds o F-1 engine dome. Through the domes here under construction a 42,500 gallo minute torrent of liquid oxygen and ker fuel will be channeled to the firing ch where their ignition will bring the booster t with a thrust of 1,500,000 pounds (680,00 grams.

Water under high pressure flows th an engine dome in one of more than different tests performed before the F-1 was at full thrust on one of the high test stan technique known as statistical test desig used to obtain maximum information from test. All test procedures were designed to a the safety and reliability of the rocket engin to speed it to completion without waste effor needless expense.

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SOCIAL OBSTACLES IN OUR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

By S. CHANDRA SEKHAR, M.A.,
Research Scholar in Economics Andhra University, Waltair.

THE skilful combination of land, labour and capital which are the three requisites of production makes possible the satisfaction of our wants and they form the bases of economic society. But society itself should be in a favourable position to make room for such an effective organisation of production and labour before attaining the stage of economic society. The problem of organisation is more acute in countries that largely depend upon agriculture. In these areas, vigorous frontal attacks on the agrarian front are a precondition for a sustained economic growth and the ultimate triumph of the social revolution.[1] Social revolution is a subject of the change of outlook which engages the society for adopting better ideals. These areas are far behind the type of cultural that is required to solve the interminable agricultural problems. There is great need for a pragmatic approach to the problem in order to proceed in full consciousness of the immediate and ul perils and obstacles and judge the success o experiments by results from time to time a proceed with our schemes of develop Pragmatism is the doctrine that estimate policy solely by its practical bearing human interests.[2] Rationality in human in can develop only when their culture is imp Culture enables the people to develop them and their surroundings, as well as their which is an imprint of their interests.

Social and cultural factors play a gre in agricultural development as agriculture been the only activity of people in the imm reach of the underdeveloped nations. The action between the amount of land an culture is an important factor for agric economy. Recent United Nations Mon indicate to what extent land ownership is la product of social structure.[3] On the one

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purely cultural factors, such as the form of inheritance of land, determine, along with the rate of population increase, the size of farm unit. On the other hand, the types of crops produced react in turn to the social structure. In most part of the world, in the past, there has been either a tendency for farms to get smaller and smaller as equal division of land among children is the ruling family practice, or for farms to get bigger and bigger with primogeniture, under which the oldest son inherits and occasionally families die out.[4] In the Indian society former had come true to a great extent. Nevertheless, though the system of inheritance is by no means the sole determinant of farm size, the productivity aspect of agriculture is not unimpaired by the inequalities in the size of possessions, to a large extent resulting in subsistence farming, rather than large-scale farming for exporting that would have signified economic development.

Cultural aspects influence agriculture from a different age wherein different crops have different impacts on the population, developing completely different rhythms of life and social patterns; sometimes bringing about seasonal unemployment as in sugar and sometimes giving full employment as in tobacco.

The isolated occupational aspect of agriculture has done a great harm to it due to lack of constant communicating society of advanced knowledge and techniques. Farm labour is attached to land and immobile, while communication is limited. Farmers are conservative in outlook, and change occurs slowly. The social legislations and land reforms attempted to weed out the socio-economic evils hardly touching the base let alone their penetration. Though climate determines civilization and customs which affect agricultural activitity, the people almost refuse to adapt themselves to modern methods of increasing production. It is due to their laziness and lack of ambition, traditional outlook engendered in many ways by the social setting that the disparities in income between the rural and urban have only been greatly palpable.

Another socio-economic factor working as an obstacle to agricultural development is—education. Economic development rests upon capital accumulation, but the process of accumulation is not only physical, it is also mental. Skill and knowledge are as important as buildings and plants; and in a developing society, which is therefore, a changing society, the sort of skill, the type of knowledge which is required, is perpetually new, perpetually different from those which the society is accustomed to teach and to which its institutions are adjusted. Each new development means a new educational curriculum. To make farmers out of peasants, they must be taught elements of all relevant agricultural sciences.[5] This sad lack of uniformity has kept the peasant of underdeveloped countries on the dark side of life. The peasant is either ignorant of the idea of family planning to help live at ease or he is adamant to learn any such good thing. He is a spendthrift either by nature or by virtue with no belief in the idea of saving if at all he has any capacity to save. Much of Asia's saving today goes, directly or through loan by the saver, to someone less provident, to unproductive purposes, to hoarding and jewellery, ceremonies and festivals, display, and other religious and social functions, and lastly the buying of land.[6] More often than not the possibility for investments in production is ruled out. Given a predominantly agrarian structure, savings cannot be diverted into productive enterprise, and are invariably used unproductively.[7]

Social relationship in the community as a whole is no less an obstacle in agricultural development. Attitudes are so complex amidst religious dogmas and social stratification bringing about more and more of dissociation rather than association between man and man especially in underdeveloped countries. Though many writers have singled out the economic motive as the underlying and basically important motive of individual behaviour, as well as the principal motive force of historical change itself, and though it has played a gigantic role in economic changes, an uniformity in the peoples attitudes is yet to be achieved to suit the exigencies of the times for co-ordination in the economic organization. The Indian rural sector is well-equipped with internal dissensions motivated by factionalism.

In developed countries, technological advance has initiated social change by making it possible for people to achieve certain results with less effort or at less cost, at the same time providing

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new opportunities and establishing new conditions of life. The underdeveloped nations that largely depend upon agriculture have to first think of bringing up the desired social change and then try at new agricultural techniques to make the task of development simpler. In the course of development many objectives become obligatory. The improvements in the breeds of cattle, in the use of fertilisers, in the variety of seeds, in mechanical labour having devices, and so forth, the objective of increase is the quantity and quality of agricultural production. But as concomitants of the attainment of this objective, in advanced countries, there have gone some changes in farm economy and in the manner of life of the farming household.[8]

Vision, leadership and co-operation are the predominant lacunae on the rural side in the nations that are lagging behind. The aspect of co-operation limits many modern developments in the field of large-scale agricultural farming and collective activities to be implemented, due to lack of agreement and conflicting ideologies. The complexity of the problems involved in co-operation and conflict is indicated by the fact that in every community these processes assume forms that distinctively reflect the local social and cultural conditions.[9] A social change leading to an understanding of the various groups of the community will certainly be a superior force to inflict the ideals of co-operation. Vision and leadership are often mere great expectations without disinterestedness. Disinterested and far-sighted leadership side-by-side with self-reliant and mutually helpful members intimately acquainted with each other in villages and unions alone can promote the spirit of co-operation. Given leadership, and the public-will to push on, all problems are soluble. If leaders are reactionary, selfish and corrupt, the masses in turn are discouraged and seem to lack initiative. But if the leaders win the confidence and prove themselves to be vigorous in eradicating privileges and gross inequalities, they can inspire the masses with an enthusiasm for progress which carries all before it.[10]

In the backward nations, the choice of economic development by the State is forced on it by all the entire constellation of economic, political, and social forces.[11] A prerequisite of growth is the scrapping of senile social institutions, the disintegration of caste and the sep tion engendered by race and religion as po out by the United Nations Experts.[12] Dra social and political surgery is necessary guarantee this transformation, and it is at juncture the state is called upon to play decisive role.[13] Mere land reforms may not sure of bringing about the desired social cha Stating the case of land reforms, Prof. Galbr notes that it constitute "a revolutionary; passed power, property and status from one gr to another in the community. If the governm of the country is dominated or strongly influen by the land-holding groups—the one that losing its prerogatives—no one should ex effective land legislation as an act of grace But the types of techniques adopted in vari countries may differ in order to suit their c conditions. Social revolution through educa and right type of reforms guarded from ve interests help bring about a desired cumula social change. It was felt that the very na of an agrarian reform, hitched to other so and institutional changes, is a mighty imp in harnessing the psychological enthusiasm peasantry fossilised by ignorance, starvation exploitation.[15] Land reforms have their sig cance in the national plans not only as a condition for raising productivity in agricul but primarily as a means of shattering foundations of the old class structure of stagnated society.[16]

Finally, the fact that the underdeve countries lag behind in the field of agric due to seasonal inactivity, is explicable in t of lack of suitable avenues of employment the farm labour, and lack of interest in ordinate occupations such as handicrafts; th the latter had been a part and parcel of c especially in India which is now a rare fe The inactivity and zeal to produce more of peasant in these areas through intensive cu tion and by adopting advance methods, re an early set-back before the works to full ca His stage of supreme contentment and "idyllic felicity" is perhaps very near, the m he fulfils the immediate obligatins such as maintenance, production costs and redempti his regular debts. The explicability of the

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ward bending supply curve" is perhaps possible only through social factors. Nevertheless, the possibility for the marketable surpluses are quite limited in agriculture, which in turn limits the objective of better marketing and planning. The liquidation of Kulaks, and the introduction of collective farms in the U.S.S.R. for general economic development has done well to jump this obstacle.

Social factors, nevertheless, have come to stay with enforcing influence upon economies. Besides, the underdeveloped economies are largely adversely disposed to the desired social change. But the only and unique way to development is to transform the society before the values of democratic planning are sunk into the rural mind, When compulsion, control and coercion are undesirable in democratic planning, the way out is to prepare the society for co-operating with the State through indirect social measures. The major sector which is agriculture in India, specially deserves this reminder for better activity through community development. Breaking the social chasms, and creating a psychological ideological, social and political situation propitious to economic development become the problem of supreme importance to policy-makers.

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KUWAIT : A TERRESTRIAL PARADISE IN THE MAKING

By S. Z. HASAN KAZMI

Kuwait, the land of the "liquid gold," was until 1938 a dull, dreary and desolate triangle of desert and hills, wretched and backward. Until then the inhabitants of this small Sultanate kept themselves occupied with the time-honoured pursuits of pearling, fishing, seafaring and shipbuilding. The capital, also called Kuwait, was known chiefly as a junction of caravan routes and as a home port of deep-water sailing dhows. But the discovery of oil—the lifeblood of modern civilization—and the progressive and enlightened rule of His Majesty Shaikh Abdullah-as-Salim-as-Sabah have since changed the face of the state beyond recognition.

Today it looks like a living page from the "Arabian Nights."

From a sleepy little town the capital has, during the last ten years, mushroomed into a booming bustling city.

Mud-wall houses and dark and dingy inns have given place to palatial concrete structures and luxurious air-conditioned hotels. Broad-metalled roads have replaced the dirty narrow lanes. Camels, donkeys and dhows are rapidly yielding place to automobiles, aeroplanes and large steamers, well-equipped hospitals, decent public schools, attractive shops and beautiful Government buildings have been built.

In its excellent harbour, known as "Shuwaikh," congregate the oil-tankers and cargo-ships from the seven seas side by side with the age-old Arab dhows—which took Sindbad the Sailor to the far off lands. Besides oil, its docks handle a sizeable trade value at Rs. 14,00,00,000 annually.

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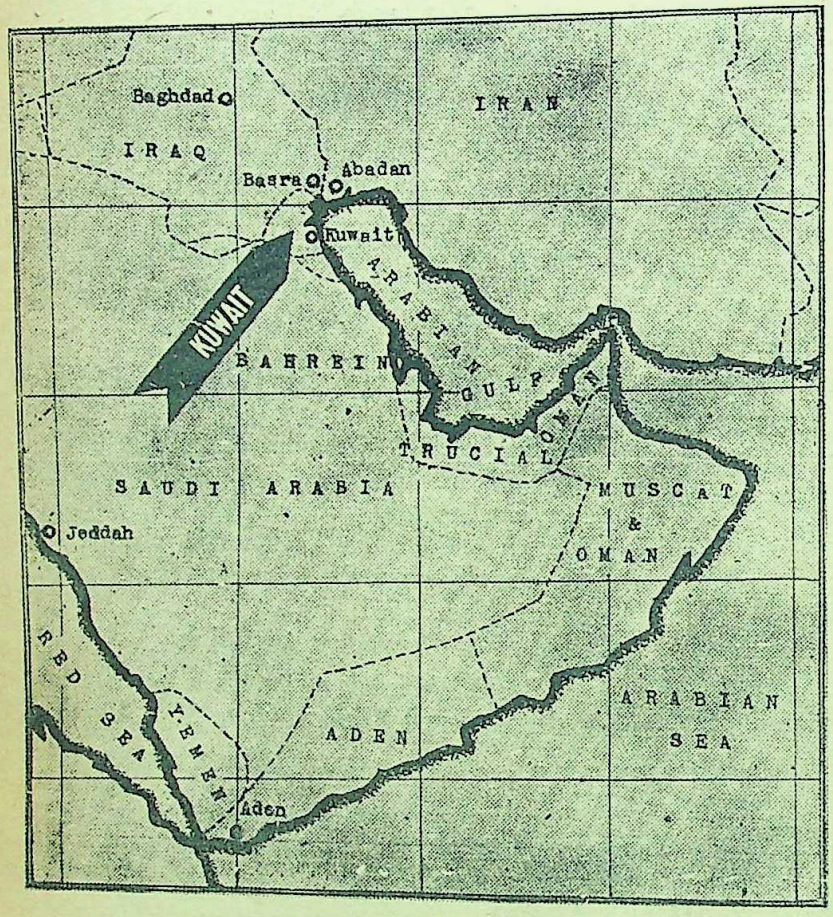
Situated at the head of the Persian Gulf and bounded inland by Saudi Arabia and Iraq, it covers an area of about 5,800 square miles and is inhabited by nearly 2,50,000 people, mostly Arabs. Dates, cereals and vegetables are grown to meet the local requirements.



"Kuwait, with its conveniently-situated and excellent harbour is inevitably a nodal point in the Middle-East strategy, and its control has proportionately great importance. Few records survive of its early history, but its harbour has played constant part in the history—peaceful and otherwise of sea navigation up and down the Persian Gulf."

For the first time in 1850, its geographical position attracted the attention of international railway builders. Both British and German engineers made futile attempts to build a Trans-Continental Railway with Kuwait as its Persian Gulf terminus.

Until June 19, 1961, when Kuwait became an independant state, her relations with Britain were governed by the Protectorate—Treaty of January 23, 1899. However, immediately a[illegible] stepping into the realm of freedom this [illegible] state found itself in a tight corner, for Gen[illegible] Abdul Karim Qasim laid claim over it [illegible] threatened to annex it to Iraq. But the st[illegible] which raged over this oil-rich Sultanate [illegible] which projected it into the li[illegible] light, now seems to be on [illegible] wane.

The curtain rose on [illegible] Kuwait drama in 1938 when [illegible] miracle in the desert occur[illegible] After two years of hard lab[illegible] and failures, the Kuwait [illegible] Company, an Anglo-Ameri[illegible] concern, discovered the wo[illegible] deepest oil, well, deeper a[illegible] richer than anything else in [illegible] fabulously petroleum-rich Mid[illegible] East or in any other part of [illegible] world. At present, the K[illegible] employs some 10,000 persons [illegible] diverse nationalities-Arabs, B[illegible] tish, Americans, Iranians, Indi[illegible] and others.

The real oil boom in Ku[illegible] began in 1951 when Dr. Mos[illegible] daq nationalized the Ang[illegible] Iranian Oil Company. Now the [illegible] royalties which the state rece[illegible] from the Company have sho[illegible] to nearly Rs. 33,00,00,00,000 [illegible] annum making it one of [illegible] richest countries in the w[illegible] (where the per capita income on the basis of [illegible] royalties only comes to Rs. 11,000 per month[illegible]

The fabulous income from the oil has [illegible] late, been wisely directed into construc[illegible] channels. The Government of Kuwait has ta[illegible] big strides to execute the social and deve[illegible] ment schemes embracing free education, up[illegible] date hospitals, mobile dispensaries, power stati[illegible] adequate water supply, refinery and light in[illegible] tries, etc. Education is not only imparted [illegible] up to university standard but the students [illegible] also sent abroad on the State expense for hi[illegible] studies. All the students are provided with [illegible] books, clothing, lunches and all other amen[illegible] free of charge and even their parents are [illegible] Rs. 400 a year for each child in class. Ku[illegible] also boasts of the largest air-conditioned hos[illegible] in the world.

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"Finally, Kuwait is the only nation in the Middle-East which has no beggars. The people are so well-off that theft is almost unknown. Recently gold bars were left unguarded for a week at the airport. They were untouched."

The Government of Kuwait levies no taxes on individual persons, income or otherwise. No custom duty is charged on the imported commodities except luxury goods.

"Behind all of the modernization and breathless expansion is Kuwait's ruler, H. M. Shaikh Abdullah-as-Salim-as-Sabah. He is a true Arab with all of an Arab's personal integrity and simplicity. When in 1950, he was called upon to rule his people, he replied that if he did so, he would not allow any changes in his personal way of life. He wanted no fancy trappings, no royal robes. His daily meeting was to be open to all who wished to see him.

"The Shaikh has kept exactly the type of rule he outlined, and his ministers have been chosen well. They have been made independently rich to be above temptation."

Although the Shaikh has a vast wealth at his command, he leads an austere life. He maintains no harem. For the exemplary qualities of his head and heart, he enjoys an unbounded love and affection of his people.

Kuwait is a welfare state in the truest sense. Situated in the close proximity of the traditional site of the "Garden of Eden," this Arab Sultanate is, under the dynamic leadership of its benevolent ruler, being transformed into a terrestrial paradise.

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GOA AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

By BALMIKI PRASAD SINGH, M.A.

International Law, it is said, is that body of law which is composed for its greater part of the principles and rules of conduct which states feel themselves bound to observe in their relations with each other. As the developing theoretical obligations indicate, the ordering of this national relationship is based upon peace and co-operation. Hence, one of the fundamental traits of international law is that unlike state law, it lacks an executing institutional device. Thus the entry of Indian troops into Goa, Diu and Daman on 18th and 19th December, 1961, and thereby its permanent occupation has aroused a mixed feeling amongst the nations regarding its justification in the eye of international law. To some it is a case of "naked militarism", "ruthless aggression", "an attempt to re-write the U.N. Charter", etc., while to others it is a case of a question of freedom, happiness, etc. Broadly speaking it was as our Prime Minister declared in a Press Conference at New Delhi on December 28, "a division of opinion in the world between the black and the white nations,"[1] respectively. On this controversial problem, the present writer submits that it is fully justified in the eye of international law, international practice, U.N. Charter and Indian foreign policy of peace and non-violence.

Legal Status of Goa

To begin with, it is essential to determine the legal status of Goa, Diu and Daman. Article 71 of the Portuguese Constitution says: "Sovereignty shall reside in the nation. . . . . It is the aim of the Portuguese nation to fulfil its mission of colonialisation. . . . . Rule of Portuguese territories of India is under a Governor."[2] The conclusion, legal as well as constitutional, that can be derived is that these are Indian territories under the occupation of Portugal. It was only in this light that the General Assembly had denounced Portugal for the manner in which it has treated the problems of dependent territories. Hence, Hans Kelsen, an American international jurist, points out that "non-self-governing territories" usually meant non-self-governing colo-

1. *Statesman*, December 29, 1961.

2. Article 71 of the Portuguese Constitution after Amendment of 1959.

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nies.[3] Thus, the contention of Portugal and its supporters that Goa was a part and parcel of Portugal is wrong.

Thus, if these territories were non-self-governing territories, Portugal was legally liable for paying obedience to the U.N. Charter. Article 73 says that the trust-state is obliged to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, to ensure their political, economic, social and educational advancement, and their protection against abuse, to develop self-government and to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General necessary things.[4] Besides this, the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly gives freedom to the people of these territories to become a part and parcel of a state of which they like.

However, there is the question that Security Council never regarded these territories as trust-territories, as our western cities say. The only answer is that like its predecessor, the League of Nations, the U.N.O. also suffers from some gaps and thus in spite of the object of the U.N. Charter and several resolutions of the General Assembly, this was never implemented by the Security Council, which is dominated by the Western nations. Analysing in this light, Portugal violated the U.N. Charter and international law.

Causes of Intervention

Even, then the fundamental question remains: How is India justified in taking recourse to arms in occupying Goa, Daman and Diu? The justification lies in a number of reasons based upon international law and evolving international practice, namely :

(a) Goa liberation is a part of All-India freedom struggle ;
(b) It was essential for self-defence;
(c) It was after exhaustion of peaceful means;
(d) It depended right of self-determination; and
(e) It meant the implementation of the objective of the U.N. Charter.

Firstly, India had been fighting for freedom for a long time. Goa's freedom was an innate integral part of India's own freedom str which was intensified by Goan Congress C mittee, which was formed in 1928 and by o national committees. In 1946, the Goan Nat Congress was formed and conducted the fa Saytagraha under the leadership of the In and Goan leaders. It was a result of this f dom movement that the British left India in 1 and even the French made a transfer of In territories under occupation in 1954. So, in te of evolving international practice, Portugal no right to remain in India. It is further arg that "Portugal has regarded Goa and her o two enclaves on the West Coast of India, Da and Diu, as an integral part of the Portug territory since the Portuguese built forts on coast in 1510 to protect the trade route in In nesia and China."[5] If such statements are to believed, Goa forms a part of India as testif by 4000 years old *Puranic* scriptures. More as the Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Me said: "If the Portuguese really considered Go part of their nation, why did they try to des the town before the Indian forces reac there?"[6]

Secondly, as Oppenheim opines, the int tion of the U.N. Charter's Chapter XI, as ferred above, is to put limitations upon the r lessness of colonial administration in order it may not prove a danger to international pe and security.[7] Portugal's membership of NA and its evil imperialistic designs proved a so of danger to the political sovereignty of Indian Nation as these territories may have b made a military base for big powers. Thus became the duty of the Indian Government eradicate such a danger. This is fully justi according to the principles of the Monroe D trine. As President Monroe of U.S.A. said December 2, 1823, and which was latter justi by the American international jurists as a p

3. Hans Kelsen, *Law of the United Nations*, American Journal of International Law.
4. *Chapter XI of the U.N. Charter.*
5. *The Guardian*, December 18, 1961, (e torial).
6. In his speech on Goa and Internatio Law at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi, under auspices of *International Law Association* January 18, 1961.
7. Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vo eighth edition, p. 227.

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ciple based upon national defence, that the U.S.A. in the interest of its own peace and happiness could not allow the Allied European powers to extend their political system to any part of America, and try to intervene in the independence of the South American republics. It was further argued by Robert D. Armstrong that neighbourhood of colonial possessions of rival military powers would be dangerous to the neutrality, peace and safety of U.S.A.[8] If we examine Portugal's membership of the NATO and the present-day situation of the world on the one hand, and the acceptance of the policy of non-alignment by India on the other, one can easily conclude that in the events of war or active hostility these Indian territories might have been used for military base. Thus, according to the avowed and accepted principles of Monroe Doctrine as semi-international law and national defence, Indian action was fully justified.

Thirdly, the Portuguese tyranny was intolerable to civilized standards and because of political obstinacy of Portugal every means of peaceful settlement was exhausted.[9] The Portuguese possessions continued as a constant irritant to national sentiment and about 850,000 Indians continued to remain under the colonial savagery of Salazar. However, for a peaceful settlement, Indian Government opened an office in Lisbon. Lisbon continued to press India to regard it a part of Portugal. Hence, seeing the political indifference, the Indian Government closed it in 1953. On the other hand, Goa, under Portuguese rule was becoming a tight concentration camp of colonialism along the orders of the Portuguese dictator, in spite of India's repeated requests for negotiation. The ghastly tragedy of Angola further deteriorated the situation. That is why, six months back, Prime Minister Nehru declared that the use of force cannot be ruled out in Goa. In spite of this, the Portuguese administration persisted in its folly and the firing on innocent Indian vessels in November produced immeasurable reactions in Indian national sentiment. Though military forces were moved to these territories, on the request of U.S.A. the action was postponed for three days despite increasing evidence of a breakdown in administration. It was hoped in the interval Portugal would agree to enter into friendly negotiations with India concerning the relinquishing of her colonies. But Lisbon continued to refuse to talk. Thus, India was compelled to help her people in distress and also to maintain U.N. resolutions and to resort to active acts of aggression of Indian shipping and Indian soil by Portugal by force.

Fourthly, Portugal deprived the people of Goa of their legal right of self-determination. After 1910, Portugal proclaimed itself a Republic and after amendments in 1959, even more so. Both the republican spirit and international law demand that on matters of a disputed territory, the *bona fide* local inhabitants of those territories must be consulted as to their preference. This was never done by Portugal. It seems that colonialists have become so arrogant and selfish that they pressed for a plebiscite on Kashmir, but not on Goa. The tragedy is that this was never expressed by our western friends. Even in the nineteenth century, specially between 1850 and 1870, Germany and Italy were given this right and since then it became an international practice. When this was denied and when every peaceful method was exhausted, India was legally entitled to demand and take steps for the liquidation of colonial imperialism and the implementation of the principle of self-determination.

Finally, opposing these legal grounds of India's action, *The Guardian*, speaks of India's ruthless aggression and violation of Article 2 of the U.N. Charter. It says: "when India joined the U.N., it committed itself to settling the international disputes by peaceful means. It also undertook (under the same article of the Charter) to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." "By invading Goa, its Government had certainly broken first of these premises. As to the second, Indians may argue that by clinging to Goa the Portuguese Government has been using force against their own integrity. But whatever natural justice they may have in this argument, the Charter has to be interpreted on the legal realities that exist today if it

8. Robert D. Armstrong, in an article in *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 10, pp. 77-103.

9. Editorial, *New Statesman*, December 22, 1961, Vol. LXII, p. 947.

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is not to dissolve into anarchy."[10] The answer to such criticisms, firstly, is that the relevant Article 2 of the U.N. Charter bans the use of force in a manner inconsistent with the purposes of the U.N. Charter. That India has not violated the purposes of the U.N. Charter rather acted according to it is clear by the U.N. military action in Congo to end dismemberment and colonialism. Secondly, India was right in taking recourse to arms under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter which gives every nation the right of individual and collective self-defence. Thus, in order that India may justify herself as the angel of peace, it should have as it did, to end tyranny under its wings.

Gandhi and Goa

Much has been said about India's betrayal of Gandhian philosophy of peace and non-violence. But to me it seems that it was an execution of Gandhian philosophy in practice otherwise as Kinsly Martin says: Gandhiji would have "blamed Nehru for waiting 14 years before completing India's independence."[11] It is clear that when the whole of the country was enjoying the happiness of independence on August 15, 1947, Gandhiji reminded the nation of its duty on the same day: "In free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the lands of free state". How Gandhiji would have approved this action is clear from earlier actions of Gandhiji. In 1940, Gandhiji insisted that Indian army should be sent in favour of Great Britain in war. It is only because of this that Pandit Nehru remarked: "The Practical statesman took precedence over the uncompromising prophet".[12] Furthermore, he was prepared to sist violence with the army in Kashmir. A Goa, 15 people were shot dead by the Portu as they sat on the ground and as they dep many thousand Satyagrahi people of their ri Gandhiji again would have made a compro with legal violence and individual's life nation's freedom. If not, as our Prime Mi says, non-violence is an "almost metaphysical proach of Mahatma Gandhi, asserting that Congress Party and the Government had committed themselves to abjuring force in all cumstances."[13]

Conclusion

The Indian action has exposed the hollow of military regional pacts like SEATO and N and has proved that the Afro-Asian nations not remain unprivileged nations of the world the domination of the members of these regi pacts in the Security Council. Furthermore, established a precedent in international a that if due to procedural defects the U.N. ma nery cannot be put into operation, the ch and irresponsible administration of colonia will not continue for times to come to guide destiny of "freedom loving" people in an a trary manner. Indian action in Goa is not attempt to re-write the U.N. Charter or In own professions of faith[14], but it has proved the U.N.O. requires more faith from We nations involving the problems of Congo, C etc. The Goan interlude, thus, is fully justi according to international law and practice, U Charter and Indian adherence to the philos of peace and non-violence.

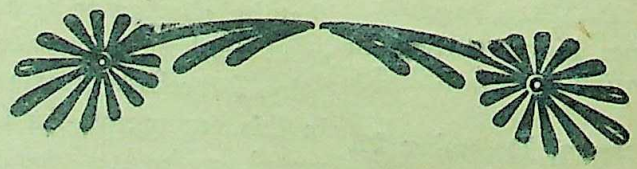
10. *The Guardian*, (Editorial), December 19, 1961.

11. Kinsly Martin, Gandhi and Goa, *New Statesman*, December 22, 1961, Vol. LXII, p. 931.

12. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery India*, p. 457, (Published by Meridian Limited, London).

13. *Statesman*, December 29, 1961.

14. Speeches of Mr. Stevenson, and *The York Times*, December 24, 1961.



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WANTED—A FAR-SIGHTED ROAD POLICY

By S. C. TALUKDAR

At a time when the industrial capacity of the country is being augmented, it is disconcerting to note that not enough importance has been attached to the development of roads in the Third Plan. The following observation from the Report of the Working Party of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and Far East on Co-ordination of Transport may be of interest in this connection. "The Working Party emphasised that it was not enough for Road Transport merely to maintain a rate of development that just equalled that in the other economic sectors. In a developing economy, the rate of expansion in transport had to be greater than in other sectors, as the total demands for transport and particularly of road transport tended to be progressive, not proportionate to the increase in production."[1]

The mileage position in India in relation to area or population is extremely low as compared with most of the advanced countries of the World. This will be borne out by the following figures:[2]

Country	Year	Road Mileage	
		Per hundred square miles of area.	Per one lakh of population.
India	1956-57	26	85
Japan	1957	63	100
U.S.A.	1957	114	2018
U.K.	1957	215	382
France	1957	338	1630

There is undoubtedly a need for the extension of new road mileage in the country and there are many areas which need to be opened up by motorable roads.

In the past, organizations such as the Indian Road Congress and the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association have been studying and collecting valuable statistics and marshalling facts pertaining to roads and road transport in this country and abroad in an effort to rouse the consciousness of both Government and the public to the vital needs for providing more and better roads. The formulation and fulfilment, if belated, of the Nagpur Plan owed not a little to these efforts. But the Planned pace of our economic growth is so fast that even the system of roads thus completed is utterly inadequate to meet its requirements. This is why the Chief Engineers of States formulated another plan, a twenty years plan to run from 1961 to 1981 to cope with expected rising demand of traffic during this period. The broad objectives of this plan is that no village in a developed and agricultural area should remain more than four miles from a metalled road and more than 1½ miles from any type of road. The plan takes into account the special requirements of underdeveloped and undeveloped areas. Under the plan, the surfaced and unsurfaced road mileage are to be increased from 1,44,000 and 2,50,000 in 1961 to 2,52,000 and 4,05,000 respectively in 1981 at an estimated cost of Rs. 5,200 crores.

The plan was formulated on the basis of a careful study of a vast amount of economic data collected for the preparation of the national Five-Year Plans. The requirements of transport, as a whole including road transport, can obviously be estimated from the tragets of production of various industries such as steel, coal and cement, as well as from the targets of agricultural production in the coming years. It has been found that whereas only 182 million tons of goods were moved in 1960-61, this figure would jump to no less than 800 million tons in 1980-81.

What is of even greater moment, however, is the fact that whereas railways carried as much as 80 per cent of the traffic in 1960-61, they would carry only 65 per cent of it in 1980-81. The

1. Report of the Working Party of United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and Far East on Co-ordination of Transport (No. E|Cn 11|Trans|137, dated 2nd Jan., 1959.)
2. Preliminary Report of the Committee on Transport Policy and Co-ordination, 1961, p. 124.

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burden that roads would have to carry would correspondingly go up from about 11 per cent or 20 million tons in 1960-61 to 30 per cent or 240 million tons, *i.e.*, twelve times as much, in 1980-81.

The Twenty-Year Plan was devised to meet this urgency. The authors of the Plan visualized its implementation with a gradually rising pace of construction and expenditure during the periods of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Five-Year Plans being Rs. 590 crores. But unfortunately, the Planning Commission have not seen eye to eye with this modest proposal. They stated categorically that "it will not be possible, owing to limitation of resources, to add new road mileage and to undertake the development of the existing roads in the next five years at the rate envisaged in the 20-Year Plan,"[3] and proceeded to allocate a meagre sum of Rs. 250 crores for roads in the Third Plan. After a host of criticism from both the industry and press, now it has been increased to Rs. 297 crores in the final Plan.[4] This too appears to be insufficient when the vast needs of the country are considered and when it is taken into account that the railways are unable to move all the coal, cement and other products. The $60-million loan from the I.D.A. for the road construction programmes, however, is a welcome feature as it would help the construction of 660 miles of Nationol Highways in the States of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Maharashtra.

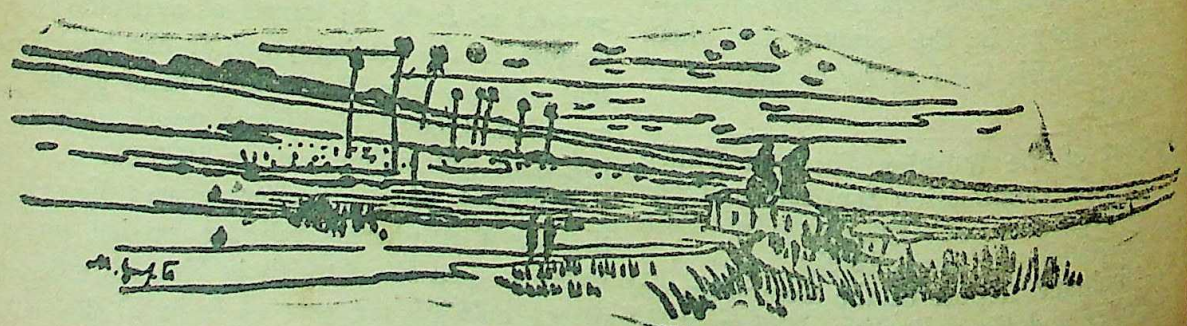
3. Planning Commission, *Third Five-Year Plan;* A draft outline, 1960, p. 247.

4. Planning Commission, *Third Five-Year Plan,* 1961, p. 541.

But all these are utterly inadequate, p cularly when our traffic is increasing by l and bounds under the impact of the succe plans, and often—a little too often Railways unable to carry it. In consequence huge l are inflicted on trade and industry partic and the country's economy generally.

It is not either that roads do not contri their due share to the National Exchequer could be the reason for caution in expend upon them. The 20-year Plan expects that revenues derived from Motor Transport Ta will total upto Rs. 6,150 crores in the cours the Plan period against a development exp ture of Rs. 5,200 crores. During the period of Third Plan itself, this revenue is assessed at 900 crores. In this context, the sum of Rs. crores allocated by the Planning Commis seems to borrow the words from the Presid Address to the Indian Road Congress at Bh "obviously not fair."

There appears, therefore, to be no es from the conclusion that the real reason for lesser importance attached to the developmen roads in the Third Plan is a lack of apprecia of their true role in relation to our gro economy. The Planning Commission cites familiar 'limitation of resources' as its plea reducing the level of expenditure on roads can be best replied by quoting what late T. H. McDonald, Commissioner for the Bu of Public Roads in the United States, once to a Committee of the Senate—"a country pay for good roads whether it has them or not—but it will pay rather more it does have them."



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NEPAL—FRIEND OR FOE?

By Prof. SHANKAR KUMAR JHA

One of the chief planks of Indian diplomacy has been the policy to be friendly with all her neighbours, with malice towards none and charity for all. She has taken special care to develop close ties with those nations with which she is bound through centuries of history and impregnable forces of geography. Nepal comes in this category. The relationship between Nepal and India is age old, based on geography, religion, culture, customs and many other things. Our interest in this sister country is only natural. As the Himalayas—now no longer impassable have been our traditional magnificent frontier, "we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own security." That is why in spite of our best wishes for the progress of independent, pseudo-democratic Nepal, we cannot completely ignore the disquieting political developments there. Therefore, the recent developments in Nepal make us sore and compel us to reassess our policy in the light of changed circumstances of international politics.

It should be a common knowledge to all the students of international politics that India has always wished Nepal well. More than a decade ago when late lamented King Tribhuban took shelter in India as a desperate victim of ranarchy, India not only accorded a warm hospitality to him but also exercised its good offices to restore the King to his throne and to usher in the democratic rule. It is admitted by all—even in Nepal—that the ten-man cabinet appointed by the King on 18th February, 1951, as a first step towards democracy, was at the instance of the Government of India and its Prime Minister. India has continued to evince a keen interest ever since in the democratic progress of her little neighbour without actively meddling in her internal politics. To buttress the nascent democracy of Nepal, India has liberally contributed to enrich the material prosperity of her neighbour, our aid during the last many years amounting to several hundred million rupees. The Indian military mission in Kathmandu has been organising and training the Nepalese army ; Indian military engineers have not only built roads and aerodromes but have made aerial survey of Western Nepal: Indian sponsored Kosi project in Eastern Nepal to control floods, irrigate lands and generate electricity which has done immense good to the agriculture of Nepal. So, when India heard the tragic assault on democracy on the 15th of Dec., 1960, proclaimed by King Mahendra in the name of purification of administration, India's shock was profound. Had this been the end of the story, India would have just grieved for the burial of her favourite and familier Parliamentary Democracy in the land of her closet neighbour but this was the beginning of a calculated move to give India a series of shocks by queer shifts of diplomacy and queerer administrative set-ups at home in Nepal.

No sooner had India adjusted herself to the change in Nepal, then came the news of serious diplomatic overtures to embrace the Chinese to bully India. True, Nepal had historical relations with China, specially with Tibet. It is also common knowledge that following the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951, down upto the signing of a treaty of friendship and trade in September, 1956, India has always acted as an honest go-between, with Nepal and China, vigilantly guarding and advocating Nepalese interests. But the dramatic and secret way in which King Mahendra and his foreign minister, Dr. Giri, agreed for the building of a road link from Lhasa to Kathmandu without consulting India gave serious grounds of suspicions specially in the light of the worsening Sino-Indian relations in the wake of Chinese aggressive incursions into our borders. Even a rudimentary idea of international politics would reveal that if Nepal were to fall under the control of China our rivals in Asia would be poised in a position of vantage right on the

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borders of the great heartland of the country and be within 400 miles from Delhi.

As if the road link agreement were not enough to affront India, Nepal—as alleged by Bharat Shumsher—also entered into secret military pact with China. Needless to say China has taken the diplomatic initiative in Nepal to estrange them from us. It is on the strength of ultimate Chinese help that present regime in Nepal is casting insinuations against us, in a spirit of open challenge of hostility, though harping on the hollow Indo-Nepalese traditional tie. Whatever may be the justifications for Nepal getting closer to China, the fact remains that it has been ill-timed and paved with sinister intentions to embarrass India. The freedom and facility given to the political workers belonging to the Communsit Party denied to other democratic elements only proves that Nepal has finally made her choice in favour of China and against India. As a climax to the anti-Indian move, the Nepalese Government have imposed reciprocal restrictions.

In diplomacy enemy's enemy becomes one's friend. This is as much true today as it was in the days of Kautilya. Nepal's relation with Pakistan last year bears this out. Nothing but a mean motive to embarrass India would have compelled the King of only Hindu state of the world to pay a visit to the infidel state of Islam. As late as 1956, when Nepal had established diplomatic relations with Japan and Switzerland, her foreign minister had openly turned down the offer of Pakistan to have diplomatic connections with his country. By a strange irony of history, the only Hindu King on earth, the professed protector of the cow and the Brahmin, had to step in the Muslim theocratic state to woo her to join in a common front against India. If informations tendered by Nepali Congress sources are to be relied on, the Government of Nepal was seriously considering to have closer commercial ties with Pakistan to rid herself off the Indian market.

The justification expressed by Kathmandu is that both Pakistan and Nepal having bade good-bye to the institution of Parliamentary Democracy, needed each others experience in the working of basic democracy which both these countries claim to attempt. Obviously this cannot be the justification for the departure from the traditional lines of Nepalese history. Why did not Nepal turn to Indonesia which had abrog Parliamentary Democracy much earlier Pakistan and which is definitely a politi stable land? The answer—Indonesia could be prepared to pin-prick India her old fri but Pakistan would readily do so.

As a champion of the rights of small nati and upholder of the creed of the dynamic trality in the international politics India co not but be happy over Nepal's independent of foreign policy. Unfortunately, Nepalese visers to His Majesty the King of Nepal have conducted domestic affairs that even her forei policy becomes suspect in the eyes of In There is a marked anti-Indian note in Ka mandu. Not a day passes when some member the Nepalese cabinet or other do not ope accuse India. When the seething discontent political malcontents of Nepal expresses itself any form, violent or non-violent, the Gove ment of India is invariably made the scapeg charged with the complaint that she is fann the anti-royalist movement. Just the other when some Nepalese citizens threw a cracker the car of King Mahendra at Janakpur, wh responsibility was officially put on India. As anti-climax a strong contingent of Nepalese c lians and military personnel virtually raided Indian Embassy in Kathmandu and upset all programmes for the Republic Day. In spite of peated clarifications given by the Exter Affairs Ministry of the Government of In that it had no hand, nor could she ever have interest in the domestic affairs of Nepal, Giri and his team never spared any medium publicity not to pour vituperative against In An editorial from a Kathmandu newspaper re as follows, "India by sheltering Nepalese is kn ingly inviting trouble. Now we know the sec intentions of Mr. Nehru, who had donned mask of democracy."

What should India do now? Shall she t things easy lying down? But for the bold, tho belated action in Goa, our diplomacy has b singularly inert and passive. We sacrificed T to appease China. In return China has intru into our territory. We have lost millions of rup and oceans of water to pacify Pakistan. In t Pakistan is all out to accuse India for troubles in Nepal. She boldly plays up

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political flare-up in Nepal as Indian-engineered moves. In short, we have suffered heavily for not having read carefully the signs and symptoms across our borders. It is time India decides to take up the Nepal issue seriously. As a socialist state, India should be very much concerned about the virtual collapse of democracies. With the eclipse of socialism in Burma and the uprooting of socialism in Indonesia it becomes the moral responsibility of socialist India to save Nepal turning red. Sikkim's timely warning only confirms our concern. As an ardent champion of democracy, and being world's biggest democracy, India should naturally exert all her weight in favour of forces championing the restoration of democracy. This does not imply that India is against the present king or against Nepal. Far from that India has all the love and respect for King Mahendra, whom we accorded right royal hospitality during his father's political asylum. The brave, sturdy, faithful peoples of Nepal have not only been the guards of Indian defence but have established a place of respect in our hearts. The silken bonds stretching through centuries of history are too strong. India, thus, cannot but act in the friendliest terms consistent with her self-interest and real progress of Nepal.

What should be the Indian line of action? In the first place, India must clarify in clear unmistakable terms that she has neither given material nor moral support to disgruntled politicians of Nepal nor does she intend in future to do so. India must emphasise that though she will be interested in the developments of Nepal in a general way she will not interfere in the internal politics of Nepal in any particular way. Part of this anti-India attitude is the mutual relationship between Indian citizens specially men attached with the Indian Embassay in Kathmandu and the Nepalese citizens. It is alleged by responsible government officers of the present day Nepal that Indian officials in the Embassay and their henchmen always treat the Nepalese in an overlording spirit which is galling to the self-respect of a new sovereign state. Our External Affairs Ministry should exert vigilance on this point to save India incurring the unenviable epithet of big brother attitude. Ultimately it will be India which can set the house in order—not by force or threat of force, but by her good offices and moral weight. It was India which saved Nepal from Rana autocracy. It should be India to bring Nepal to the democratic track after she has recovered from the intial jerk.

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POPULATION OF MEDINA AT THE TIME OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD (C. 630 A.D.)

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Medina, 270 miles north of Mecca, is the second sacred city of Islam. Here was erected the first mosque in the world by Muhammad himself, and he lies buried. It was the seat of the elective Caliphs, and the first capital of the Islamic world from Abu Bekr to Ali. It is fair to approach, being extolled for beauty of situation, salubrity of climate, and fertility of soil; for the luxuriance of its palm-trees, and the fragrance of its shrubs and flowers.

Edward Atiyah in **The Arabs** says: By the seventh century A.D. the foremost of these towns, Mecca and Medina, had attained a certain prosperity and a population of about fifteen or twenty thousand each, Mecca being slightly the larger of the two." (p. 21).

This estimate of population of Medina is, perhaps, post-Muhammad, when it has attained fame as the city of the prophet, **Medinat-al-Nabi**, and was the seat of the Caliphate.

On account of persecution Muhammad fled from Mecca to Medina; when the number of his followers increased he built a mosque, called **Mesjed al Nabi** (the Mosque of the Prophet) at Medina, the first mosque ever to be erected. This was in 622 A.D. "The place chosen was a graveyard or burial ground, shaded by date-trees The dead were removed, and the trees cut down to make way for the intended edifice. It was simple in form and structure, suited to the unostentatious religion which he professed, and to the scanty and precarious

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means of its votaries. The walls were of earth and brick; the trunks of the palm-trees recently felled served as pillars to support the roof, which was framed of their branches and thatched with their leaves. It was about a hundred ells square."—(Washington Irving—**Life of Mahomet**, p. 95).

A greater authority than Washington Irving, Sir Richard Burton, who knew Arabic and had himself visited both Mecca and Medina, in his justly celebrated **Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca**, Vol. I, Chap. XVII, p. 360, says:

"The length of this mosque was fifty four cubits from north to south, and sixty-three in breadth, and it was hemmed in by houses on all sides save the western."

At p. 361, he says: "After the capture of Khaybar in A.H. 7, the prophet and his first three successors restored the mosque, but Moslem historians do not consider this a second foundation. Mohammed laid the first brick. . . . . This mosque was a square of a hundred cubits. Like the former building it had three doors."

"In this mosque Mohammed spent the greater part of the day with his companions, conversing, instructing, and comforting the poor. Hardby were the abodes of his wives, his family, and his principal friends. Here he prayed, at the call of the **azan** or devotion-cry, from the roof. Here he received worldly envoys and embassies, and the heavenly messages conveyed by the Archangel Gabriel. And within a few yards of the hallowed spot he died, and found a grave." (p. 363).

Omar, the second Caliph, "in A.H. 17, enlarged the mosque to 140 cubits by 120, taking in ground on all sides except the eastern, where stood the abodes of the 'Mothers of the Moslems'."

"The second Masjid was erected in A.H. 29, by the third Caliph, Osman, who regardless of the clamours of the people, overthrew the old walls and extended the building greatly towards the north, and a little towards the west; but he did not remove the eastern on account of the private houses. It was finished on the first Muharram, A.H. 30." (**Ibid.**, pp. 363-364).

Muhammad died early in the eleventh year of the Hegira (632 A.D.). After enlargement of the mosque in A.H. 7 was not found necessary to re-enlarge during the life-time of the prophet served the purpose of a prayer-hall mosque for all the inhabitants of Me And there was no other mosque at Me excepting the Masjid-al-Nabi.

J. W. H. Stobbart, in **Islam**, s "The work of erecting a mosque and able dwellings was the first business o prophet and his followers. The gro which he bought, was cleared and leve and a temple, some hundred cubits sq arose on the site where now stands large and beautiful mosque which b his name." (p. 148).

We prefer to accept the meas ments given by Sir Richard Burton, take the sides of the Masjid-al-Nabi to 100 cubits long. Here a certain amount uncertainty comes into play—the lengt a cubit varies from 18 to 22 inches. longer measure is 1.222 times the shor and the area based on the longer mea would be 1.494 times that based on shortest.

Two measures were current in Eastern Mediterranean regions in an and in mediaeval times—the Greek, were traders, and the Roman, who rulers. 606 Greek feet = 625 Roman = 606 feet 9 inches English. As the Ro influence was great in the seventh cen and as there was great trade between M and Medina with the Roman province Syria, it is likely that Roman measure length were in use. Taking a cubit to one and a half Roman foot, it equals inches. For simplicity of calculation take the cubit to measure 18 inches.

The area covered by the mo as rebuilt in A.H. 7 by the prophet hi would be 150 ft. square = 22,500 sq. ft this area stood the congregation to to the prophet himself, and to especially on Fridays.

Now what area was occupied by individual worshipper during pra The area of prayer mat here in India v from 15 to 17 sq. ft.; and that of a p carpet is slightly larger. In the ea white marble pearl mosque, (popu

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known as the Moti Masjid), within the Agra Fort, built by Badshah Shah Jahan in 1653, the seat of every worshipper is marked off from another by inlaid black borders on white marble. The area of such a seat is 16.75 sq. ft.

Shah Jahan was not as liberal as Akbar or Jehangir Vinient Smith speaks of the excessive Muslim zeal which induced Shah Jahan to undertake a distinct persecution of the Christians as such, and to take severe action against his Hindu subjects. Shah Jahan gave orders that

"at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that 76 temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares."

"No record of the destruction in other parts of the empire has been preserved, but it must have been considerable." (Cf., Vincent Smith's **Oxford History of India**, p. 397).

We may, therefore, presume that Shah Jahan in marking off the seats in the Pearl Mosque must have consulted the learned in Islamic traditions, and followed the traditional practice as to what is the proper amount of space to be allotted to an individual worshipper.

When the religious zeal was great, and all the early converts to Islamism were zealots and fanatics; when the prophet himself preached, they, perhaps, crowded together and occupied a lesser area. For, in the **Iquama** or standing up for prayers, "it requires those assembled for the congregation service to stand up shoulder to shoulder in a straight row, or in several rows if necessary." (Khwaja Kamaluddin's **Islam and the Muslim Prayer**, p. 68).

For these reasons, we make a deduction of 10 per cent from the area of a seat in the Moti Masjid of Agra; and we get 16.75—1.67=15.08 sq. ft., 15 sq. ft. as the space required for an individual at Medina.

Dividing the area of Masjid-al-Nabi at Medina, viz., 22,500 sq. ft. by 15 sq. ft., we get the strength of the congregation to be 1500 at the time of the prophet.

Now only the adult males in health are required to come to the mosque on Fridays for prayer. We may, therefore, take the above number to be the number of all adult males at Medina in the time of the prophet.

We are strengthened in our conclusion by the following facts. "In the beginning of the seventh year of the Hegira, he (Muhammad) departed on an expedition against Khaibar, at the head of twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, accompanied by Abu Bekr, by Ali, by Omar, and other of the principal officers." —(Irving—**Life of Mahomet,** p. 150). He could muster 1,400 men altogether.

Those who on account of old age, illness, infirmity or other causes cannot come to the mosque for prayer, may pray at home. The prophet is reported to have said that the whole of the earth had been made a mosque for him, indicating that no place stood in need of being consecrated.

The number of such persons is not likely to exceed by 10 per cent of those who came to pray in the healthy, salubrious climate of Medina. The total of adult males would be 1500 plus 150 = 1,650. This is the upper limit.

The population in ancient and mediaeval times increased slowly. The population of the Roman Empire at the death of Augustus (14 A.D.) has been estimated by Cavaignac to be 80 millions. It was "over 150 millions at the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. This gives a rate of increase of 5 per cent per decade. This was during the heyday of the glory and universal peace of the Roman Empire. The increase stopped later on, and then declined.

Outside the Roman Empire, the population growth was slow. The Arabs practised female infanticide. "For, when the birth of a daughter is announced to anyone of them, dark shadows settle on his face, and he is sad. He hideth from the people because of the ill-tidings: Shall he keep it with disgrace or bury it in the dust?" (The Koran, Sura 16, vv. 60, 61). It is said that the only occasion on which Othman evershed a tear was when his little daughter, whom he was burying alive, wiped the dust of the grave-earth from his beard. All this

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was stopped by Muhammad. In pre-Islamite days there was consequently great shortage of women; and low birth-rate.

The shortage of women was aggravated by the Sheikhs and richer men marrying as many wives as they liked. "A man may marry many wives, for, Rabba saith, it is lawful to do so, if he can provide for them." Muhammad restricted the number to four, thus easing the consequences of shortage of women. It is a fact that the average number of children born to a wife in a polygamous family is less than when the marriage is monogamous; for older and non-beautiful wives are often neglected.

The consequences of shortage of women were that the Arabs became addicts to certain vices; and that people resorted to what we regard as incest. Muhammad stopped this: he said, "And marry not women whom your fathers have married: for, this is a shame and hateful, and an evil way—though what is past may be allowed." (The Koran, Sura IV, v. 26).

Then there was blood-feuds between families and tribes running over several generations; and frequent, rather too frequent, armed clashes between different tribes leading to murder and slaughter of able-bodied men.

For all these reasons, we think the Arabs of Muhammad's time to have been of the stationary type of Sundbarg. Its age distribution was:

0—15	15—50	50 & over
330	500	170
	670	

As the number of males and females are generally almost equal, the number of adult males (i.e., all those who are 15 and over) is about **one-third** of the total population. In view of the actual shortage of women among the Arabs at that time, the number of adult males was surely more than **one-third.**

In the hot climates of the East, a male becomes major on attaining the 15th or 16th year of his age, as against the usual 21st year in West European countries. In Hindu law, "according to some writers, minority terminates at the completion of the 15th year; according to others, at completion of the 16th year. The fo view is held in Bengal; the latter vie other parts of India." Mulla's **Hindu** p. 576).

"According to the Islamic law, minority of a male or female termin when he or she attains puberty. Am the Hanafis (who form an overwhel majority in the Islamic world) and Shiahs puberty is presumed on the pletion of the fifteenth year." (Mu **Muhammadan Law**, p. 253).

So, all those, who are above 15, be treated as adults.

The population of Medina at time of Muhammad (C. 630 A.D.) therefore, at most:

$$(1650 + \frac{330}{670} \times 1650) \times 2 = 4{,}926, \text{ say}$$

in round numbers.

By the time of the death of the pro the Jews were expelled from Medina; a few years later from all Arabia; and Arabians were converted to the new of Islam. There were patches of Chris and Pagans here and there; and some them may have been normally reside Medina, or came there for trade, etc. number must have been very small; we have made no allowance for them.

We have estimated the popul on the basis that those who came to were all males. A study of the literature reveals beyond doubt women, just in the same way as men, to frequent the mosques and there was the least restriction on them. (Al-Sah Bukhari, 11 : 12). Within the mosque were not separated from men by any s or curtain; the only separation was they stood in separate rows behind men during prayers. (Cf., K. M. Yu **Moslem Women and the Purdah**).

If, therefore, at the time of the pr women prayed at the mosque, the nu of males would be less than what we postulated,. And the total population be much less than 5,000.

In any case, our estimate differs much from that of Edward Atiyah.

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MOVING FORCES IN WORLD POLITICS

By PANNALAL DHAR

Since war is the final arbiter of the fate of the nations and power the prerequisite of survival, a nation's foreign policy according to some is largely influenced by power. Human history shows that from the time of Ancient Greece to the League of Nations wars occurred on the average every two years. Pitirim Sorokin in his book, "Society, Culture and Personality," have worked out the exact percentage of war to peace. Since historically war has been at least as frequent as peace, a country which fails to regulate its foreign policy according to the basic principle of power is likely to head towards disaster.

Foreign policy, therefore, aims at acquisition of maximum accumulation of power. Bertrand Russell classifies power into power based on physical and traditional authority, economic power based on legalised control over economic resources, and power based on religious or social propaganda. Of these, the pursuit of political or economic power has been the main dynamo of international movements. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., engaged in conflict for world supremacy, control international loans, technical research and industrial production. In a completely socialistic state like Russia, primacy of politics over economic policy is understandable. But in democracies also the primacy of politics is becoming more and more manifest. Thus the U.S.A's Marshall Aid Plan is more a political move to aid underdeveloped countries to contain communism than to profit the American Shipping, Cotton and Tobacco concerns. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. by extending financial aid to Afro-Asian and other countries are trying to bring the uncommitted nations into their respective spheres of influence.

But this does not necessarily mean that power accumulation is the sole determinant of international relations. Thus geographical propinquity or remoteness from the centre of power competition may also become an important determinant of international relations. Thus countries like Luxembourg and Monace, geographically remote from the centre of power competition have succeeded in consistently basing their foreign policy on the principle of good neighbourliness. So also, the U.S.A. could follow Monroe Doctrine till its geographical immunity from the possibility of enemy action disappeared. Geographical contiguity may not allow countries to stay in isolation and may lead them to enter into alliances in spite of other differences. Thus after the Munich Pact, 1938, Russia concluded a pact with Germany, but on Germany's attack on Russia the latter did not hesitate to form alliances with the Allied Powers. Subsequent to the 2nd Great War, the possibility of German attack having vanished, Russia broke away from the Allied Powers but entered into what is known as Warsaw Pact with Poland and other countries contiguous to Russia. The United States of America also took lead in binding other nations in OAS, NATO, CENTO and SEATO because the U.S.A. after her disaster at Pearl Harbour does not want to take any risks in the Atlantic and Pacific by which she is bounded.

Geographical factor, however, is only another aspect of power politics in so far as it involves strategic considerations. Thus the U.S.A. could pursue Monroe Doctrine only so long as it enjoyed immunity from enemy action. The far-reaching inventions in methods of warfare have bridged distance. Moreover, the U.S.A. could pursue Monroe Doctrine only after it had successfully ousted Spain and France from the Western Hemisphere and eliminated the possibility of competition from other powers in those regions.

But besides power and geographical factors, there are other factors which motivate a country's foreign policy and these are ideas, ideals and ideologies which produce the fears,

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sentiments and passions as motive force. An idea is the principle to govern a country's political action in international affairs. When an idea corresponds to man's hightest standard of value, it becomes an ideal. An ideal is not necessarily an unattainable goal, but a goal which is possible to attain under certain given conditions. Successful foreign policy, according to Bismarck, is the art of the possible and a country's foreign policy is directed to achieve short-term or long-term objectives. In other words, an idealistic policy must merge with a realistic policy. When political ideals of a country become a fixed body of doctrines, the ideals become ideologies. Ideologies form immutable guides to political action and become fixed principles. They come to denote a model according to which society should be constructed through a specific type of political action.

During the Middle Ages, the Christian "Crusades" and Islamic "Holy Wars" were motivated by religious ideologies. The centuries' old Jewish fight for a Homeland was also motivated by ideological considerations. Nationalism in European countries owes its origin to ideological concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity let loose by the French Revolution. During the 20th Century, the world has been rocked by the conflict of communist ideology with the ideology of liberal democracies. Islam taught mankind the elementary principles of democracy. Hinduism and Buddhism taught mankind the principles of charity, non-violence and co-existence. Confucianism taught man to take a rationalistic view of life. In the meeting of the East and the West, Christianity lost much of its originality. But out of the fusion of these religious principles, emerged what is known as Humanitarianism based on common ethical principles of charity and tolerance and, these in turn became crystallized into political principles of good neighbourliness and co-existence on the international plane. Both the League of Nations and the U.N.O. trace their birth to this Humanitarianism.

But politics being the art of possible it means that while on the one hand impractical ideals or ideologies should not be pursued in international relations, on the other hand it is possible to come to working agre-ments with countries differing in ideolog-While making such agreements it is necessary to sacrifice ideals or ideolog-Communist dogma, for instance, has o made withdrawals and compromises democracies as shifts in international ations have demanded. During the Great War and before Germany attac Russia the latter had entered into a aggression pact with the former. But w Germany attacked Russia the latter at became the ally of the democracies. There therefore, scope for a change in a count policy in international politics witho corresponding change in ideology. Allies fought Germany and Japan during last war, but are now utilising both to c tain communism in Europe and Asia.

The limitation of power interpreta lies in the fact that the people react ag suppression of their liberties and ultima succeed in vindication of their inhe rights. This is specially true when pe react against the rule based on an autoc personal quest for power. Secondly, L Acton has said, "power corrupts and ab lute power corrupts absolutely." Un trained power intoxicates men and t forget the limitation of human nature this brings their own downfall in the e Nurembourg Trials and more recently trial of Eichman have exploded the myth infallibility of the great dictators Hitler and Mussolini. Other evidences also proved how they tried in vain to c up their doubts and fears, anxieties hesitations by skilful propaganda. Khr chev has also exposed the blunders of S who sought to maintain his position carrying out purges of his opponents. Po interpretation cannot also explain the pact of small resurgent powers like I Egypt, etc., on international politics.

The limitation of ideological interp tation arises out of the danger inherent ideologies which tend to form into fixed immutable dogmas. Opposition of ideo cal creeds is suppressed by accusing opponents of political cynicism. Someti even within the same creed, differences a out of its different interpretations. T Yugoslavia though communist in ideo

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seceded from the influence of the U.S.S.R. Hungary tried to follow the example of Yugoslavia unsuccessfully. The most recent cases are those of Albania and China who do not see eye-to-eye with Khrushchev in the interpretation of Marxism. Khrushchev also exposed how Stalinism differed in essentials from Marxism and denounced veteran communists like Molotov and Voroshilov as deviationists.

Thus international politics is motivated not solely by power nor by ideologies, but by a host of conflicting forces of which power is one and ideology another. Most of the international conflicts show a mixture of power politics and ideological factors. Ideas do not fight each other in vacuum. They require human organisation to express themselves. On the other hand, power requires an ideology to promote and sustain itself. In the present bipolar conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. rival political and social ideologies are as vital as the conflicting power ambition of different groups of people.

In the ultimate analysis again ideologies are actually power in the sense that they move things, command people, and destroy and create societies. The competition of political ideologies is nothing else but a part of the overall contest for power. Ideas and ideologies give direction to the physical resources of nations. In this sense competition of ideologies is just another aspect of power competition.

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Book Reviews

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia:

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,

instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

IMMORTAL INDIA, Volume III: By J. H. Dave. Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

The first volume of the book containing accounts of 24 places of pilgrimage was noticed in these pages in March, 1961. The present volume deals with about forty places, bringing the total to 84, the last title **Jyotirlingas** referring to more than one spot. The series will be useful to the general reader and especially to those who go to visit the places mentioned here.

Chintaharan Chakravarti.

SWAMI SHRADDHANAND: Edited by M. R. Jambunathan, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2.

This is an autobiography of Mahatma Munshi Ram, better known as Swami Shraddhanand. Born in 1857 at Talwan, a small village in Punjab, he was one of the greatest Indians of the nineteenth century. As a youngman of those days he led a of ease and pleasure. But he was reborn his contact with Swami Dayanand Sarasv and accepted the Vedas as his rock of foundation. He saw a vision of new life dedicated himself to serve his religion, country and mankind.

He founded the Kangri Gurukul other institutions, to train the future citi of India and to instill in them the ideals of ancient Rishis.

He guided his countrymen to el the untouchables. He infused the spirit fearlessness into the people and roused to stand erect and defy terror and tyra

He became Sannyasi in 1917 as Shra nand. On 23rd December, 1926, while he convalescing and lying on his bed, he shot dead by a Muslim fanatic. Shraddhanand died a martyr's death.

The present book is a translation the original written in Hindi, publishe the Swarajya of Madras about thirty back.

This inspiring autobiography deserv be widely read.

A. B. Du

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Indian Periodicals

Social Security

There is a very interesting comparison of Indian and European approaches to social security in the annual number (published on 5. 1. 62) of *The Eastern Economist*. Certain portions of this are reproduced below :

In ancient times, risks like death, sickness, unemployment, incapacity to work, etc., inherent in a man's life, were looked after by the village community, the joint family or the friendly societies. But this concept of social security has changed with the times. Industrialisation on a large scale, which came first in Europe, changed the structure of society there, sowing the seeds of the modern social security system. That the European countries were first in the field in the development of social insurance stems from the fact that Europeans were also the first to develop an industrial society. The stepping of the State in the field of social security is based on such considerations as that individuals having small means cannot today stand up to the task by themselves or even in private combinations. The evolution in India of the modern systematised methods of social assistance and social insurance are, of course, the result of the influence and impact of the West, where various experiments have been made by the Community and the State to provide social security.

The methods can be broadly divided into three parts. First one takes the form of social assistance where the element of insurance is absent and where most of the money comes from the State Exchequer. Second one is that of voluntary social insurance and the third is of compulsory social insurance. India, following the Western European countries, has thrown her weight in favour of the compulsory social insurance. Although various measures have been enacted in the social security field, yet this country is far behind the West European and East European countries where the principle of comprehensive social security has taken deep roots.

One can count on one's finger-tips the social security measures that have been enacted in India. They take the form of Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, the Maternity Benefit Acts (1929-48); the Employees State Insurance Act, 1948, the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes Act, 1948; the Employees Provident Funds Act, 1952; and the Industrial Disputes Amendment Act. Of these, the first three provide security against the risk of employment, injury, maternity and sickness, the next two against old age and the last one against retrenchment and unemployment.

Great Diversity in Europe.

In Europe, there is great diversity. For example, in almost all the European countries it is the health insurance programmes which boast of the longest history dating back in some instance to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Many of the social security measures were enacted before World War I and many were enacted after World War II. The greater variety of services and the entire coverage of the population was, for instance, brought about in U.K. in 1948. Before that it closely resembled the system in France and Germany. In Britain now a person is looked after from the cradle to the grave. Western Europe, however, can be divided into three distinct groups in matters of social security. The first group is Greece, Spain and Portugal where social security, as an integrated system, is still in embryonic stage. The great majority of the population in these countries has not been covered as yet. One finds in these countries certain health and unemployment insurance schemes, pensions and even family allowances organised on corporative lines for a few occupations only, largely paid for by employers but offering a rather limited range of services and benefits. The second group comprised the West Central countries like the Netherlands, Belgium-Luxembourg, Germany, France, Switzerlands, Austria and Italy, though Italy in some respects belongs to the first group. Although in each of these countries quite a full range of social security facilities is offered to the insured worker (and to some extent to his dependents), various categories of the population are left uncovered and are expected to make their own voluntary insurance arrangements. The third group consists of the Scandinavian countries and

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the British Isles almost all of which possesses comprehensive social security system. The United Kingdom and Sweden are probably the two European countries with the most far-reaching social security and welfare systems which provide for not only general medical care, sickness and unemployment benefits, etc., but also for birth, marriage and funeral grants, home services for the bed ridden and for working mothers, psychologists and child guidance clinics, special homes and schools for difficult children, convale homes for the nervously exhausted, the tra for the unemployed or physically incapac welfare programmes for the blind, paralysed otherwise crippled and so on. These, of co do not mean that they spend the hi amounts on social security programmes. An of how expenditure on social security has g in various European countries and in India 1949 can be had from the following table:

Country	Expenditure as percentage of National Income			Expenditure per capita constant prices 1955=1	
	1949	1955	1957	1949	1957
1. Austria	7.4	8.5	8.8	88	104
2. Belgium	14.0	14.5	14.8	77	117
3. Czechoslovakia	—	—	—	77	129
4. France	14.0	17.0	17.9	62	120
5. Federal Republic of Germany	17.6	17.6	20.0	52	127
6. India	—	1.1	1.0	—	96
7. Italy	9.5	13.0	14.2	53	117
8. Norway	6.7	9.1	9.9	70	120
9. Poland	—	7.0	7.7	—	135
10. Sweden	9.9	11.8	12.5	70	112
11. U. S. S. R.	—	—	—	—	142
12. U. K.	11.2	11.4	11.4	91	105

Source: Report on the World Social Situation, 1961.

The Coal Crisis

The Eastern Economist in its February, 16, 1962, number analyses the coal position in the following manner:

Difficulties in regard to production and supply of coal have multiplied to such an extent that one need not be afraid of being dubbed an alarmist if one were to say that a coal crisis has been staring us in the face. That this should have come about in spite of all the professed awareness and the several emergency measures taken by the powers-that-be makes one wonder whether the policies adopted to meet the situation are at all correct and adequate. Whether one agrees with this reasoning or not, it is common ground among the industrialists that the situation calls for an immediate reorientation of the present policies even to maintain the present level of production, let alone taking up the expansion programmes contemplated.

In the past few days, two commercial bodies have come out with tales of woe of their members in the matter of coal supplies. Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, President of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, stated, at the first quarterly meeting of the Chamber: "The shortage of coal is causing anxiety to industry. It has been found that all estimates and arrangements for provi of fuel to industries go wrong and one ind or the other always faces a crisis on accoun shortage of coal".

In a memorandum on "Coal Crisis and Fuel Problem of Industries," submitted by it to Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the C mittee of the All-India Association of Indus (A.I.A.I.), has observed: "The position re ing supplies of coal to industries has been ing concern. Several industries—large, me and small in different parts of the country been experiencing continuing difficulty of ge adequate and timely supplies of this vitally es tial material and this is seriously coming in way of expansion and even maintainance of level of production. More recently the pro has assumed a serious proportion in certain dustrial centres situated away from the main producing regions and some of the manufact units there have been facing the unhappy pect of being forced to close down or to cu production. The position regarding coal sup has thus deteriorated and developed into may be called "Coal Crisis".

The problem of coal supplies has been dered difficult for a variety of reasons. It not merely because we are not able to raise

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much coal as the rising *tempo* of our industrialisation warrants, but also because the quality of the coal raised has been steadily going down, with the result that even in respect of those fortunate units of industry whose supplies have not gone down quantitatively, the same results in production are not assured. Quantitatively, while production during the Second Five-Year Plan fell short of the target by nearly 5 million tons, for the first 7 months, in the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan (our current Plan), total production has been only of the order of 23 million tons as against 30 million tons for the corresponding period of the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan. This means that even the higher *tempo* of output already reached is not being sustained.

Secondly, not unoften, the country is being faced with the anomalous situation of paucity in the midst of plenty. There have been several instances where factories in many parts of India had to carry on a hand-to-mouth basis, not because production by the collieries lagged behind demand but because the railways were not ready with the number of wagons required to move the coal to its destination. As often, again, it would seem that, when the railway wagons were there, the pithead stocks were not adequate. In other words, the gap between the wagons offered by the railways and the wagons required for the movement of coal has been considerable. In the year 1961-62, according to the Committee of the A.I.A.I. the railways allotted only 5,979 wagons, as against the requirements of 7,183 wagons. More often than not, the irregularity of wagon supply also seems to aggravate the difficulties.

Thirdly, to no small extent, coal production has been affected adversely by the unimaginative coal pricing policy of the Government. A curious thing has happened with regard to coal prices, in that, in so far as the consumer is concerned, prices (that is, the delivery cost of coal to consumers) have risen, whereas the coal industry has not benefited to any extent from this rise. As a matter of fact, the claims of the coal industry even for neutralisation of costs on account of (i) implementation of the grades and time-scales laid down by the Colliery Arbitration Award and (ii) the loss in the average weighted sales realisation—though these were accepted by the Coal Price Revision Committee for Fixing a Fair and Reasonable Return to the coal Industry—have been turned down by the Government. Here is a definitely inhibitory factor as regards coal raisings.

Viewed against this background, one can readily believe the recent headline report in the Press that the "Plan to raise coal output target (the Planning Commission has proposed to raise the target from 97 million tons to 110 million tons) runs into difficulties". To be precise, it is not merely the plan to raise coal output that is running into difficulties; it is also the plan to provide enough transport to move the additional output, as witness the reported tussle between the Planning Commission and the Railway Board in regard to the funds required to provide more wagons, and the proposal to limit coal production in certain coal-producing areas while increasing it in others. The frantic appeal to the cement industry to take to the use of furnace oil in place of coal is an eloquent commentary on the unsatisfactory coal movements position in the country today. No wonder then that we are told that the Working Group on Coal will shortly be proposing major changes in the pattern of production of transportation of coal.

Stars In The Service Of Politicians

The excerpt published in **Mankind** of January, 1962, regarding the influence of stars and planets over mankind is reproduced hereunder which would surely be an interesting reading to all:

Man has retained the fear of the future from his primitive days and shrewd men have invented various methods, based on half-truths and lies, to earn money by playing upon this fear. There are face-readers, handwriting-readers, horoscope-readers, palm-readers, etc., etc., who are prepared to give you information in return for some money—the amount depending upon their place and method of work and even the language used, to reveal the mysterious future—your exploits in the future, examination results, love affairs, health of parents and wife, the course of your dysentery, your party's prospects, etc., etc.

Astrology is the king of all flings at the future because it alone gets far away stars and planets interested in the humdrum affairs of an ordinary man. Some later day protagonists of Astrology vehemently deny its so-called supernatural aspects and suggest that after all the sun, the moon and other stars and planets affect the climate of the earth and through it the temperament, character and, therefore, the future of man. These gentlemen forget that mountains, deserts, forests, lakes and rivers also affect the climate of a given area but they are not mentioned in horoscopes, that a man's tem-

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perament is as much a result of heredity and social conditions as of anything else. From the fate of individuals to the fate of nations is an easy leap and Astrology in our times is turning more and more to the unveiling of "political mysteries." Of course the trouble is that Astrology not being a science has to depend upon still greater mysteries to unvail "ordinary mysteries." It is said that among the firm believers in Astrology today are Shri Sampurnanand and President Sukarno. One has only recently witnessed the fickleness of stars as also the fickleness of a Prime Minister.

But first we will take up the question of Astrology and its relevance to an individual's existence and see how much of it is science and how much "mysterious" nonsense. For Astrology, whatever else it is, is not a social science. Social sciences deal with problems which have their roots in human behaviour, Astrology deals with the behaviour of stars and it is more or less fatalistic. At the same time, as we shall see presently, its conclusions are so vague and even these differ so much from astrologer to astrologer, as to push it into the category of humanities and make it impossible to consider it as a science. If then it is neither a science nor a social science, what exactly are we going to call it ? We shall soon find out the answer.

A very respectable weekly (The Illustrated Weekly of India) features predictions by one Mr. P. I. H. Naylor. It features Birthday forecasts for the whole year, a fantastically vague **For Most of Us** and some very "sharp" information about the **Good Days** of the week. Let us start with the first category. All men and women born on December 4 are informed that "Health should be good throughout the year provided you can avoid tension." December fivers are told "Although your income will improve and a good standard of living will be maintained .....you will probably find that you are spending heavily in the near future.....you are likely to meet romance within a few months.....if you are settled ....." and so on and so forth. This certainly is the technique of something for everybody. It is impossible that such predictions will go wrong cent per cent. Buts and ifs take away whatever precise information these predictions pretend to contain.

But nothing can beat the vagueness of **For Most of Us,** not even the opportu[illegible] politics of the PSP.

Sunday, December 4:

"**For Most of Us:** The more seriously [illegible] take life today, the easier the conditions [illegible] be. Try to get a new light on any fa[illegible] difficulties...." But who is this unfortu[illegible] you ? For these very astrologers tell us [illegible] accurate information about the time [illegible] date of birth is necessary for accurate [illegible] dictions. But this particular gentleman [illegible] the audacity to make general predictions [illegible] all people born any time, any place and [illegible] date ! He also gives us information a[illegible] the "goodness" of days for business [illegible] personal shopping, selling, entertainm[illegible] sports, etc. This information is obvi[illegible] for all.

Let us examine a Hindi newsp[illegible] (**Indore Samachar,** 20-1-61) in this co[illegible] tion. It gives daily predictions accordin[illegible] the **Rashiphal.**

Mesh : Today is an auspicious day. [illegible] will attain spiritual peace. You wi[illegible] victorious in a work connected with [illegible] government.

Can anybody including the lea[illegible] astrologer make anything out of it ? O[illegible] predictions follow the same vague path.

An English daily (**The Indian Exp[illegible]**) in its Sunday edition (**The Sunday Stan[illegible]**) October 9, 1960) carries this happy [illegible] "The present transit of Jupiter in Sagit[illegible] is sure to make wedding bells ring for [illegible] born in Aries, Gemini and Leo." Agai[illegible] those born between January 15 to Feb[illegible] 14 (Capricorn) : It seems certain tha[illegible] will have to decide soon on the exten[illegible] which non-essential activities can be [illegible] nated. One expects you to choose [illegible] than concentrate on your main ambiti[illegible] this is not done, you will lose some a[illegible] tages.

This again is like a pair of nylon s[illegible]

But enough of marriages, sports, b[illegible] romances and middleclass ambitions. [illegible] will now take up another field so dear [illegible] heart of an astrologer—politics. Here [illegible] should not be astonished at not so astrol[illegible] tricks by which stars are made subse[illegible] to the two power blocs, even though [illegible] of the time, their own Baby Moons se[illegible] be out of their control. Thus we fin[illegible] spectacle of Mars and Saturn workin[illegible]

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pimps of the cold war and astrologers bringing their subjective considerations in their "political predictions."

The Astrological Magazine edited by Shri B. V. Raman and published from Bangalore gives us varied examples of the astrological cold war. Writing under the title **World Predictions** in the January 1959 number he says: Obviously, Mr. Nehru's foreign policy no doubt becomes more realistic. In theory, he will continue to stick to his neutralism but in actual practice he will definitely veer more and more towards Western Democracies....the ecnomic and political swing would be more towards the right.

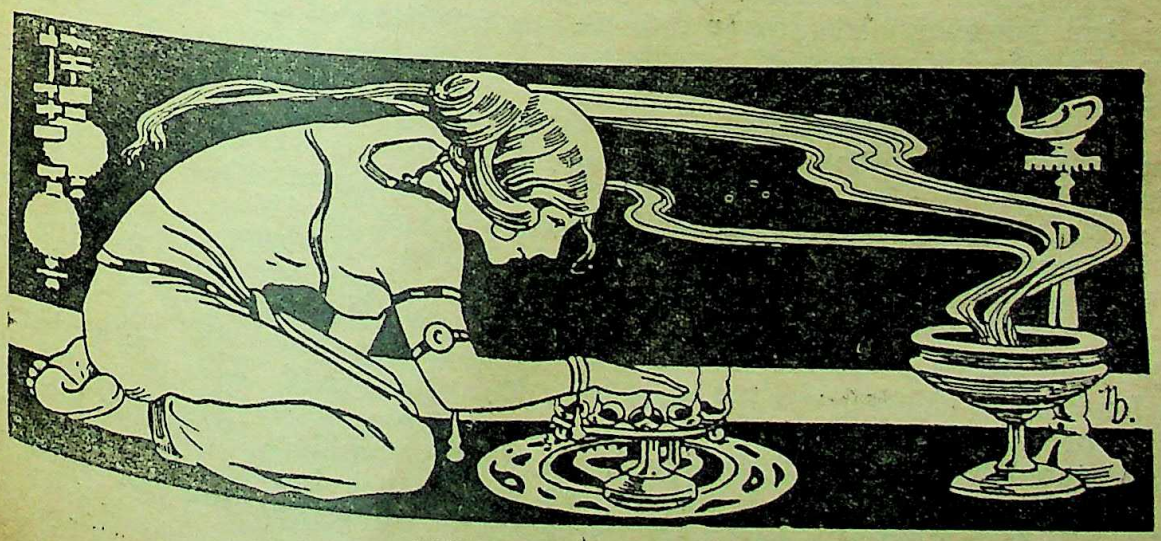
It is obvious that in Mr. Raman's view realism in foreign policy is associated with a pro-Western attitude. Writing in other numbers he has predicted bright future for the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party and a dark future for the Congress, obviously the Congress has a dark future, because it talks of socialism. Mr. Raman has more than once denounced socialism and talked with enthusiasm of free enterprise and the so-called free world making us feel that God is on his side. Of course, stars should be certainly kindly disposed towards Shri Rajgopalachari who has brought God down from the high heavens to the polling booth and turned him into a political figure of the first importance. And so God in gratitude to Shri Rajgopalachari, the upholder of Dharma, will certainly get votes for the Swatrantra Party, having already got for the party a uniform election symbol. What else can all this be ascribed to than divine interference which, through a harmonious movement of the stars has made the Swatantra Party and the Election Commission to be well-disposed towards each other?

Then there is the famous 1962 eight-planet combination which has provoked astrologers (**The Astrological Magazine**) to predict the destruction of either one or the other of the blocs according to the disposition of the particular gentleman.

While Dr. P. S. Sastri has impartially predicted all-round destruction, others have found the stars not so impartial. For instance, Mr. C. E. O. Carter says that, "there may be catastrophic floods in China and certainly there will be conditions of a catastrophic nature....very difficult time for the present regime of China." About U.S.A. he finds that, "an eclipse plus Jupiter-Venus on the natal U.S.A. Moon can hardly be unfortunite." As for U.S.S.R., "the present regime will undergo great changes and perhaps make way for something that is not so rigidly tied to materialist points of view."

Mr. K. M. Khareghat, however, finds that due to the 1962 combination, "A large part of India will turn communist and will oppose the established government." At last there is some cheering news for communists also! He also finds that "Australia, New Zealand and Russia in Europe are the countries that seem to be least afflicted."

In the same series there are some who feel that after the 1962 combination, U.S.A. will come out on top and others who feel that at least for the next thousand years Russia will be in an unchallengeable position.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

DICTIONARY OF AFRICA

Some particulars in respect of the present political situation in different countries of Africa, as mentioned in the **Arab Observer,** a weekly Middle East Magazine, are quoted hereunder :

Zanzibar

Zanzibar is a small island of 1,020 square miles situated twenty miles off the East African coast near the Equator. Together with a neighbouring island, Pemba they have one administration, and their population totals 300,000 Africans, 50,000 Arabs and 18,000 Indians who are widely interbred.

However, the Indians control retail trade, the Arabs the clove estates and the Africans work on the land. The dominant religion is Islam.

Arabs, mainly from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, occupied Zanzibar long ago, and from there they spread their domain to create the Zenj Empire which covered a long coastal strip all the way from Somalia to Mozambique.

The Arab region of Africa was infiltrated by the Portuguese after 1496, but two centuries later, the Arabs drove the Portuguese out.

In 1832, the Sultan of Muscat moved his capital from Oman to Zanzibar. European imperialism, however, had already discovered the strategic importance of Zanzibar as a base for penetration into East Africa, and European powers, particularly Germany, started grabbing at the crumbling Zenj Empire.

In 1890, a deal between Bismarck and Lord Salisbury resulted in declaring Zanzibar "an Independent Sultanate" under the protection of the British Crown, i.e., run by the Colonial Office in London.

A Legislative Council was set up with a majority of official members all of whom were appointed by the British Resident. In 1960, the Colonial office and the Sultan agreed to the formation of a new Legislative Assembly with an elected majority.

The Afro-Shirazi party and the Nati Party won all the non-official seats. B parties call for unity with the East Afri Federation.

Zanzibar and Pemba live mainly cloves : they produce 80 per cent of world's cloves. The biggest markets clove leaves, usually mixed with tobacc make scented cigarettes, are Indonesia India.

Oil from the stem of the tree prod vanillin a substitute for vinilla which is ported in considerable quantities to United States. Coconut production co tutes about 15 per cent of the exports.

Tunisia

Tunisia known to the Romans as Afri was one of the granaries of the Ro Empire. Today, Arab Tunisia is indep ent. It has an area of 48,195 square m and a population of 3,500,000 which inc 255,000 Europeans — usually divided three groups : the civil service (10,000) garrison (85,000) and the colons (160 The capital is Tunis.

In 1525, Tunisia was part of the Otto Empire. The Ottomans were succeede rule by a series of corrupt and ineffic autocratic Beys.

France acquired Tunisia in 187 courtesy of Lord Salisbury in return recognition of British rights over Cy and so that Germany would get neith

The French proclaimed Tunisia as Protectorate in 1881, the year of the War, by the Treaty of Bardo. The F occupation was legalised by the agreem La Marsa in 1885.

The Tunisian Nationalist Move goes back to the first years of occup After World War I, many nationalist ments were founded, such as "The Y Tunisians" and "The Old Turbans."

These movements pleaded their before President Wilson in the Paris Conference in vain, then they conso their force into the first strong par Destour.

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In 1930, an insurgent wing broke off and formed the Neo Destour party. Repressions and terrorism failed as weapons against the Tunisian nationalists and the French had to resort to negotiations, repeatedly interrupted by pressure from French settler groups, particularly the terrorist "Red Hands" which is still active and which was blamed recently for the murder of Tunisian nationalist leader Ben Youssef.

In 1951, Bourguiba was exiled and his successor as party leader was assassinated. Civil war was imminent and Mendes-France was obliged to offer "independence with interdependence." Negotiations culminated in the recognition of Tunisia's independence in March, 1956.

Certain reforms were carried out after that. Elections were held for a Constituent Assembly, with women voting for the first time.

The Assembly abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a Republic in July, 1957, thus depriving the colonialists of one of the main props of their domination over Tunisia. The property of the Bey and his family, worth 10,000,000,000 francs, was confiscated.

France's rulers have done everything to restrict Tunisia's independence and preserve their remaining footholds there particularly the massive naval installations at Bizerta.

Though the trade unions are hostile to the moderate Bourguiba Government policies, the principal labour leaders, in the name of national unity, have accepted to shelve their demands for a socialised economy and other internal demands for a united stand against the French.

Tunisia's principal products are olive oil, wine, cork, phosphates and iron ore. American petroleum monopolies were granted generous exploitation concessions there recently.

Uganda

The first white contact with the territory of Uganda was made by explorer Speke in 1862. Speke found there a Hamitic kingdom of considerable culture and development, well-organised and governed by laws. Some fifteen years later the missionaries began to arrive and traders followed. The British East African Company invaded the country, facing strong resistance from the people. This made the British government step in and take the area over in 1893 Uganda was declared a protectorate the following year.

The struggle of Uganda against foreign domination has been in progress since 1890. In 1908, Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, wrote: "What a wealth of energy spent in vain, what a convenient but unoccupied position, such a lever of control over Africa's natural resources. This cannot but stir and arouse the imagination."

Uganda—area 93,981 square miles—is rich in water resources, ores (such as gold, copper, tin, nickel and cobalt, etc.) and agricultural products such as cotton, coffee and tea. Uganda produces more cotton and coffee than any other Commonwealth State —these two products constitute 89 per cent of the total value of its exports. Uganda's industries are virtually non-existent, and the country imports its needs from other countries. While British capital has reaped immense profits in Uganda, its population of six million lives in great poverty, with the average annual income for the Africans per head being 57 dollars.

The protectorate of Uganda is a complex of four provinces, each in treaty relationship with Britain. These are: Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Buganda, the last being the biggest and most populous.

The administrative capital of Uganda is Entebbe, while the economic centre is Kampala. The country as a whole is administered by the usual colonial apparatus of Governor, Executive Council and Legislative Council. National rule is most representative of the peole in Buganda where the Kabaka (king) appoints the tribal chiefs and some members of the provincial parliament, while the other provinces do not enjoy any rights of self-government.

The anti-colonial struggle became most acute in the summer of 1953 when Britain put forward a plan to set up an East African Federation embracing Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika. The Kabaka was exiled for his opposition to the plan and thousands of Africans were arrested. But the plan could not be applied and in 1956, the Kabaka returned from exile. The struggle continues under the leadership of the Uganda National Congress which has as slogan: Self-Government Now!

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I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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প্রকাশিত হল

বাংলায় সম্পূর্ণ অভিনব সাহিত্য প্রচেষ্টা

৮৪৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ বিরাটায়তন

প্রবাসী

ষষ্টি-বার্ষিকী স্মারকগ্রন্থ

এতে আছে আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, শান্তা দেবী, প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, বনফুল, শৈলজানন্দ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শরদিন্দু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, বিমল মিত্র, জরাসন্ধ, সরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী, পরিমল গোস্বামী, প্রেমাঙ্কুর আতর্থী, নারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, রামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ খ্যাতিমান কথাসাহিত্যকদের রচিত বিচিত্রমধুর বাইশটি গল্প।

সীতা দেবী ও মণীন্দ্রলাল বসুর দুখানি মনোজ্ঞ উপন্যাস।

প্রবীণ ও আধুনিক সকল শ্রেণীর কবিদের কবিতা।

মনোজ বসুর রোমাঞ্চকর ত্রিঅঙ্ক নাটক।

রবীন্দ্র-প্রসঙ্গে আছে: হিরণ্ময় বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, দিলীপকুমার রায়, প্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, প্রভাতকুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, পরিমল গোস্বামী এবং আরো অনেকের প্রবন্ধ।

ষাট বছরের বাংলা এই পর্যায়ে সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, ইতিহাস, চিত্রকলা, ভাস্কর্য্য ইত্যাদি বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে বিশেষজ্ঞদের রচিত প্রবন্ধ এই গ্রন্থের সর্বপ্রধান আকর্ষণ। এই বিভাগে লিখেছেন: ডক্টর সুকুমার সেন, ডক্টর কালিদাস নাগ, ডক্টর সরোজকুমার দাস, ডক্টর নীলরতন ধর, ডক্টর দেবেন্দ্রমোহন বসু, ডক্টর আশুতোষ ভট্টাচার্য, ডক্টর নন্দলাল বসু, দেবীপ্রসাদ রায়চৌধুরী, বিষ্ণু দে, অর্ধেন্দ্রকুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি।

এই ছাড়া আছে স্মৃতিকথা, মহিলা মজলিস, ছেলেদের পাততাড়ি প্রভৃতি বিভাগ।

এই গ্রন্থের আর এক সম্পদ্ অবনীন্দ্রনাথ, গগনেন্দ্রনাথ, নন্দলাল, যামিনী রায়, দেবীপ্রসাদ প্রমুখ ভারত-বিখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা তেইশটি রঙীন ও কয়েকটি একবর্ণ চিত্রের মূল্যবান্ আর্ট পেপারে ছাপা প্রতিলিপি।

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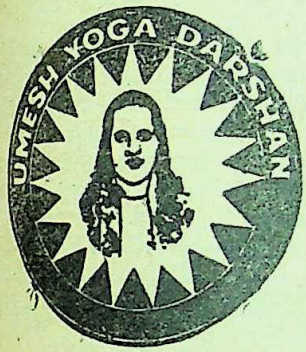

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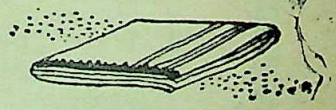

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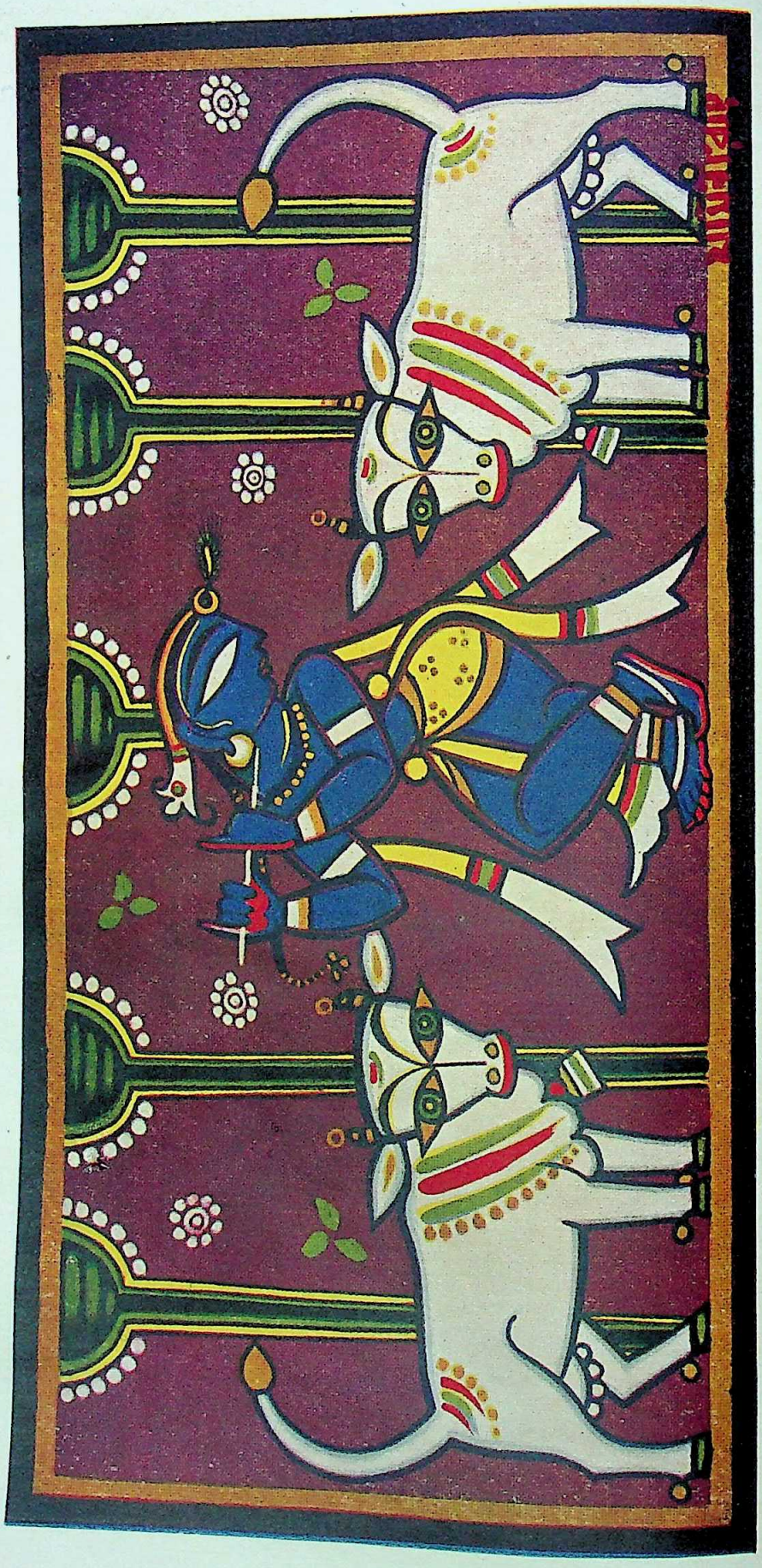

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NOTES

The World

The most significant event of the month of March, 1962, was the accord to end the "Intangible War" in Algeria, which was reached at Evian, on the Franco-Swiss border, on March 18. The actual end, which will come with the strangulation and eradication of the O.A.S. secret army, directed by General Raoul Salan, may take a considerable time, as the officers of the higher cadre of the French army have divided loyalties in the matter of Algeria, and to a large number the cry Algerie Francaise, raises sympathetic echoes in the innermost regions of their hearts. Moreover, the police in Algeria too are badly disaffected and terrorised. Officially the seven-year-old war—seven years, four months and 18 days to be exact—came to an end at noon on March 19, with a "flash" signal from the French Commander-in-Chief in Algiers, General Charles Ailleret, to every armed unit to stop all military operations.

The O.A.S. called for a 48-hour general strike and the cities of Algiers and Oran were paralysed for all practical purposes, simultaneously with the "cease-fire" signal. Paris also woke on the morning of the 19th to find itself in a condition of semi-seize, with large numbers of armed policemen on its streets, roads blocked at places, the army standing by at the ready and anti-aircraft guns pointing skywards, at all places of vantage. Just within 24 hours of the broadcast speech by President de Gualle on March 18, announcing that the agreement at Evian opened the prospect of the "coming into being of an independent Algeria co-operating closely with France," all France was aware of a ominous feeling of apprehension. The declaration by the O.A.S. chief, General Salan, that the war would be carried on added to the feeling of uncertainty. The relief felt, therefore, at the end of the seven-year struggle is qualified with dire portents.

General de Gaulle was determined, however, to proceed with the implementation of the cease-fire. He declared, in his March 18 broadcast, that the cease-fire accord "is satisfying to the spirit of the logic of France." He further queried, "Who knows whether the struggle which is ending and the sacrifice of the dead who have fallen on both sides may not have finally helped the two peoples to understand better that they (the Muslims of Algeria and Frenchmen) are made not to fight but to walk together on the pathway of civilization."

The National Assembly of France heard, in an extraordinary session called by its President, M. Delmas, the announcement in a message from President de Gaulle, that the government intended to hold a referendum on his Algerian policy "without delay." Later on the date of the referendum was fixed at April 8. The President declared that there might be difficulties in the matter of "public order and State security" in implementing the cease-fire and Algerian self-determination.

The Algerian Provisional Government had no illusions about a peaceful settlement

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either. M. Ben Youssef ben Khedda, the leader of the Nationalist Government, declared at Tunis on March 19, that great problems remained to be solved in Algeria, particularly the struggle against the O.A.S. He had previously ordered, on the evening of the 18th, all the F.L.N. forces to halt all military operations.

In the meanwhile, the O.A.S. having stepped up its orgies of violence, causing death and destruction on a larger scale, the French army has gone into action against the rebels, in a determined effort to destroy the hide-outs and to stamp out the brain-centres of the secret organization. Large-scale arrests and determined strafing and combing out of the O.A.S. bastions, particularly the headquarters at Bab-el-Oued has started by the orders of the President. The action is on a war-footing, with jets strafing the bastion from the skies while armoured cars opened up with machine-gun and cannot fire to cover the advance of the troops and the gendarmerie into the heavily armed defenses of the O.A.S. These firm measures are beginning to show that the French Government is determined to crush the armed insurrection in Algeria. Ex-General Jouhaud, the Second-in-Command of the O.A.S., has been captured in one of the raids and flown to the Sante prison in Paris.

If the referendum on April 8, results in the approval of the French nation for the Algerian policy of de Gaulle, then the question of the liquidation of the O.A.S. would still remain as a grave problem—but not an insoluble or irremovable one. Nor would the costs of that liquidation be comparable to what it has cost France and Moslem Algeria in terms of blood, treasure, time and human suffering. Hundreds of thousands of dead, ranging from the lowest muslim peasant to the elite of the French army, untold thousands of millions in money and a loss of prestige and honour for the fair name of France are only the outward measurements of the calamities that this seven-year-old war has brought on to France and the Algerian people.

The solution seemed hopeless when de Gaulle took over as President, and it is to Charles de Gaulle, soldier, patriot and statesman that the credit must be given at the final count for the solution of this impas[illegible] But for his courage and staunchness a[illegible] steady faith in destiny, the forces of reacti[illegible] would have triumphed again—as they a[illegible] still trying to do.

The seventeen-nation conference on d[illegible] armament is going on at Geneva, and t[illegible] questions relating to Berlin are also enga[illegible] ing the attention of the world. The attitu[illegible] of the Russians is as much an enigma t[illegible] both of these. It is evident that the proce[illegible] is going to be one of wearying out, un[illegible] both sides reach the irreducible limits o[illegible] their standpoints. It is anybodies guess as [illegible] what would happen when that stage [illegible] reached. According to some experienc[illegible] newsmen, it seemed that the solutions [illegible] both these vital problems could only be g[illegible] in a meeting at the "summit" level a[illegible] that Khrushchev's repeated statement th[illegible] international negotiations can only be beg[illegible] and concluded at the top, is a clear pointe[illegible] to that effect.

The Geneva Conference began its session[illegible] on the 14th of March in the Palais d[illegible] Nations, the venue of the League of Natio[illegible] sessions. There are delegates from five com[illegible] munist bloc nations, four from the West[illegible] France having refused to attend—and eig[illegible] neutral nations, attending the conferenc[illegible] The propaganda from the two cold wa[illegible] opponent groups seemed to have the neutr[illegible] nations as their target. Regarding the effe[illegible] of the propaganda, the **New York Tim[illegible]** says :

"The consensus is that through a com[illegible] bination of propaganda and pressure [illegible] Geneva and Berlin, Premier Khrushch[illegible] probably will achieve a summit conferen[illegible] this spring. President Kennedy, prior to l[illegible] week, said there were two circumstances [illegible] which he would go to the summit : if the[illegible] were substantial agreements reached [illegible] Geneva, or if there were a danger of w[illegible] or a grave crisis. Last week he added [illegible] third : if he believed it to be in the natio[illegible] interest."

The issue before the conference is th[illegible] of Disarmament. It is no new problem, as [illegible] has been exercising the minds of all peac[illegible] loving peoples of the world since the end [illegible] World War II. Mutual suspicions and [illegible] herent expansionist impulses on the part [illegible] some major powers, have brought to naug[illegible]

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all previous attempts at agreement. At present, although it seems clear that no one wants war, the sense of an impasse and likewise the fears for a inconclusive end of the conference is already hanging over the meetings. Since when it started with Omar Loufti of the United Arab Republic called the conference to order with the statement that a new opportunity is being provided for crossing the chasm of mutual fear and distrust by it.

Both sides of the Cold War blocs have presented their own blueprints for an effective working plan for disarmament—and both have rejected persistently the other sides suggestions. The only positive move has been a call, by India and Brazil, on both sides to refrain from atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons. This has the support of all uncommitted nations, it is presumed. But it gets nowhere in the matter of the main conflict, which is over the control system for checking the fulfilment of the terms of the Disarmament agreement, as and when that is agreed upon. Says the **New York Times**:

"The basic conflict at Geneva, however, —the conflict over controls—emerged even before the seventeen-nation sessions began on Wednesday. For the three previous days, Mr. Rusk, Mr. Gromyko, and British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, had met to discuss disarmament, along with Berlin and other East-West issues. In those discussions, the question of international inspection of a nuclear test ban came up.

"By international inspection, the West means the right of inspectors to cross a national border to make on-the-spot investigations of suspicious events or activity. The U.S., in particular, believes that only such investigation can ensure proper safeguards. Accordingly, at the Big Three Foreign Ministers sessions last week, the question was put to Mr. Gromyko as to whether Russia was ready to accept international inspection of a nuclear test ban.

"His answer was 'no'. And the same answer was given in greater detail to the seventeen-nation disarmament conference by Soviet delegate Semyon K. Tsarapkin, and in a speech in Moscow by Premier Khrushchev. The Soviet chief reiterated the oft-stated Russian view that international inspection was a form of espionage. He said, 'We will never agree to this'."

The Soviet alternative, offered by Mr. Khrushchev is what he calls "national" inspection, which means that each country will report on its own level of armaments, without any outside checks or "interference" and relying on its indirect means of detection by monitoring devices for checking on nuclear tests by others.

On Berlin, the impasse continues with fluctuating rises and falls in tension. It rose when Soviet fighters started "buzzing" Western passenger and transport planes flying along the air-corridor to Berlin, but has relaxed a little since.

In Asia, the high tension area in Laos still remains in a state of unstable equilibrium. There has not been any event of outstanding gravity, either way, in that area during the month of March. Occasional incidents there have been, but they have not developed into any critical situation. Moscow's attitude so far has been favourable towards the moves for stabilization. It is conjectured at high diplomatic levels that this attitude indicates a disinclination on the part of the Kremlin to get further involved in the troubles affecting South-East Asia.

Of far greater import is what is happening in South Vietnam, which is under the authoritarian rule of a strong man Ngo Dinh Diem, who is the U.S.-backed President of that troubled area. President Diem's regime has lost popular support it seems and further his advisers—three brothers and a sister-in-law—are looked upon with resentment by quite a considerable section of the more politically conscious citizens.

On 27th February last, two U.S.-trained fighter pilots of the South Vietnamese Air Force attacked and strafed the Presidential palace at Saigon, in U.S. made AD6 Skyraider craft. They set fire to the palace with napalm (jellied petrol) bombs, wrecked parts with rockets and sprayed the grounds with machine-gun bullets. The President and the family of his brother managed to get to the shelters in the palace basement, but the sister-in-law Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu fell down the stairs—partially wrecked by the rockets

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—and was severely bruised. One of the attackers was shot down by an anti-aircraft gun on a mine-sweeper and was captured alive, while the other escaped to safe asylum in Cambodia. The captured pilot expressed chagrin on hearing that his attack failed in its objective. The other is said to have remarked that similar attacks are going to be made in the future. He is quoted as having said that the resentment is not so much against Ngo Dinh Diem, who still occasionally shows his good-will towards his people, but much more against his family and his supporters, who are hated by the people.

There was an unsuccessful attempt at a coup, directed against President Diem by four paratroop battalions, staged at Saigon sometime at the end of 1960 which also expressed dissatisfaction against his administration. As it was said that the main cause of dissatisfaction was the lack of a vigorous anti-Communist campaign, the U.S. increased both the pace and the amount of military and economic aid to President Diem's government substantially. At that time pledges for new reforms were extracted from Ngo Dinh Diem as it was apparent to the U.S. advisers sent in response to the call for more and more aid, that Diem had lost contact with his people and the Army too was getting separated from him. The air-attack on the palace of the President seemed to indicate that the promises were not being kept in the way and to the extent that they were needed. Presidential staff had dismissed the raid as being a minor plot batched by a few malcontents. Foreign observers had reason to infer, however, from the speeches and demands made by government spokesmen in the Parliament, that the plot was more broad-based.

President Diem has been in power since the Geneva Conference powers pratitioned Vietnam in 1954, first as the Premier and then as the President. He is strongly pro-Western and as such has received over 1300 million dollars in aid, besides large-scale military and air-force aid from the U.S. He has built up and has maintained an army of 150,000, with air and artillery equipment on a modern basis. Himself a bachelor and a strong Roman Catholic, he has subdued religious wars and carried out minor la reforms.

On the debit side he has been acc of using his political power for the elim tion of likely rivals and their supporters arrests, on faked charges or on no cha at all, even though they were non-Com nists. There have been frequent charges corruption and about the misuse of the fluence and power exercised by the Pr dent's three brothers and by his sister-in- Mme. Ngo Dinh Diem in particular. In sh President Diem is said to be proceeding al the same path as the other dictators—Sy man Rhee and Menderes—who were stered up by economic and military from the U.S. and who rode rough- over their people's interests and suscepti ities, being supremely confident about power of the "Almighty Dollar."

In South Vietnam, moreover, the U.S getting itself more directly involved in matter of military aid. The Chinese acc the U.S., about a month back, of staging "undeclared war" in South Vietnam wh militated against the security of China it and demanded international consultati among the Geneva Conference powers. T **Pravda** echoed the Peiping accusati shortly after, thereby adding the voice of Soviets to the warning that there migh consequences of international gra endangering World Peace if the U.S. did desist from the involvement.

The U.S. is well aware of the risks taking, as the following extract from **New York Times** shows. After the gra description of a characteristic U.S.-dire attack on a Viet Cong (Communist guer stronghold and its successful culmina the editorial goes on to say:

"The other aspect, closely related, is growing involvement of U.S. men material in the war. On Friday, the S Department acknowledged that U.S. p are going on some combat sorties with S Vietnamese flyers in a 'training capacity

"Washington recognizes the powder- nature of this situation, which could e into a major war if the Communist reg in China and North Vietnam put their weight behind the Viet Cong effort to throw the regime of President Ngo D Diem. U.S. officials doubt hat the C

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munist nations will go that far, but they regard South Vietnam as both strategically and psychologically worth the risk."

It remains to be seen as to how the dices of fate fall—for President Diem and his backers of the U.S. And it also remains to be seen as to how far the Chinese are willing to proceed in the execution of their plans for southwards expansion.

The last incident in Asia worthy of note, that took place in the month of March, was the seizure of power by the army in Syria, as announced in Damascus on March 28. The announcement went on to say that the armed forces had seized power, dissolving Parliament and accepting the resignation of President Nazem Kudsi and the cabinet of Dr. Marouf Dawalibi. The announcement further warned the populace against any demonstrations and disorders and declared that the borders and the airports had been closed till further orders. The command said it had taken over all legislative and executive powers in the country and vested all civil and military powers in the army commanders of various regions.

It was exactly six months ago that Syria broke away from the U.A.R., much to the delight of the anti-Nasser politicians and newsmen in the Western bloc. This latest coup has indications that closer and friendlier relations with Egypt are desired by the new command, as the announcement contained warm references to "beloved Egypt." President Nasser's statesmanlike decision, at the time of the former coup, not to use force, as that would involve Arab shedding the blood of a brother Arab, seems to have paid, although there is no signs as yet of a re-joining up with the U.A.R.

The displaced regime of businessmen, Ulemas and Muslim brotherhood, which were heavily right-wing has been accused of obliging itself with "imperialist stooges" who bribed Syrian leaders, pin-pointing thereby the links between Jordan and the members of the Kuzbari family, both civilian and military, who led in the former coup.

This latest coup seems strongly left-wing in nature as much emphasis has been laid on the failure of the weak government, just deposed, to protect the peasant and worker from ruthless exploitation.

Earlier in the month—during the night between 1st and 2nd March, to be exact—the army seized power in another Asiatic State, that of Burma. The army led by General Ne Win, its Commander-in-Chief staged the coup during the night by arresting about 50 leaders, including President U Win Maung, the Premier U Nu, the Chief Justice U Myint Thein, other cabinet ministers and the Speakers of both chambers of the legislature. Later, the two Speakers, four ministers and an M.P. were released, the rest were kept under house arrest.

General Ne Win, who had tested power during the voluntary retirement from public life of U Nu, made an announcement after the coup that the armed forces had taken over the administration "for the peace of the country" and to stop its swift deterioration. He gave assurances to the people of peace and tranquility in the country.

In October, 1958, after the split of the ruling A.F.P.F.L. party, U Nu requested General Ne Win to take over the reins of government for a year, after which the civilian administration led by U Nu took back controls of the State.

It was stated by foreign observers that the take over was directed against the demands made by Shan leaders, who threatened revolt and secession unless their demands were fulfilled. They were all arrested in Rangoon, where they had come to press their demands, and put in custody by General Ne Win. The only blood-shed in the coup, was that of the 17-year-old son of Sao Shwe Theike, former President and Shan leader, who was shot for resisting arrest.

The Parliament was dissolved, but otherwise matters maintained an even flow during the month of March. Foreign powers, led by Britain and the U.A.R. gave diplomatic recognition to the new regime very soon after the take over.

It seems, however, that democracy in Burma having been eclipsed twice in 3½ years, is in a bad way altogether.

In Congo, M. Tshombe is continuing with his antics, although the tough core of his foreign mercenaries and advisers have been removed, his main attempt is now set at deferring the meeting with M. Adoula for the final settlement of the relations of his Katanga State within the main confedera-

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tion of Congo. He is continuous stalling, on various protests, thereby delaying the final settlement of the question of secession of Katanga from the central Congo State. He is trying to let the agreement made by him in December last lapse through the non-settlement of the safeguards clauses, which was condition precedent to ending the secession movement. He is hoping that the U.N. will be obliged to withdraw its forces from the Congo, before he is forced to come to a final settlement, leaving its work of condition and eradication of separist forces unfinished. Moise Tshombe believes that in that event his ambitions for the establishment of a dictator ruled and completely autonomous state of Katanga would be fulfilled.

There are various causes in action at present that might lead to such an event materializing. The financial problems besetting the U.N. operations in Congo gravely endanger their continuance.

There are many other reasons, major and minor that are holding up a final settlement in the Congo, not the least being the attitude of certain Western governments, whose officials and operatives have done many things **sub rosa** to prevent the consolidation of a greater Congo State. The reasons are all centred on the control and unilateral exploitation of the fabulous Katanga mines, which would only be possible in a regime headed by a stooge like Moise Tshombe.

The latest news from Congo, emanating from Leopoldville, on the 24th of March indicated that M. Tshombe was still attempting to slide away from the understanding he had previously arrived at with M. Cyrille Adoula, the Congolese Prime Minister, while they met in Kitona. The only difference in the situation was that he had at last come to meet the Congolese Premier at Leopoldville. The news stated :

"Talks between the Congolese Prime Minister , Mr. Cyrille Adoula, and the Katangan President, Mr. Moise Tshombe, reached a crisis when Mr. Tshombe insisted that he must be regarded as a Chief of State negotiating with another Chief of State, reliable informants reported. Mr. Adoula is expected to make a statement on the talks soon."

On the other side of the Congo, Northern Rhodesia, a British Protectorate, is a bone of contention between the Afric and the British Colonials led by their re tionary Federal Prime Minister, Sir R Welensky, who has taken a defiant challenging attitude towards the atte made by Colonial Secretary, Mr. Reg Maudling. The position of the Br Cabinet with regards this question very succinctly stated by the Parliamen correspondent at London of the Chris **Science Monitor** of Boston, in the follow words :

"The British Cabinet is reported to h reached an all-important decision on a constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

It is expected to open the way for African majority in the Northern Rhode Legislative Council. This would repre a rejection of the pressures of Fed Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, for gradual African advancement.

The issue of the Northern Rhode Constitution has been, and still is, a thorny one for the British Government has been the cause of repeated clashes Sir Roy, with right-wing Conservative in Britain, and even within the Br Cabinet itself.

In an even wider field, Northern Rh sia has been an explosive question betw Britain, Sir Roy, and the United Nat Having a common frontier with Kata Northern Rhodesia has allegedly been volved in gun-running and mercenary dents.

Sources close to the Commonwe Relations Office and the Colonial Office that adjustments will be made to the ea constitutional proposals which should Africans into office in Lusaka, the Nort Rhodesian capital, by this time next ye

The federal government has a under the existing Constitution to be sulted on Northern Rhodesia's future. the interpretation of consultation is like be less conciliatory to Sir Roy this ti

Because Northern Rhodesia is a B protectorate, Britain has the sovereign and duty to find a solution acceptable Africans of Northern Rhodesia or at one which will prevent disorders.

The **Times**, viewing the outlook, se atmosphere developing for unscrambling multiracial Central African Federa

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which has been the dream of British governments and of Sir Roy.

Mr. Sandys is expected to start discussions about the whole future of the federation with Sir Roy."

Since then the reactionary attitude of Roy Welensky has had a sobering effect even on the diehard younger members of the British Conservative Party in the Houses of Parliament. Contemptuous and reckless statements made by this ex-boxer and train-driver adventurer turned Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, like "The vicious influence of African Nationalism has turned their bone-marrow to jelly," etc., has considerably cooled the ardour of the younger conservatives who were giving support to him. Of the 97 back-benchers who had signed a pro-Welensky motion in the Parliament last year, only 43 were willing to put their signatures to a much milder version. Roy Welensky received a stone-cold and silent reception when he went fuming to London to raise opposition to Secretary Maudling's third set of plans for a settlement in Northern Rhodesia. Welensky has gone back full of fire and fury and the Africans under Kenneth Kaunda are now bargaining hard for a full measure of autonomy.

Northern Rhodesia has a population of 2,394,000, of which just over 3 per cent are white settlers, who uptil now had everything in their own way, the native population being mere serfs. It is a copper-rich area and provides most of the revenues and a good deal of the wealth that goes to sustain the federation maintain the white settlers in the lap of luxury. The three-State Federation was formed in 1953 against the will of the native population, as the set-up was all for the benefit of the white settlers. Of the other two partners there is the slender slice of Central Africa, known as Nyasaland which has an African majority in its local legislature and there is also South Rhodesia with a white population of 215,000 (in a total of 2,860,000) which so far has had complete control of the State and all its goods and is determined to keep its hold on the same level. The "winds of change" do not seem to have reached them.

China and India

There is a lot of speculation today, on the subject of Soviets-Chinese relations. News and current gossip picked up in Hong Kong or elsewhere, interlarded with gleamings from Soviets' news commentaries are being built up into "news" and sent out to India by foreign news agencies, which are proverbial for their tendency towards giving more emphasis on palatibility rather than on reliability.

The only reliable facts that have passed the screens of indirect authentication are those of scarcity of food continuing into this year and the somewhat detached attitude of Russia towards the happenings in the areas where the Chinese are trying to expand southward, either by direct intrusion, as on the Indian areas in Kashmir or Assam-Tibetan border areas, or by indirect attack as in Laos or in South Vietnam.

We have nothing to be complacent about the Indo-Chinese relations. China is displaying the same treacherous methods in her dealings with us, in firstly intruding with force into our territory and then brazenly accusing us of aerial violation of Chinese territories when our plans fly over the freshly intruded upon areas that are—and always have been—ours. Our heads of States have not as yet got ready to get to grips with this enemy on our borders, for reasons best known to them and, therefore, we are still having the kind of muddle-headed statements about Indo-Chinese pourparlers, that we had from Pandit Nehru in Parliament on March 17. The occasion was the declaration of India's stand regarding the "Indo-Chinese agreement on trade and intercourse." The Sino-Indian treaty on Tibetan trade is due to expire in next June. The notice period for the old agreement being renewed had expired on December 2, 1961, and the Chinese Government had asked for a new agreement the next day. India had replied in detail pointing out the considerations that made her take the initiative in formulating and concluding the original agreement. The correspondence that was exchanged between the two governments during the three months following the Chinese request was placed before the Parliament by Pandit Nehru on March 17.

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The Hindu published the fullest report that we have seen on that statement and we publish the same below **in extenso** as it marks another step in this critical affair on our Northern Frontiers:

"One day after the notice period for a renewal of the old agreement had expired on December 2, the Chinese Government asked for fresh negotiations for a 'new agreement on trade and intercourse.' India's reply points out in considerable detail the considerations which made her take the initiative for concluding the previous agreement. The note points out that India hoped that 'these five principles would not only regulate for years to come the relations between India and China but that the agreement would pave the way for a wider acceptance of these principles in inter-State relations, more particularly in Asia.'

The note says that it was in pursuance of the deliberate policy of establishing closer relations with China that the Government of India voluntarily relinquished important rights and privileges in Tibet it had inherited from the past. 'But hopes and aspirations entertained by the Government of India have, however, been completely frustrated by the aggressive and expansionist policies followed by China during the last few years.'

China's reply to this note has been received in New Delhi, though it will not be released until a reply has been sent. Informed circles suggest that the Chinese reply is not altogether unfriendly, though it would be unsafe to draw any inference of a change in China's attitude. Three days back, Mr. Nehru referred in Parliament to his earlier proposal, that India and China should withdraw in the Ladakh area and create a 'No-man's Land,' pending settlement through negotiations. Informed circles believe that if China desired negotiations, she must show some gesture in the Ladakh region. The correspondence confirms that India would not agree to separating the trade agreement from the border dispute and deal with them separately.

China's protest note about Indian planes air-dropping supplies on Chinese territory and India's reply make it clear that the Chinese have advanced 12 miles further from the post they previously set up on Chip Chap river.

India's reply says that Indian aircraft on supply dropping mission to the Indian out- at the track junction seven miles south-east Dauletbeg Oldi on January 14.

The pilot spotted some tents and dre- supplies. Subsequent to the receipt of Chi- note, enquiries were made. It was found that aircraft drifted three or four miles east to track junction due to a westerly wind. The dropping occurred at the wrong location bec- the pilot mistook a Chinese patrol camp, 12 further west of the Chinese check-post on Chip Chap river (about which India has alre- protested several times) to be the Indian outp- This would mean that the Chinese had adva- another twelve miles west.

India's note regrets that the Chinese Gov- ment had been sending out advance patrols further inside the Indian territory so soon after newing assurances to maintain the *status* Later reports received here suggest that the C- nese may have withdrawn from this adv- patrol camp. Release of the correspondence d- election period would have caused embarrass- to the ruling party as it would be an admiss- that the Chinese had made further advances Indian territory without meeting any resist-

The correspondence contains the Chi- note protesting against 49 alleged air space lations' by Indian aircraft during two mo- ending December 5. India has refuted all t- charges and has, in turn, protested against C- nese aircraft violating Indian air space on occasions during January. The Chinese note November 30 last had argued that if India vanced in Ladakh sector, China would be j- fied in moving across McMahon line. In reply of February 26 emphasises that if Chinese threat materialised, India 'would re- it as further instances of aggression and take action as may be necessary to meet this fu- aggression.'

The Government of India have told the nese Government in a note sent on March 13 they agreed with the Chinese plea that both should maintain *status quo* pending a pe- settlement of their border dispute.

In their note (earlier portions of which already appeared) the Government of India The Government of India are in entire

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ment with the Government of China that the two sides should maintain the *status quo* of the boundary and refrain from changing it by use of force or any other unilateral action. This *status quo* had been maintained by the peoples and Governments on either side of the boundary from ancient times. The Government of China have, however, in recent years disturbed the *status quo* by forcibly occupying an area which has always been the territory of India. The Government of India hope that the Government of China, in accordance with the principle which they have themselves stated so clearly, will withdraw from the territory and restore the *status quo*. Such a restoration of the *status quo* through the withdrawal of Chinese forces from Indian territory into which they have intruded since 1957, is an essential step for the creation of a favourable climate for any negotiations between the two Governments regarding the boundary.

The note said that the position today was that the Government of China had not only violated both in letter and spirit the five principles of co-existence set out in the preamble to the 1954 agreement but have actually occupied by force over 12,000 square miles of Indian territory and continued to expand their illegal claims and pursued their aggressive military activities to forcibly occupy large areas of Indian territory.

In a note on January 25, the Government of India protested against violation of Indian air space by a Chinese aircraft on January 6. The note said that a Chinese aircraft flew over Sherathang in Sikkim for about five minutes at 9-45 a.m. The note urged upon the Chinese Government to adopt measures to stop similar violations of Indian air space which could have grave consequences.

In a lengthy note dated February 26, the Government of India took strong exception to the Chinese attempt to reply to the Government of India's protest against Chinese aggression in the western sector by threatening aggression elsewhere. 'If the threat materialises and Chinese forces attempt to cross the 'McMahon Line' the Government of India would regard it as a further instance of aggression and take such action as may be necessary to meet this further aggression', the note said.

The note was in reply to the Chinese note of November 30 containing 'baseless charges about Indian intrusions into Chinese territory and air space'.

The Government of India, the note said, failed to understand the constant reference made by the Government of China to the need for a final settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The note said, 'The boundary between the two countries has long been settled. It has the sanction of centuries of tradition and custom, as well as the confirmation for almost its entire length, of valid treaties and agreements. It is the Government of China who have in recent years sought to change unilaterally by means of force the long existing *status quo*. This had violated what had throughout history been a frontier of peace and jeopardised relations between the two countries. Peace on the border and friendly relations between the two countries can never be restored until the Government of China withdraw from the Indian territory which they have unlawfully occupied.'

Pointing out a number of discrepancies between the maps published in China in 1956 and in 1960 the note said, 'In China the well-known traditional boundary has been in recent years ignored and a bewildering variety of alignments have been shown on their maps. There was even, as has been shown in the report of the officials and in the note of the Government of India of October 31, 1961, a discrepancy between the map published in China in 1956, which according to Premier Chou-En-lai showed the alignment correctly, and the map provided by the Chinese side at the talks between the officials. This has been repeatedly pointed out to the Government of China; and it is a matter of surprise that they continue to assert, without regard to the facts, that the alignments on these two maps are identical.

The map of 1960 showed an alignment which ran south-east from that point. In the Pengong region, the map of 1960 cut across the western half of the Pengong lake, while the map of 1956 left the entire western half in India. In the Spanggur area, the map of 1960 showed an alignment west of the lake but the map of 1956 showed the major part of the lake in India'.

The note said that the claim of the Chinese Government that three new checkposts established by them in Indian territory were within Chinese territory was a complete travesty of the facts."

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The Tibet agreement was a mistake, as Pandit Nehru must realize now, whatever justification he might adduce for it today. Tibet is no more a part of China than was Algeria a part of France, or Goa a part of Portugal. In other words, Tibet is a colonial possession—very harshly ruled—of China. And it is about time that our powers that be decided to treat it as such.

Incidentally the **Hindu** also pbulished a short report from its correspondent at Gangtok, which goes to show the need for supplies from India that even the Chinese rulers felt. Sikkim's predicament is a creation of China's intransigence, though the Chinese fifth-column in Eastern India—and in Sikkim—might put it on Indian shoulders. It should be emphasized at this juncture that any relaxation of the Indian attitude on the plea of assistance and mercy to the suffering Tibetans must also be refused. Tibet being ruled as it is by the Chinese group now in command, it will receive very little—if any at all—of the food and amenities that might be exported by India, as most of that will go to the Chinese forces in aggressive occupation of our Himalayan areas. The Hindu report is as follows:

Gangtok, March 24,—The utility of Sikkim's first aerial ropeway, the longest in the world, which is nearing completion depends upon the fate of the Sino-Indian treaty on Tibetan trade due to expire in June next. The construction of the ropeway was started five years ago by the Sikkim Government. The Chinese used to take Indian rice to Tibet through Sikkim and the Sikkim Government had thought that the entire cost of construction of the ropeway would be redeemed as the Chinese were ready to pay fabulous freight. But the present strained relationship between India and China over the border issue, it is feared, will have a bearing on the future of the Sino-Indian trade treaty and may make the ropeway a liability instead of an asset.

This 13-mile long ropeway, from Gangtok to Tagok (near the Nathula Pass) will be completed by May this year. The total cost is expected to come to nearly Rs. 12 lakhs. Its carriage capacity each way is five tons an hour. The ropeway is being constructed by a British firm in collaboration with the Sikkim Government.

Pakistan and India

There has been quite a breeze in the L Sabha on March 29, over the contradictory st ments made by the West Bengal Home Mi and by Mrs. Laxmi Menon, Deputy Minister, I ternal Affairs. The question was whether a s of land in Hili police station area of the W Dinajpur district of West Bengal, which is on West Bengal-East Pakistan border area, has b evacuated by the Pakistan nationals who intru into it with the support of some personnel of East Pakistan Rifles? Mrs. Menon said, yes, had been "persuaded" to do so. The West Be Home Minister said, "no". Mrs. Menon, g lady that she is, had the last word by saying her information was the latest and obtained f the horse's mouth. (No reference to the oral ge ture of the West Bengal Home Minister—I *M. R.*)

Mrs. Menon's earlier statement is reprod below:

"A report was received from the West Be Government on March 28, that there had b some incidents on the West Bengal-East Paki border in the tract of land in the Hili police s tion in West Dinajpur between March 11, 19 and March 23, 1962.

According to this report, on March 11, 19 while some villagers from Aptair village w digging earth on Indian territory, a few villa from Ghusuria village across the border obje on the ground that earth was being dug up Pakistan territory. After some discussion it conclusively demonstrated to the villagers f Pakisan that digging was in progress on In territory upon which the Pakistani villagers w drew.

On March 18, a personnel of the East P tan Rifles began digging trenches on Pak territory near the border and on March 19, a tingent of about 200 East Pakistan Rifle arrived on the spot. Some jeeps were also f to be moving about in the area towards the noon of March 19. Pakistan officers were observed taking photographs of the area b actual incident was reported on 19th March, pite evidence of activity by East Pakistan R across he border.

The West Bengal Government has prot against the high-handed and provocative

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by Pakistani nationals supported by personnel of the East Pakistan Rifles in violation of the "ground rules". The West Bengal Government has requested to the East Pakistan Government to make an immediate enquiry, fill up the trenches dug out across the border and withdraw Pakistan forces from the area to ensure peace and tranquility on the border. No reply has yet been received from the East Pakistan Government to these protests.

It has been confirmed on telephone from Calcutta this morning that no part of Indian territory in this area is in possession of East Pakistan nationals or personnel of East Pakistan Rifles."

The Elections and After

The elections are all but over and the party leaders are either crowing—as in the West Bengal P.C.C.,—or else taking stock of gains and losses as in the C.P.I. and in some provincial Congress committees. The Congress has again got control of the Central Government and of almost all the State Governments, through the decision at the polls.

To a detached onlooker, it is apparent that the reasons adduced by the various party leaders, for gains and losses of their own and other parties, are anything but correct and comprehensive. The Congress, since it has again got a chance to run the country should have been more than sobered by certain aspects of the election, which carry disquieting portents for the future. It is not only necessary for the High Command to give full consideration to what their opponents have said about the elections, but also to take stock of the losses it has suffered in a more serious fashion. It is one thing to regain power and control and quite another to look forward to the future. For, it is apparent to all but political sycophants and simpletons that the Congress has been put in power again because its opponents could not produce either reliable men in sufficient number nor a coherent plan for an alternative government. Indeed, in West Bengal, the slogan for an alternative government raised by the leftist combine headed by the C.P.I., led to its defeat in all major town and city areas which contained a more politically conscious roll of electors.

To the Congress claim for achievements, we would just add, on the debit side the failures and the deteriorations, that are progressively ruining the country and its nationals. We would make the positive statement that there is no service in the country that has not lamentably degenerated during the last ten years.

THE EDITOR

Perspective With A Vengeance

When we were young we once saw a cartoon, perhaps, in **Punch** or some such humorous periodical, in which a young woman was joyfully announcing to her husband, after they had moved into an apartment, which they had purchased on the instalment plan, "Isn't it wonderful, darling, to think that in ninety-nine years, this apartment will be absolutely our own!" What we see now-a-days all round us is too big to be depicted in a single cartoon. Otherwise we might have painted a gigantic cartoon with all the members of the Congress party embracing each other and telling one another how wonderful it was to know that in ninety-nine or in a few hundred years, India would have so much steel, so much coal, so much per capita income and so much national wealth free from **all** encumbrances! Another cartoon, stretching from Bombay to Calcutta could also show the millions of the Indian people who would be in great want in spite of all our progress due to a single fact that the State would swallow everything up by an extortional system of taxation! Everyman's hearth, home and savings will be nationalised.

Perspective planning tells us in full detail all that will happen to State-owned industries, State-managed welfare arrangements and State-controlled private enterprise; stage by stage over a period of five or a hundred and twenty-five years. What it does not tell us, is what we are not going to get, what we shall be deprived of and what will be there and, yet, will be placed beyond our reach in a tantalising manner; in order to teach us the various socialistic virtues of self-denial, abstemiousness, austerity, forced saving and surrendering to the will of the State like abject slaves. The vision or a series of visions of the

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future well-being of mankind or of one's own nation should be, in the opinion of certain thinkers, sufficient incentive for sacrificing all present enjoyments and even all highly necessary immediate consumption of those essential commodities which sustain human life and maintain the standards of civilised existence. And, this, because some people have worked out certain formulae of reaching certain objectives in a very limited sphere of national life, like the production of certain goods, the building of roads, railways, etc., or in providing education or medical treatment. It is a standing fallacy of the visions to which we surrender and sacrifice our well-being that certain bits and pieces of Life are represented to the gullible masses as the whole of human existence. Human well-being and happiness is the product of a million co-ordinated and integrated factors, not all of which can be fitted into the blue prints of a planned economy. Nations may advance militarily, medically or industrially without achieving that balance in all-round progress which gives humanity a feeling of general satisfaction. A perspective which accommodates only a fixed number of economic exaggerations cannot be a complete picture of man's progress. Our government is famous for its inefficiency and inability to hit any target in any field of managing the nation's affairs. There is not only perspective planning which gives us promises of steel plants, coal raising and washing establishments, heavy and light engineering units and so forth, but we have also endless promises of what we shall have in the future, step by step and stage by stage. Thus, in an elaborate scheme of Perspective Administration, we see hope of thieves and dacoits who will be caught in 1985 and of murders that will not be committed in 1995. Railway trains that will run on time in 2062 and telegrams and letters which will be delivered to the addressees within seven weeks of despatch in 2162.

When one is in great pain, one tries to relieve one's suffering by a forced smile. So, we may smile at the prospect of Pandit Nehru's pet scientists giving us a fuller dose of perspective in other and lesser branches of community life. Perspective cooking may begin with raw gram slowly move on to Pillao in 1998. Pers tive housing will, no doubt, elevate thick mud walls of our villages to m and mahogany sometime or other. there will be perspective dressing, cutting, shaving; and perspective spitting, non-yelling, non-road hog etc., etc., as a result of all which India be a land worth living in by the Pandit Nehru will be a totally forg man.

We have heard of the limitations time puts upon our dreams. We may our Collosium and our Rome will o human existence, but time soon puts assertions to ridicule. The solitary pill the middle of a great desert, decl itself as the centre of the earth or other vain declarations have proved frailties of human nature over and again. We also know that a ton of pr is not worth a pound of actual enjoy In such circumstances, should we con to be bullied into beliefs, faiths and tudes which we know are the product a weird megalomania which now af our leaders as it has afflicted kings emperors in other ages?

A.

English

Einstein, we believe, proved that par lines, if stretched to "eternity" would contrary to all assertions made by E Emotion and science too, if stretche enough, might merge into one another thus injure the purity and strength of The usefulness of English, both medium of education and of self-expre cannot be doubted from a prac economic standpoint. Whatever our cial statisticians may say, we may assume that about 5% of our people are intellectually in a top position, as as in the countries industrial, and ad trative fields; are English-educated fairly effective manner. Translated figures this would mean 20 million Eng knowing people. Among these there thousands who have been educated trained in foreign universities, tech colleges and other centres where sci medical and general education is imp

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to persons desirous of achieving the highest in the various fields of life. We may assume that about a million, persons are highly educated and trained according to international standards. Another five million persons are fairly highly educated and trained in India. And, then there are about fifteen million persons who are in the middle group. The highest degree of training and education in foreign countries cost about 25,000|- rupees per capita and our national assets in this field will be well worth 25,000,000,000 rupees (2,500 crores). The next higher group, whose intellectual assets have accumulated through English education would presumably account for an expenditure of about Rs. 10,000 per capita. This will total up to the enormous sum of Rs. 50,000,000,000|- (5,000 crores). The rest of the English-knowing persons who use English for all mental communication are 15,000,000 in number and who must have spent at least Rs. 1000|- per capita for obtaining proficiency in English. This will add up to a national expenditure of Rs. 15,000,000,000 (1,500 crores). The grand total of the value of English education in the national brain is, therefore, 2,500+5,000+1,500=9,000 crores. Quite a bit of this is in foreign currency. And this does not include all the books, charts and other equipment which cannot be used without a knowledge of English. Those who wish to abolish and liquidate English know not what they want to throw away. But of course political policy and idealistic urges do not take into account any economic losses. Had there been any consciousness of values among politicians and idealists, we would not have been bombarded with even 10 per cent of all the useless things that come into our life (at a terrifying cost).

This question of abolishing English and introducing Hindi has been raised many times by many persons of varying eminence in the intellectual firmament. But we have never taken any of them seriously, knowing as we do, that all that one hears is not wisdom. The idea that all education, including higher and scientific education, should be in the vernacular is a piece out of absolute idealism. There being fourteen official and one hundred and forty unofficial vernaculars; any such scheme will divide up India finally and for all time into fourteen or a hundred and forty mutually exclusive pieces. The scientific literature of Orissa will not be understood in Darbhanga where the people speak Maithili but do not admit it. Tamil books will mean nothing in Gujerat or Panjab (where people speak Panjabi but are supposed to be Hindi-speaking because of Pandit Nehru's wishful thinking). Things will become more and more complicated as we proceed with the plans of introducing Hindi everywhere in India and of developing the vernaculars all over the country. The ancient Hindus declared that **Brahma** was **Nada** or sound. They also said **Eka Brahma Dwitiya Nasti** (There is one **Brahma** and no second) but they did not think of all our different dialects when they discussed **Nada.** It was all Sanskrit to them. If to-day, we had introduced Sanskrit as our national language we would have aspired after something worth the effort. Hindi or the vernaculars do not fill the bill. English is as **fait accompli** and is useful and has a money value potential in it. It is also inevitable that we shall carry on with English in all spheres of useful work. Political speeches may be given in other languages for they do not really matter.

A. C.

Hindi Prachar

The spread of Hindi all over India as the national language has been a difficult job and it has been so because of the incompetence and lack of principles of those who have been trying to propagate Hindi for their own advantage. Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, than whom it is difficult to find a better qualified man to speak on the subject of Hindi **Prachar** made a speech in the **Rajya Sabha** on the 19th of March, 1962. He delivered his speech in English in deference to the feelings of non-Hindi speaking members. His summary of the situation in the field of establishing Hindi as our **Rashtrabhasha** is illuminating. He said,

"I have been connected with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan since the year 1918. I was the Secretary of the Sahitya Vibhag at the time when Mahatmaji

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presided. I edited the questionnaire, which Mahatmaji had circulated about the national language. I attended the Sammelan's meetings at several places, at least at eight or ten places, and I took a prominent part in the activities of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I may say that the root of all this evil is the system of examinations. I know by personal experience that there are a large number of text-book hunters in the Hindi world, and they can be found in any place. People go to places, move about, or their sons or nephews move about, and get their books prescribed by very underhand means. I have been told by the people in the Sammelan and I know that nephews and sometimes daughters-in-laws and sometimes even **Mantries** themselves have had a number of books prescribed. There is money in Hindi and that is the real trouble about the whole thing. People go from here to South India—I have been told by Mr. Satyanarayana—and they want their books to be prescribed there! We have to take exception to these things and I would request the Hon. Minister—Dr. Shrimali—to see that this sort of evil, this black-marketing in text books, which has continued for the last fifty years, will not be allowed.

I am in entire agreement with Shri Deokinandan Narayan. He belonged formerly to our province Uttar Pradesh as well. I agree with him in saying that people of different languages should be put on this Board so that we may not have any obsession on the side of some people.

I know from personal experience that people have been rather frightened on this matter. Once poet Rabindranath Tagore told me, when I was in Santiniketan in 1920-21, "Don't hang the sword of Hindi over our heads. Produce the best literature and we will all learn Hindi." That is right. Another great man, who did so much for Hindi, was Shri Ramananda Chatterjee, with whom I had the privilege of working for some ten years. He told me of an incident. In Karachi, a Sindhi gentleman wanted to speak in Sindhi on the question of the separation of Sind. But people from a certain province—I would not mention its name—cried out "Hindi, Hindi." Ramananda Babu asked me, "Is this the sort of thing you are going to do? If a Sindhi gentleman cannot speak in Sindhi on the question of the separation of Sind, where are we going to?" Certainly, there is a good deal of suspicion in the hearts of people belonging to the different languages. Therefore, we must be very very careful and under no circumstances should the domination of one province—may be Uttar Pradesh or whatever it may be—be allowed. My Hon. friend Shri Arora, said it was Daraganj, and he was certainly right. For a number of years one **mohalla**, one street in Allahabad, has dominated the entire Hindi world. This should not be allowed.

I entirely agree with the suggestion that the headquarters of the Sammelan should not be at Allahabad. The place is vitiated by these wrong ideas of the last fifty years, and I would suggest to the Hon. Minister to make a thorough enquiry about these text-books and about the **mantries** or their relations, whose books have been prescribed. Not only that, I would go still further and say that anyone who wants to get his books prescribed as text-books or who has got his books prescribed, should not be on this Board. That should be done in order to save the honour of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

I read Kakasaheb's article in The **Mangal Prabhat** and I was surprised because I had prepared my speech on the same lines and it seems by telepathy, he stole my ideas! He is entirely right when he says that the Hindi-speaking people really have been trying to dominate over Bundelkhandi and Bagailkhandi and Chhathisgarhi and Konkini and all these languages.

I myself brought forward that resolution on the Janpadiye languages or the regional languages at the Jaipur session, and I found that the orthodox Hindi people were all opposed to it. They consider that these languages—the Janpadiye languages or the regional languages—are **Saut** though they are the real mother of Hindi. Therefore, what I say is that we should have to be very very careful in this matter. And we have to be careful about these elections too. The elections have ruined the Arya Samaj and they have ruined the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and they have

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ruined the Braj Sahitya Mandal. Practically all these organisations have been ruined by elections. Also, I would say that these **Parikshas** had better be wrested from the Sammelan and the Sammelan should not be allowed to hold these **Parikshas.** Shri Deokinandan Narayan is perfectly right in what he said. These Hindi people have been very jealous on this question. I still have in my possession a telegram which the Sammelan people had sent to Mahatmaji at Bangalore saying that they were going to prosecute him! It was with some difficulty that the Sammelan people were persuaded not to proceed further in the court against Mahatmaji, by the efforts of Malavyaji and others. Therefore, we have to be very very careful.

And as I said, we have to change our attitude if we want the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to be a real force. I suggest that the suggestions of Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar should be accepted. He really writes better Hindi than many of us. His suggestions contained in **The Mangal Prabhat** that this should be an All-India body, should be accepted. It should have members from different parts and it should not be dominated by the Government-nominated people. I have mixed feelings about the Government. I have been preaching anarchism and writing about it for the last so many years and when I find myself supporting the Government, it is really a painful thing. I say this because once you give anything to the Government, the whole thing becomes a terribly bad thing, and if the few nominated people are of your own state of mind, then it will be a real tragedy. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan will be a government body and that will be a tragedy in our life. Thta is all I have to say.

It would appear that things are not quite healthy in the sphere of Hindi **Prachar.** Not only do some people want to monopolise the work of **Prachar** and make money out of Hindi text books; but they also want to push other Indians out of the field, even those who speak different dialects of Hindi.

A. C.

Social Justice

Inaugurating the 35th annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Vignan Bhavan, New Delhi, Shri Jawahirlal Nehru said that the forces that had been set in motion during the last 15 years could not be stopped. They (the forces) would lead to industrialisation, a higher standard of life and inevitably to more and more socialism, i.e., social justice.

We cannot agree with Pandit Nehru's unqualified support of industrialisation and his assertion that it will lead inevitably to more and more socialism, i.e., social justice. Pandit Nehru likes to think that industrialisation is an unmixed blessing to any community and that industrialisation gives a higher standard of living and social justice. We can imagine industrialisation as a source of poverty, squalor, slums, immorality, bad health, starvation and suffering. We can also imagine industrialisation as a cause of lowering the standard of living and of destroying social justice. The wage policy, the housing and other schemes of the Government of India have not been very progressive latterly and we do not visualise any great change in their attitude towards labour. The economic planning of the Government of India has come to mean progress in patches and the creation of an inner and an outer circle of economy. The inner circle will have higher wages and better living condition (at least in terms of money) and the outer circle which will include a much wider area will not be so well off. We shall then have a larger number of Black Market Princes than we had before of real princes. We shall also have more highly-paid officials, executives, agents, contractors and so forth than ever before. Then there will be several million highly-paid industrial workers as opposed to the vast masses of poor peasants and the unemployed and semi-employed whose earnings will be a mere fraction of the earnings of the factory workers. Will all this create more social justice? Socialism is also not a product of the State ownership of the instruments of production. If the nation's economy is not fully utilised for social welfare and the well-being of the people; but for the glorification of a few political leaders and for furthering their whims and fancies; then even total nationalisation will not produce socialism but abject social slavery.

A. C.

Permitting Murder

The Indian police, at least the West

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Bengal police are a properly selected and properly paid body of persons, among whom are some quite brilliant men whose intellectual attainments are on a par with those of similarly placed police officers in any country of Europe or America. Yet when it comes to prevention or detection of crime, our police cut a very sorry figure indeed in comparison with the police of other lands. Thefts, robbery and petty larceny, we are told, are permitted to be carried on in this country because the thieves, etc., have the protection of superior persons. Murders, when carried out in order to achieve an objective, are also sanctioned by people high up in politics or are backed by high finance which opens all doors in all fields including the field of homicide. Generally speaking, therefore, all crimes which have any connection with money, position or power, are perpetrated with impunity; because they are committed by the agents of powerful persons. Let us say that such crimes are not preventable in a land where money can buy everything including protection for anti-social activities. But there are some crimes which are being committed everyday under the very nose of our police and which the police accept helplessly as inevitable. Among these are the killing of hundreds of men, women and children by lorries, buses, taxis and private cars on the roads of India, particularly of West Bengal. No one gains money, position or power by such killings and yet they are permitted to be carried out by our public and the police. The police officers go to other lands to learn traffic control and then come back to India without learning anything, as is evident from the results achieved. All road accidents with few exceptions, occur due to the apathy and negligence of the police. And the same inefficient police officers are kept in charge of essential departments in spite of their prolonged failure to achieve anything.

All over West Bengal, taxis, lorries and buses have no respect for the rules of the road. They go all over the road according to their own sweet will and try to push others off the road if it suits them to do so. There are no demarcations for separating the left side of a road from the right side and the rules of the road regarding speed, lanes of traffic, right of way, etc., are just ignored. Toddy sellers sit openly on the Grand Trunk Road and sell liquor to drivers of commercial vehicles and the police do nothing about it. In the city of Calcutta taxis cut in and out of lanes, pedestrians swagger all over the roads in a defiant manner, lorries and buses race through roads crowded with cars and pedestrians, and the police do nothing. No one is warned or prosecuted for violating the rules of the road. In such circumstances, we think, the police are the aiders and abetters of the crimes committed by drivers of motor vehicles on the high roads.

A.C.

Bluster at High Level

The word bluster is not a nice word and should not be used in connection with great personages, like Pandit Nehru. Yet when the meaning of bluster is "noisy self-assertive talk" and "threat"; and, when Pandit Nehru indulges vociferously in self-asserting talk with no basis of real achievement attached to his assertions; the question of bluster being the correct description of his words expressions, naturally arises.

Pandit Nehru throws his message of progressive State-control of more industries and social services at the people of India, in a manner which suggests that he has succeeded so well so far in his "socialistic" efforts that further action in the same line is naturally indicated. But, in fact, he has failed to deliver the goods all along the line. His administration is tottering all the time. Bad defence, worse policing, horrible maintenance and operation of railways, terrible time-keeping by Posts and Telegraphs and Telephones, tremendous tax evations, fearful mess in public undertakings like D.V.C., etc., maximum slow motion in action or inaction in government departments, corruption in all places where things can be obtained or money made, favouritism and "blacking" in the field of permits, licences and quotas and a general policy of unfair dealing as far as all minorities, except Kashmiris, are concerned. This would give a picture which could not be used as a certificate of honour and efficiency. A man who cannot perform his ordinary everyday duties should not bluster, nor offer (theaten) to do more than what he has failed to do.

A.

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SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGEMENT IN THE UNDER-DEVELOPED ECONOMY OF INDIA

By NARENDRA KUMAR SETHI

The modern Indian businessman faces the eternal conflict of values between enlightened self-interest and social obligations, which is almost a universal condition of the present industrial climate. He faces, too, the typical Indian phenomenon of the conflict between the ancient tradition of non-material values and the Western technological advancements. He is caught in the clash between the concept of free enterprise and the broadening shadow of governmental interference and nationalization. Finally, there remains another significant crisis-centre revolving round the conflict between the impact of the communistic doctrines and the Gandhian ideals on the Indian mind.

Indian management lives in this tense atmosphere, trying to assert its role in the industrial development of the nation while not very much assured of its own existence in this struggle of hostile conditions and social themes. This tension makes the Indian businessman weary of his own existence and future. At times, this feeling of extreme weariness finds an expression in the outspoken criticisms made by the businessman against the prevailing socio-economic climate of the country. However, more often than not there is a bitter mood of "business apathy" which can only spell doom for the complete industrial growth of the nation.

At the same time, the Indian businessman lives in a world of despair and mistrust. The public has a growing distaste for big business; the central governmental agencies are showing a discouraging front to the businessman; the labour unions are being increasingly directed towards a socialistic pattern. Thus the resultant pattern for the Indian management is one of broken harmony, open attack, perverse self-assertion and lack of understanding.

The Bitter Business Climate

The problem concerns the grass-roots of Indian human values, their cultural traits and social responses. Fundamentally, an average Indian businessman is a diverse product of two distinct thought-currents and ideologies. He is the integrated product of the oriental sense of culture and the western concept of the material. In him, there is the blending of the Indian perspective and the Western outlook. He operates at these two levels: the intellectual level of his western education and the emotional level of his personal identity with the Indian life. But, the blending process in his personality is not quite perfect and it can never be. He is neither true Indian nor perfectly Western. In the end, then, he becomes an anigma to his country and a dilemma to himself.

How can he understand others and how, in turn, can he seek proper communication with them? Can he direct his total attention to a defensive strategy of self-preservation or should he extend the horizons of his personality in order to achieve a mutuality of interests? His is, indeed, a strange position, full of varying moods and changing trends. In a country whose economy is fighting against very severe odds and which is consciously trying to create a new economic temper, his contribution can certainly be of utmost significance. But, the pity of it is that he does not know the way towards this goal and this leads to a contradictory set of values which emphasizes the persent ambivalence of Indian industrial life.

The Moral Hazard

A good deal of distrust of the Indian business leader may be due to a distorted sense of business ethics which the Indian businessman has practised. The business community, especially the managerial elite in India, has earned rather a dubious reputation for unethical conduct and questionable practices. This callousness of the Indian business behaviour may be attributed to a variety of reasons, such as, foreign economic and

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political aggression, unproductive labour and deep-rooted social proverty. However, this rather ignoble image of Indian trade practices and business conduct has brought discredit both in the domestic as well as in the international managerial scene. Therefore, as it happens even obviously good actions and moral practices on their part tend to be mis-interpreted, mis-constructed and criticized.

There is still another aspect which must be mentioned here. The structure of Indian society is rigidly patterned after the old bureaucratic system of extreme riches and extreme poverty, with hardly any voice for the middle-class. The human relations programme is virtually absent in such a structurized social complex. The task of developing a sound "industrial climate" in such conditions becomes a very complicated process. On the one hand, the rich people are motivated by different economic themes from their under-privileged counterpart; on the other hand, their mutual urge to gain dominance eliminates any possibility of immediate harmony. This eternal class-battle wages on and the managers see their action still more complicated and troublesome.

The Select Few

One of the most dangerous aspects of any under-developed nation is to keep excessive reliance upon a handful of selected people, in whatever field of human activity. It creates power-pockets and political cliques; it accentuates hatred and breeds economic disorder. It also leads in the final analysis to economic centralization of power which perpetuates vast disparity of incomes. In Indian management, to-day, a few of the more wealthy families hold both direct and indirect control over a vast portion of industrial enterprises, in some cases leading up to virtual monopoly and economic dictatorship. It is often mentioned that eight mutually related families own and control over a thousand different industrial companies in India. Further, the modern concept of the divorce between ownership and control is relatively little understood in India. What can all this amount to except final disintegration of the complete indus-trial set-up and also the economic downfall of the major industries?

The Conceptual Difference

This gloomy picture of Indian bu brings us to realize that a different set of bu criterion and economic values should be us analyzing the basic framework of Indian ma ment. Different, that is, from the concepts in analyzing American managerial effective The difference between the conceptual fram of Indian business and that of its Ame counterpart is not just one of economic dev ment and its degrees but also one of cultural background, emotional maturity, enlightenment and governmental attitudes. American business consciousness enjoys a of relative calm and understanding, the business atmosphere suffers from vast fluctu and pressures. One approaches the issue of trial growth and economic development w free mind, and intellect, a broad and sympa outlook and a well-informed and consci public. The other faces the same questio but with an uninformed public; a soci government; an unstable mind and above constant threat from many sources. It wo wrong, therefore, to judge the latter and perspectives by the set of yardsticks dev through an experience with the former.

Unfortunately, for many reasons, the of Indian industrial life is heavily oriented a bureaucratic mode of thinking. The cherish a sense of status and organiz power. They love to develop very rigid of class-conscious informal groups in different industrial sectors. And to accentu difficulties, these industrial groupings are associated with the family, caste, creed, standing and economic power of the members. This leads up to a strange based on a blending of industrial life private life of the individual.

Indian management needs to appro question with an open mind. It cannot succeed either by a utopian attitude or the paternalistic approach. The industrial cracy in India will rule these two approa Since the economic life is severely heter any attitude which is primarily center economic nucleus alone would tend to de

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in the long run. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the Indian management to move the emphasis from the complex character of the economic life to more emphases. This is the new and powerful dimension which the managers need to develop if they desire to achieve a broad base of public acceptance.

Motives of Bigness

We have mentioned before that the concept of divorcing the ownership from management is still unknown in Indian industrial enterprises. The basic characteristic of the *Hindu Joint Family* (a legal as well as a socio-economic system in India which allows the male members of an undivided Hindu family equal rights and privileges in their industrial ventures) does not quite encourage this new concept of management without ownership. Further, this *Hindu* system definitely encourages faulty business succession for it enables the young and inexperienced sons of the wealthy industrialists to achieve positions of high managerial capability and responsibility without any other qualification or effective education. This system also leads to the centralization of economic units in one family or in a group of immediately related families. It promotes an unhealthy type of bigness because it makes the business units grow at a very high social cost. The forces of liberal capitalism cannot break through the maze of traditional *Hindu* ventures as set by this system. Consequently, it poses still another challenge to the concept of social responsibility.

How can this *bigness* be transformed to the economic good of the country without casting a severe blow to the Hindu spirit of the joint family? Some method must be adopted either to encourage higher business education for these wealthy-owners of the industrial units or they should be made conscious of the need of proper managerial methods and controls. Some leading businessmen like G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata and L. B. Sethi, etc., have devoted their attention to this emerging phase of managerial education in their big industrial organizations.

In the final analysis, the concept of bigness can be sustained only through a proper and reasonable concept of profit. In an underdeveloped economy, with a super-abundance of atomistic units and groups, such scattered big units can survive only if the management is wedded to the idea of strong social accountability, public responsibility and profit-reduction. In any other approach, such huge industrial corporations will be met with opposition from many sectors of the public.

Some Recent Trends

Thus far, we have been considering the management of indigenous Indian business enterprise, consisting of private and free operations. But, in the recent years, the pattern of Indian business has been substantially altered by the introduction of two other business "communities" in the nation. These are, the state-controlled business units or the so-called nationalized industries operated by the governmental agencies and, secondly, the new industries set up by various foreign firms, especially American, British and German. These two challenges to the industrial atmosphere of India call for a broader interpretation of economic values in the framework of developing countries.

The concept of social responsibility in the government-controlled business operations is more attuned with a political significance and that of the foreign-owned enterprises is more wedded to the idea of subdued economic temper with no political attachments of any sort.

The future course of action for both these operations shown emphasize a strong dedication to the spirit of business enterprise and Indian development. The government should not try to pose as a central political power which can dictate economic values in the same way as it does with political dictums. In the realm of business operations, the government must try to play a secondary role, otherwise it would only tend to demoralize the very concept of economic growth that calls for a free initiative. In the Indian governmental body equates business leadership with its political power, the long-run effect of such administrative policy would be to disrupt the smooth flow of private capital and perhaps also foreign enterprise. We have already

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referred earlier to the increasing threat of such governmental measures to the vitality of Indian management. If these threats do continue, the very atmosphere of industrial life will be adversely effected.

On the same approach, the foreign-controlled enterprises in India have to adopt social responsibility measures which emphasize their Indian locale rather than their previous national origin and outlook. We have seen that the highly-developed concept of social accountability of the American business management cannot be applied in vastly different Indian economic conditions. Therefore, it would be much more effective if the foreign-controlled enterprises and their managers award outspoken value-judgments on the Indian life but instead take an active participation in the social programmes. In this way, their administrators will benefit by developing a broader awareness of the multifaceted society of India, and also they will be able to impress their Indian associates with their faith and interest in the economic growth of the nation.

Conclusion

All the three sectors of Indian management (Private Business, Governmental Business and Foreign Firms) face great problems and challenges in the area of social responsibility and business welfare. Their difficulties are further accentuated by the various essential features of the under-developed economic life, namely, cultural disharmony, distributional discrepancy, atomistic economic units, financial adversity, social bureaucracy, differential life-patterns and the lack of properly defined managerial norms and values. Hence, this concept of social accountability in India is a new task and a newer work-area. Both managers and management writers should approach this critical situation with a broad perspective, drawing more from experiences of Indian business rather than from foreign techniques and methods. It appears that managerial society in India must try to develop a social framework through which it can perform at the following services: developing social responsibilities in the labour, encouraging the idea of corporate citizenship, driving out the disruptive forces of communistic infiltration from the national economy, restoring the spirit of free enterprise and above all, freeing the image of Indian business from all its notoriety. The challenge is great and the present resources are limited but, nevertheless, the leadership in Indian management can achieve this goal provided it is willing to dedicate itself to this resolute purpose by blending together social understanding, ethical rationale and economic conscience in an integrated approach of business development.

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THE INDIAN MOTHER GODDESS:

By NAREN BHATTACHARYYA

Introduction

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, while referring to the early myths and legends of Armenia observes that the original religion of one section of the Armenians, the pre-Indo-European peoples of the area, would appear to be closely connected with the religion of ancient Babylon which centred round the worship of a great Mother-Goddess. "Everything owed its origin to her, and nothing was more powerful in the universe than this Mother-Goddess. . . . . She was known to the Sumerians, the pre-Semitic founders of the civilization of Mesopotamia, as Inanna, and her male counterpart was known as Dumuzi. The story of her relation with Dumuzi survives in the Greek legend of Aphrodite and Adonis. The great Mother-Goddess loved this young Dumuzi, but he would die every year at the beginning of winter, and the Mother-Goddess, and with her the whole world, would go into mourning over this tragedy. . . . . This nature myth was quite a persistent one, and in later Babylonian religion where this myth lived on, we find that Inanna was simply transformed into the great Goddess Ishtar, and Dumuzi became Tammuz. Tammuz was known by one of his Semitic appellations as Adonai, which meant 'My Lord', and this Semitic epithet is the source of the Greek name Adonis. The name Inanna survived also as Nane." (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, 1959, pp. 203-4).

This incidental observation of Dr. Chatterjee implies a very wide geographical distribution of the cult of Mother-Goddess and indeed, the recent archaeological excavations and linguistic findings seek to suggest the same. A specimen of a polychrome terracotta nude goddess, 10½ inches high belonging to pre-Dynastic Egypt has been preserved in the Brooklyn Museum (U.S.A.) which represents in its significant gesture the prototype of a Mother Goddess. Excavations, carried on at an ancient site called Turang Tepe (12 miles north-east of Asterbad and 42 miles east of the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea), have yielded an interesting series of naked female statuettes made of baked reddish brown clay, all very much alike, standing with the hands holding the breasts, which have been identified with the figuration of Mother Goddess and have been assigned to the Bronze age. One such figurine of this series bearing on the prominent iconological characteristics of the Mother Goddess being very nearly related to a small nude female figure, with the hands double up to touch the breast, said to have come from the Peshwar district, indicates the proximity of the Indian type of Mother Goddess with the Bronze age figurines from Asterabad, as has been suggested by Coomaraswamy. The excavations in Susa and Elam have brought to light four outstanding statuettes bearing on the cult of Mother Goddess, two of which have been assigned to the Early Babylonian epoch and the rest to the Neo-Babylonian period. Analogous nude figurines, in red burnished clay, with hands clasping the breasts, have been dug up at a chalcolithic site at Anatolia, which goes to suggest the wide geographical distribution of the cult of the Mother Goddess. (*See O. C. Gangoly, Indian Terracotta Art*, pp. 4-8).

Symbolic representations bearing on the Cult of Mother Goddess have also a worldwide distribution. As for example we may refer to the Swastika quite often found on the seal amulets from Mohenjodaro (*See Mackay, The Indus Civilization*, 1935, pl. M. fig. 5) which has been indicated by Mackay as a solar sign. The Swastika may have solar affiliations but it is more or less invariably connected with prolificness and hence obviously with the cult of the Mother Goddess. Thomas Wilson states that the appearance of Swastika on the persons of certain goddesses, Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Astarte, and the Chaldean Nana, the leaden goddess from Hissarlik, has caused it to be claimed as a sign

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of fecundity (*The Swastika*, 1898, p. 771). A large number of ring-stones have been found in Harappa and Mohenjodaro which have been interpreted by Marshall as representations of Yoni, symbolising motherhood and fertility. On this point a parallelism can be drawn in view of the Taxila dises discovered by Marshall where "nude figures of goddess of fertility are significantly engraved with consummate skill and care—inside the central hole, thus indicating in a manner that can hardly be mistaken between them and the female principle" (*Marshall, Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol-1, pp. 62-63).

The Babylonian word for "mother" is Ummu or UMMA (=Uma) which recalls Ma, the great Asianic Mother Goddess and is synonymous to the Accadian Ummi, the Phrygian Amma and the Dravidian Umma. Durga corresponds well with Trqqas, a deity mentioned in the Lycian inscriptions of Asia minor (*see S. K. Chatterjee, Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization, The Modern .Review*, December 1924, p. 679). Henceforth it is evident that the cult of the Mother Goddess was an universal practice and even among the native races of America the Earth Mother was one of the greatest personages of mythology. The Peruvians worshipped her as Mama-Ppacha or 'Mother Earth.' Dr. Chatterjee invariably connects the cult of the Mother Goddess with the Dravidians who appeared to have brought it to India from their supposed homeland in the islands of the Aegean and the tracts of mainland along the Aegean sea. But these cult notions are really anthropological and metaphysical and hence there is no need of brooding over the problems relating to the fixation of a particular tract of soil whence the cult of Mother Goddess might have been originated.

Two types of animal representations have been found in the seals from the Indus Valley, the first type being the illustration of composite animals like the strange unicorn, human-faced goat, 'consisting of, acombination of the usual urus-like animal with two other heads, those of an antelope and a shorthorned bull,' etc., which have been interpreted by Mackay as tokens of seeking protection or assistance from more than one deity at a time (*See Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 333). T second type of seals illustrate ordinary ani *e.g.*, the rhinoceros, the bison, the elephant, humped bull, etc. The bull is connected with cult of Mother Goddess in two respects. First all it is invariably connected with Siva, the consort of the Indian Mother Goddess. Second has special affinity with the Aegean Mother G esses like Athene, Artemis and others (*Ency paedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 508 well as with the different goddesses of Semitic world. The later conceptions of G Lakshmi and Ganesa as the offspring of Mother Goddess Durga preserve a long trad of the elephant's association with the cult of Mother Goddess. After all the Mother God has always been conceived as the goddess of animals. Sir James Frazer while describing characteristics of the Mother Goddess Diana, Roman Artemis, points out the association the Mother Goddess with the animals (*See, Golden Bough*, abridged edition, Ch. I), w C. Kunhan Raja states that the pre- Mother Goddess of India as well as Dravidian notions that had made her a object was deeply related with animal w (*See, History .of Philosophy, Eastern Western*, Vol. I, p. 33ff). Even in Chandi gala, a Bengali poetical work of the late me age, Chandi, the Mother Goddess has conceived as the protectress of the an Therefore, the composite animals of the seals should be explained in view of the the Mother Goddess. Reference may be m this connexion to a composite figure bovine, semi-human with elephant's body represents the Mother Goddess along w male consort, the human countenance d therein being due to animistic notions. F faience sealing showing a seated deity w hooded Cobra over the head it appears serpent worship as a form of the cult o Mother Goddess was practised in the Valley. Snakes were associated with the E Mother Goddess Isis and the Earth G (Qeb). On the Mycenean calenders o Cyprus, the Goddess of Paphos is as with a pillar entwined by a serpent. Goddesses like Artemis, Ashtart, Ga others had also snakes as their symbol

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Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, p. 399f). Similarly, the worship of tree, which seems to have been current among the peoples of Indus Valley, has a close bearing on the cult of Mother Goddess as has been suggested by Mackenzie (See, *The Migration of Symbols* P. 157ff).

Some traits of the cult of Mother Goddess, its distribution and its survival in the symbolic representations of the Indus Culture have been briefly dealt with the preceding paragraphs. But it has not been stated before what we really mean by the term Mother Goddess. The scope of this cult is so wide and varied that it is very difficult to suggest an exact definition of the Mother Goddess. However, a suitable definition has been supplied by Gustava Glotz accordingly to which "She is the Great Mother. It is she who makes all nature bring forth. All existing things are emanations from her. She is the madonna carrying the holy child, or watching over him. She is the mother of men and of animals, too. She continually appears with an escort of beasts, for she is the mistress of wild animals, snakes, birds and fishes. She even makes the plants grow by her universal fecundity, perpetuating the vegetative force of which she is the fountain head." (*Aegean Civilization*, p. 245).

The connotations pointed out in the definition mentioned above constitute the basic aspects of the Mother Goddess. It has already been stated that the Mother Goddess has a very wide geographical distribution. Moreover, in a particular pantheon of a particular country we may be confronted with more than one Mother Goddess. Therefore, before going into the greater details regarding the Pre-Vedic Indian Mother Goddess it will be helpful for us to have a bird's-eye view of the popular Mother Goddesses of the Aegean; and the Asia Minor.

Aphrodite is one of the most popular Mother Goddesses of Greece. In the Roman pantheon she is known as Venus. She is the goddess of love, gracefulness, beauty and pleasure, the wife of Vulcan and the mother of Cupid and Aeneas. Aphrodite corresponds to to the Syrian Astarte. Among the Assyrians Aphradite is called Mylitta. In Semetic Mythology Aphrodite is worshipped as the goddess of fecundity. Her counterpart Astarte is a very popular figure in the Semitic world. In the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon she has been called as Ishtar.

Artemis is the Greek name of Diana, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona and the twin sister of Apollo. She is purely a nature goddess as well as the goddess of light. Also she is the patroness of hunting and goddess of fecundity. She has power over "hills and valleys, woods, meadows, rivers and fountains." Her symbol is snake and she is often depicted with horns on her shoulders.

Athene is the Greek goddess corresponding to the Roman Minarva, to goddess of wisdom, of the liberal arts and of spinning and weaving. She is of a sexual origin and is also a goddess of eternal virginity. To her the bull was sacred.

Cybele or Kybele corresponding to Cretan and Roman Rhea is perhaps the most popular Mother Goddess. She is the wife of Saturn and the mother of Jupiter. She is described as the earth goddess as well as the mother of the gods. She is also the mother of Demeter. Among the Greeks she is also a goddess of agricultural prosperity. "Under the name of Agdistis, she was worshipped with great solemnity at Pessinus in Galatia. Under different names we might trace the worship of Rhea as far as the Euphrates, and even Bactriana."

Demeter, indentical with the Roman Ceres, is the goddess of grain, fruits and agriculture. She is the daughter of Rhea-Cybele. Her symbol is wasp. Her husband is Zeus (Jupiter) and her daughter is Proserperpine who is said to have been abducted by Pluto, the god of the lower world.

Damkina, the lady of the Earth, is perhaps the most rudimentary form of the Semetic Mother Goddess. Her consort was Ea. Another important Babylonian Mother Goddess is—probably Nin-Lil who is the consort of the Earth God Enlil. She is the "lady of the lower world and the mistress of heaven and earth," and often identified with Nin-harsag. But the most famous Mother Goddess of the Semetic area is Astarte who is Ashtart in Canaan, Atargatis in Syria, Ishtar in Babylonia, Astar in Abyssina and Astarte in Phoenicia. She has been identi-

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fied with the Greek Aphrodite which has been stated before.

Gaia, the mother of Rhea-Cybele, is perhaps the oldest of the Mother Goddesses of the Greek Pantheon. She is connected with fruitfulness. She has local cults and temples as well as animals and perhaps human victims are offered to her. She is also called the Serpent-mother. Perhaps Uranus is the son as well as the husband of Gaia.

Hera, the Roman Juno, is the sister and wife of Jupiter. She is the queen of heaven, the guardian deity of woman and of marriage. "Hera seems originally to have symbolised the feminine aspects of the natural forces of which Zeus is the masculine representative. Hence she is at once his wife and his sister, shares his power and his honours, and, like him, has the authority over the phenomena of atmosphere."

Isis is the most popular of all the Mother Goddesses of the Egyptian Mythology. She corresponds to the Greco-Roman Iio, the daughter of Inachus and Ismene. She, being a lover of Jupiter, became the victim of Juno's jealousy. So Jupiter turned her into a beautiful heifer. She came to Egypt and was restored to her former shape. Then she married king Osiris, and after her death was worshipped by the Egyptians.

Among other minor Mother Goddesses reference must be made to the Greek Phoebe corresponding to the Roman Luna, the goddess of the moon, often identified with the Thracian Bendis and the Cretan Britomartis. Reference should also be made to Ate, the goddess of fatality, Eos or Aurora, the goddess of dawn, Bellona, the goddess of war, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, the goddesses who preside over human life, Flora, the goddess of flower, Fortuna, the goddess of good luck, Europa, the cretan and phoenician minor Mother Goddess, Euphrosyne, the goddess of grace, Hebe, the goddess of Youth Leto or Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpa, Melpomene, Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Thalia and Urania, the nine goddesses of happiness and sorrow. Pandora, the goddess of curiosity, Psyche, the goddess of passion, Semele, mother of the wine-god Bacchus, Tethys, the mother of sea-nymphs and Vesta, the goddess of hearth.

From the barest description of the M Goddesses mentioned above the reader will that the Greeks and others were influenced by Egypto-Mesopotamian civilisation. Accordi Sir Arther Evans a good deal of the legends of Greece as well as of the legend their gods and goddesses were of pre-He origin. Dr. Chatterjee says that "A similar appears to have taken place in India. Myth legends of gods and heroes current among Austrics and Dravidians, long antedating period of Aryan advent in India (C. 1500 B appear to have survived the Aryan impact to have been rendered into the Aryan lang in late and garbled, or 'improved,' vers accommodating themselves to the Aryan God Hero-worlds, and it is these myths and leg of gods, kings, and sages which we largely in the Puranas." (*The Vedic Age*, p. 165). Th fore, it is not at all improbable that many of Puranic legends were of pre-Vedic origin most probably they centred round the wor of the great Mother Goddess of the Indus Va civilisation.

Unfortunately at our present state of kn ledge it is impossible for us to know the name the Mother Goddess of the Indus culture. we are sure that she must be a rudimen form of that cult object which was later kn as the Sakti worship where the Mother God was designed with so many names like Ad Annada, Aparna, Amrita, Arundhati, B Brahmakala, Bhavani, Bhadrakarnika, B devi, Bhadrasundari, Chandi, Chandrika, C mata, Dhriti, Gomati, Gauri, Gayatri, I Jayanti, Jaya, Jalapriya, Kumud, Kir Kusodoka, Kamakshi, Kamacharini, Ka Kali, Kapila, Kumari, Kalyani, Lalita, L dharini, Lila, Madotkota, Margadayini, Ma Muktesvari, Mahadevi, Mahotpala, Ma Mrigavati, Mahalakshmi, Mahesvari, Na Mahabhaga, Mata, Manmatha, Nanda, Na Nandini, Patala, Pushkaravati, Pingala Pushtimedha, Prabha, Paramesvari, Pra Rambha, Rudrani, Ratipriya, Rukmini, R Sugandha, Sivananda, Svaha, Simhika, Sarasvati, Satyavadini, Sivakarini, Sudi Trisandhya, Tara, Tilottama, Utpalakshi, Visalakshi, Visvakaya, Vilvapatrika, V

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Vipula, Vindhyavasini, Vararoha, Visvamukhi, Yasaskari, etc. But all these names do not and cannot help us to ascertain the original name of the Pre-vedic Mother Goddess. So long as the Indus script is undeciphered all our attempts in this connexion will be futile. At our present state of knowledge it will also be of no avail to speculate on the name of the Pre-vedic Mother Goddess in terms of the Dravidian Mother Goddesses like Ayappan and others since the Dravidian authorship of Mohenjodaro language is far from being proved.

But we must not pine for what we have not got. At present though we are unable to trace her name, yet some of her distinguishing features are not beyond our domain. First of all in the conception of this Mother Goddess there is a cohesion of all the characteristics that befit the definition supplied by Glotz. We have already seen that in the case of the Greek goddesses a second stage of development have taken place. Each of them holds the office of her own, *e.g.*, Aphrodite is the goddess of love, Artemis is the goddess of fecundity, Athene is the goddess of wisdom, Cybele is the goddess of earth, Demeter is the goddess of vegetation and so on. This clearly proves that at the initial stage there was one Mother Goddess consisting of all the attributes mentioned above. Such a deity was the Mother Goddess of the Indus valley. Secondly, this pre-vedic Mother Goddess also delineates the primary stage of that particular system of religious belief which was later designated as the Bhakti cult. Hence ours will be the task to prove the assumptions furnished herewith.

A student of later Indian religious history must agree with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to the point that *Bhagavatism*—which preaches that devotion or *Bhakti* should be the only form of worship—was the rise of a new theistic mission in Western India, (*See, Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 3), and with Dr. Raychoudhuri to the fact that "Vasudevism, like the religions of the Sakya sage and the Jnatrika reformer, originated amongst a free clan outside the Brahmanical pale." (*Early History of the Vaishnava* Sect., pp. 7-8). From a purely philosophical point of view the *Bhagavata* religion reflects dualism which is obviously due to the influence of the later *Upanishads* and what Vasudeva Krishna really did was that he endorsed the pre-vedic non-Aryan tradition of *Bhakti* into the newly yielded philosophical dualism of his time.

"The *Upanishads*," observes Keith, "as in some degree all earlier thought in India, represent the outcome of the reflections of a people whose blood was mixed. We may, if we desire, call the *Upanishads* the product of Aryo-Dravidian thought; but if we do so, we must remember that the effect of the intermixture must be regarded in the light of chemical fusion, in which both elements are transformed." (*Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and the Upanishads*, (Vol. I, p. 497). It is a fact that today we are not in a position to account for the exact amount of the non-Aryan thoughts that have permeated the philosophical speculations of the Aryan settlers. We have no literary record of the pre-Aryan Indus civilisation by which we shall be able to reconstruct the philosophical contributions of her people. All that we can do is to depend on the archaeological specimens bearing on the cult of the Mother Goddess, discovered so far. However, along with other materials available to us we shall have to seek in them, the germs of the *Bhakti* cult in the light of at least a rudimentary form of philosophical dualism.

The figures bearing the iconographic representations of the Mother Goddess of the Indus valley are "nude save for a very abbroviated skirt secured by a girdle round the loins. These figures wear much jewellery and a curious fan-shaped head-dress with two cuplike objects, one on either side, although in some specimens the last feature is much more pronounced than in others. Several of these cups have smoke-stains inside, which suggests that oil or little pellets of incense were burned in them, in order that the Goddess might hearken to the petitions of the worshipper." (Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 66). On a clay-amulet a kneeling man is seen making an offering to what appears to be a neem tree. It is evident that the man makes a devotional offering to the tree-goddess, for, the reverse of the same amulet shows that two men are holding a tree and between them there is a tree-deity which though animistic in representation, serves the purpose of seeking from it a

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rudimentary form of Bhakti-cult. Thirdly specimens of the representation of the Mother Goddess standing under a bifurcated branch of a Pipal tree have been found in the Indus sites; another horned deity is represented as kneeling before her. Behind the worshipper a composite figure of a goat with a human face can be seen. A number of people, or spirits or deities occupies the whole of the lower register of the seal-amulet. This representation leads us to seek the germs of Sakti worship in which the sacrifice of animals is the most characteristic feature. We are to mark that the figure of the goat has a human head. In all probability it is a symbolical representation of sacrifice in a metaphysical sense. It reminds us of what Ghora Angirasa taught Krishna Devakiputra in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* (III, 17). Summing up the teachings of Ghora Angirasa, the worshipper of the sun (See, Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 466), Dr. Roychoudhuri concludes that "Krishna is associated with a school of thought that rejected the ritualistic interpretation of sacrifice (Vidhi Yajna) and gave a new meaning to human life and activities. Man's life is as sacred as a sacrifice and death is merely the final sacrificial [illegible] provided he pays Dakshina to his fellow be[illegible] in the shape of charity, non-violence, truth[illegible]ness and other virtues." (*Early History of [illegible] Vaishnava Sect*, p. 80).

Like the Mother Goddess of the Asia Mi[illegible] and the Mediterranean the Indian Mother G[illegible]dess had also a male consort. We have alre[illegible] seen that Inanna, the Sumerian Mother God[illegible] was associated with Dumuzi, Ishtar with T[illegible]muz, Aphrodite with Adonis, Cybele with A[illegible] Isis with Hathor and so on. At the present s[illegible] of our knowledge it is impossible for us to k[illegible] the name of the Father God of the Indus V[illegible] civilization but he must be the three-faced d[illegible] wearing a horned head-dress, seated cross-le[illegible] on a stool, and surrounded by a number of a[illegible]mals—two deer, a rhinoceros, an elephant, tiger and a buffalo, which has been found in seal-amulet and identified by Marshall as [illegible] prototype of Siva-Pasupati of subsequent d[illegible] Mackay thinks that the Mother Goddess of [illegible] Indus Valley was a virgin. It is due to the s[illegible] size of her breast. (*Op. Cit.*, pp. 72-73). But [illegible] view lacks plausibility.

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PLANNING FROM BELOW

The Panacea for Economic and Social Ills

By Dr. K. M. RASTOGI, M.A., B.COM., L.S.G.D., Ph.D.

The 15th August, 1947, was a red-letter day not only in our political but also in our economic and social history. We attained political freedom and celebrated it with spontaneous enthusiasm. We pledged to establish a Welfare State in India and have chosen economic planning as a means of achieving it. We have witnessed a decade of planned economic development but our political, social, and economic conditions have worsened. Widespread frustrations among the masses, political disorder, social disharmony, acute economic problems and wastages, all these have shaken our faith in existing democracy. Many villagers are not happy with what has happened. The economic hardship caused by the rising prices has made it difficult for a middle-class or a low-class family even to keep its members alive. It seems that a tiny minority has run away with the cake of ten years planned development. The stand[illegible] of living of the vast majority has, therefore, [illegible]avoidably gone down. A hue and cry was r[illegible] in the Parliament last year to probe into the [illegible]gations made against the much publicised [illegible] year's planned developments. The Planning C[illegible] mission appointed a Committee consisting of [illegible] top-most Economists of the country, to locate [illegible] skeletons in the cupboard of our planned [illegible]nomy. The findings of the Committee [illegible] anxiously awaited.

Planning from Below

India rightly adopted economic planning [illegible] bring about economic progress and prosperity [illegible] the people. We have executed two Five-[illegible] Plans and have embarked upon the Third one [illegible] a gigantic outlay and with a promise to reach [illegible]

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peak of prosperity and progress. It is an undeniable fact that during these two plans there has been a remarkable progress, but it is only at the top, not at the bottom. At the same time there has been a lot of suffering among the masses, public opinion has been seriously critical, and there has been political, social, and economic disorder. The validity of economic planning as an instrument for economic progress cannot be questioned, but the methods adopted deserve a close scrutiny. For several centuries, India had been in the grip of poverty and illiteracy. People expect the solution of their immediate problems, but the planning at the top or centralised planning has failed to fulfil the expectations. National Planning and Local Planning are necessary and have their own place, but the question is which one can solve our immediate economic and social ills. Is it National planning or Local planning? Do we need a plan for future or a plan for the present? Is it possible to attend to the problems of sanitation, roads, education, supply of pure drinking water, provision and promotion of other civic amenities of a particular locality through national planning? These are the questions which the planners alone can answer.

National Planning Vs. Local Planning

It is my opinion that India is in need of local planning to solve its immediate economic and social problems. A vast country like India, having a population of over 43 crores cannot make provision for every town and for every man through centralised planning. Only local planning can make, provide, promote, and maintain civic amenities for the masses. If this is done it will be a significant step towards the setting up of a Welfare State.

The mighty adventure of socio-economic reconstruction in India has indicated that if social reforms and economic progress are to be promoted through the methods of economic planning, public co-operation and active participation of every Indian will have to be sought. The institutional pattern of democratic life will have to be moulded from the below. The edifice of a Welfare State will have to be built-up brick by brick. Local self-government which is the nursery of democracy has been universally acclaimed as a school for good citizenship. Local planning is an essential part of national planning and a great emphasis should be laid on it. Our beloved Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing the Conference of Local self-government Ministers in New Delhi, thirteen years ago rightly said,

> "Local self-government is, and must be, the basis of any true system of democracy. We have got, rather, into the habit of thinking of democracy at the top, and not so much below. Democracy at the top will not be successful unless it is built on this foundation from below."

Local self-government should be regarded, as a means to not only political, but also a economic development. A socialistic pattern of society is not a mere political experiment for its establishment, economic planning should become a reality. The two top-most Economists of the world, one from the U.S.A., Professor Galbraith, and other from England, Professor Colin Clark, have severely criticised the methods of planning adopted in under-developed countries. The cause for slow growth during these plans is their wrong approach to planning. The success of planning, in a country like India, cannot be achieved through centralised planning or planning from the top, (excessive emphasis on capital investment), but through local planning, *i.e.*, investment in human welfare and the building up a favourable social climate. Permanent prosperity alone is a solution of our economic and social ills. For this purpose, the investment in human welfare like the construction of all weather roads, better health facilities, supply of clean drinking water, elementary improvement in sanitation and drainage, provision of free and compulsory education the clearance of slums and the like, should be encouraged. Slums are the breeding grounds for many diseases and social vices. The high-rate of incidence, (T.B. and Influenza) is widely prevalent among the slums dwellers. The bustees of Calcutta and Chawls of Bombay are pimples on the face of these two great industrial towns of India. It is, therefore, clear that unless the people are assured of better living conditions, all talk of

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a Socialistic Pattern of Society and a Welfare State will be meaningless. It is not true that the Government is not aware of the problem, but it is true that widespread efforts are being made with little success. Every year the problems are discussed at the meetings of the Central Council of Local self-government which are attended by the Ministers for the Local Development of India, and Local self-government experts, and Housing Ministers. The problems are discussed seriously and various proposals are made and resolutions passed to do away with these evils, but they are put into the waste-paper basket. Various Committees and Commissions have been appointed by the States and Central Government since Independence to enquire into and suggest the means of improving the working of Local self-government in India to make it a reality rather than a mere political experiment. But the recommendations of these bodies are not implemented. The suggestions of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee, (1948) and the Taxation Enquiry Commission, (1953) have borne no fruits and no concrete steps have been taken to implement the recommendations either by the States or by the Central Government.

Local people (through local planning formulated and implemented by the local bodies) should be called upon to participate in all efforts, physcially, mentally and financially to bring an end to our social and economic ills. The key to progress lies in the successfully implementation of democratic, efficient, local planning. I wish to underline the words, democratic, efficient and local in the planning from the below because they contain the kernel of the whole matter. Local planning must be democratic because all uplift should include, not only the privileged class, but also the masses. It must be efficient because it should be capable of managing the local services in a way which will help in raising the standard of living. It must be local because planning should be for the local people and their problems.

The economic planning in our country might be classified under two heads, (1) National planning (including State planning), consisting of larger items and involving the entire nation or region, such as major power-projects, irrigation schemes, higher education, curative aspects of public health, national highways, ports, big industrial units, and (2) Local planning in respect of education and public health. Besides, creating local initiative, it will teach the financial responsibility to the people. The connexion between the payment of local taxes and the enjoyment of local services is direct and obvious—so much more convincing to the tax-payer and so much more stimulating to their interest, then the promoter connexion, which is impossible to through central planning. The public which will become too much right-conscious will compel local authorities to exercise meticulous care in spending every single Naya Paisa, thereby promoting economy, avoiding wastages and improving administration. It is, of course, impossible to redistribute the wealth of the people in accordance with the tenents of the maximum social advantage doctrine, but if revenue is raised by taxing, the well-to-do class according to their taxing capacity and spend it on the services beneficial to the community at large, the real income of the less well-to-do class is increased and economic gap between them is minimised. If we tax articles considered harmful for public health and morals we decrease their consumption and clear the way for social reform. All this is likely to bring us nearer to a true welfare state and a true socialistic pattern of society.

We may, therefore, conclude that the system of decentralised planning be adopted in our country. Municipalities and Gram Panchayats and other local administrative units might be asked to formulate their Five-Year Plans. The items of 'social overheads' like public health and sanitation should be left to them. Town planning should be encouraged for the physical growth of towns. Adequate finance from the local as well as central resources should be made available. This is aimed at improving the living conditions and social conditions in a dynamic manner in towns and villages. Local planning will benefit the weaker sections of our society, who are denied even the minimum means of human existence. It will also supply them minimum civic amenities. The fact is that local planning has an important bearing on, not only the political development of the community but also the social economic growth of the public.

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SOME ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALISATION*

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Industrialisation in many countries was marked by the development of gigantic corporations, leading to conditions of monopoly and quasi-monopoly through the destruction of small-scale production, which created grave economic, social and political problems for the Governments of those countries. Many governments were compelled, under the force of development, to devise special legislation to give protection to the dying small-scale industries, since they found that without a degree of diffusion of ownership and location of industries, the national economy showed symptoms of unbearable strain.

Governmental action in supporting the continued growth of small-scale industries took different forms in different countries. In some a general statute was enacted providing for comprehensive assistance to the small industries, while in others government would define its policy with reference to specific aspects of individual industries. The Governments of the United States of America and Japan, for example, have statutory enactments designed to facilitate the growth of small-scale industries whereas in Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany, where the small industrial units play a distinctive role in economic development, assistance is offered through specific decisions with reference to particular branches of industry. Last year the Italian Parliament also passed a Bill recognising the legal status of small-scale industries.

In this country, there are tremendous possibilities for the growth of small-scale industries. A study of 99 Community Development Blocks in 1960 disclosed that in a majority of those Block Headquarters there were possibilities for promotion of industries based on agricultural produce and for other village and cottage industries. Half the Block Headquarters revealed possibilities for promotion of industries based on forest produce, hides and skins and other miscellaneous manufacturing or processing industries. The Study Team pointed out that there was considerable scope for the establishment of small and industrial units as ancillaries in Block Headquarters within the orbit of influence of big industrial centres and metropolises. The need for special governmental measure both for the protection to, and for the continued development of small industrial units becomes obvious—from the historical development in other countries which preceded in the path towards industrialisation as well as from the exigencies of the national economy at its present juncture. The Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks, to whose report a reference has been made above, has made a very significant observation: "Availability of governmental assistance has an important role to play in the growth of industries and consequently in the rapid growth of the Block Headquarters. Where the Government has taken initiative in granting loans and has also provided facilities for the establishment of industries, by marking out plots and providing power and water, etc., the response has been really encouraging and **the rate of industrial expansion and population growth has been very rapid in contrast to other areas with similar advantages, but where governmental assistance was not provided." (Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks,** Ministry of Community Development and Corporation, New Delhi, 1960,—para 10.1. Bolds added). Citing a specific example, the Team says: "At Sonepat, due to its favourable location in relation to Delhi and the assistance provided by the

*Based on a lecture delivered to the Students of Rural Sociology in the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay in February, 1962.

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Government of Punjab, several flourishing industrial units have been established. **There would be several Block Headquarters even around Delhi and in other parts in the country which have similar advantanges of location; but in these primarily due to the absence of definite governmental assistance—which in a backward economy is a major incentive—no appreciable development of industries has yet taken place." (Ibid.—** Bolds added).

Government's awareness of its responsibilities has found recognition in various decisions of the Government in this country—particularly in setting up the Small-scale Industries Board and the National Small Industries Corporation. These measures have contributed to results. "The growth of small-scale industries constitutes one of the most significant features of development during the Second Plan". observes the Planning Commission in the Third Five-Year Plan. Between 1956-60, the number of small-scale units producing bicycles rose from 44 to 150, those producing sewing machines from 35 to 75, machine tools from 344 to well over 500, electric motors from 6 to 74 and electric fans from 22 to 47. Welcome as they are, the measures that have been adopted so far can by no means be considered adequate, or as obviating the need for taking further legislative measures. The Productivity Study Team on Small-scale Industries sponsored by the Indian Productivity Council to study small-scale industries in U.S.A., West Germany, Sweden and Japan in 1960, observed that "the time has now come to consider the introduction of suitable legislative measures" to maintain the progress already achieved and further to accelerate the tempo. In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to discuss the important role the Government has already begun to play vis-a-vis the small-scale industries.

Power Supply

Availability of cheap power has a determining effect on the dispersal of industries. One of the reasons that have retarded the steps for shifting the industries away from metropolitan areas, as, Calcutta and Bombay is the availability of power in other areas with the States of Maharashtra and West Bengal. In the matter of rural electrification, the two States were lagging far behind the other States. The percentage of villages electrified by March, 1961, was 1.9 in Maharashtra and only 1.2 in West Bengal, compared with 35.5 in Madras, 32.3 in Kerala, 9.6 in Punjab, 7.9 in Andhra, 6.3 in Mysore, 4 in Uttar Pradesh, 3.9 in Gujarat and 1 in Bihar. As has been observed by the Village and Small-scale Industries (Second Five-Year Plan) Committee, "electricity tariffs are such as favour the large consumer in preference to small consumers and the urban consumer in comparison with the rural one." **(Report of the Village and Small-scale Industries —Second Five-Year Plan—Committee,** Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1955, para 46).

In Sweden, the Government has sought to promote the growth of small industries through favourable treatment in regard to cost of electric power and through differential transportation charges over the railways so that rates are equalised among different industries situated in different parts of the country. In this country, due principally to the acute shortage of coal and electricity even for maintaining the essential industries, efforts for augmenting supplies of fuel and power for the small-scale industrial units have not borne much result. By 1966, all the towns with a population of 6,000 and above are expected to be electrified, but it is problematical if thereby small-scale industries would be assured of a steady supply of power. "While, therefore, it can be assumed that by the end of the Third Plan, all the Block Headquarters would have electric connections," says an official report, "it is not certain that the quantity of power which would be available would be sufficient to meet the needs of the small-scale industries and the townships." **(Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks,** Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, New Delhi, December, 1960, paras 5-7). In the scale of priorities for the allocation of power also

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small-scale units come much below. Observing that the overall shortage in power-supply and competing demands from urban areas and industrialized areas would leave hardly any scope for power being available for small industries on any adequate scale during the next few years, the **Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Township** pointed out that "a definite policy regarding the extension of electrification to the Block Headquarters and rural areas and the giving of connections to small-scale industries in rural areas on a priority basis, would have to be adopted." (**Ibid**, p. 6).

Finance and Credit

The technical meeting on Small-scale and Handicrafts Industries which was organized by the International Labour Organization in New Delhi in October last year named ten areas in which services for these industries have to be provided to ensure their development, viz., (i) finance; (ii) raw materials; (iii) marketing; (iv) production; (v) labour; (vi) management; (vii) organisation; (viii) economic and social research; (ix) information services; and (x) provision of design and teaching of packaging techniques.

Easily, finance received precedence over others. In the field of finance, Government's policy is bound to play even a far more decisive role than in other fields. The small-scale industries can get credit from the State Financial Corporations as well as under the State Aid to Industries Act. The small-scale industries in the country have been enjoying the benefit first, of the scheme of the State Bank of India for provision of finance to small-scale industries, which made a small beginning in 1956, and later on of the credit guarantee scheme of the Reserve Bank of India, whereby banks can offer institutional credit to small industrial units, on the guarantee of the Reserve Bank. By November 30, 1960, loans to the extent of Rs. 6,86,43,000 had been sanctioned to 2230 small industrial units by the State Bank of India. Even then they have been receiving less than ten per cent of the total advances made by the State Bank of India.

Under the Credit Guarantee Scheme, which has been in operation since July, 1960, eighteen credit institutions, including the State Bank and five State Finance Corporations were processing credit to small-scale industries in September, 1961. Till the beginning of November, 1961, a sum of Rs. 5 crores had been sanctioned as loans to 1,550 applicants under that scheme. Reviewing the working of the scheme, a Study Group of the Reserve Bank has observed: "No doubt, the State Bank's pilot scheme aims at co-ordinating the provision of credit to small-scale industries, but this could be further expanded to cover all agents providing credit to the small industries and the field of operation can be expanded." Calling upon all concerned to come forward in a concerted manner, the Study Group has suggested liberalisation of procedure for lending and relaxation in respect of security requirements and insistence on margins. The character and technical ability of the borrower need to be taken into consideration and there should be, as far as possible less insistence on preference for selected commodities or guarantee. Banks could take advantage of the credit guarantee scheme of the Government of India as well as of the facilities offered by the Refinance Corporation for Industry Ltd., in respect of loans to small-scale industries.

In the financing of small-scale industries foreign exchange allocation also has a decisive influence. Foreign exchange is vital for the import of essential equipments and raw materials.

Stores Purchase Policy

Marketing is the perennial problem of smaller industrial units which find it extremely difficult to compete with the large-scale units. Some degree of protection has necessarily to be extended to smaller units. It is the declared policy of the state in the United States of America that the Government should "counsel, assist and protect" the interests of the small business concerns and "insure that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for property and services for the Government

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(including but not limited to contracts for maintenance, repair and construction) be placed with small business enterprises (and) to ensure that a fair proportion of the total sales of Government property be made to such enterprises . . . ." (Sec. 2(a) of the Small Business Act of 1958—Public Law, 163, 83rd Congress). This provision is a clear recognition of the importance of the Government's stores purchase policy in influencing the growth of small-scale industries. The Government of India's Stores Purchase Policy has been based considerably on the procedure followed by the United States Government. As a matter of fact, the policy owes its origin to the recommendation of Mr. Kennard Weddell, Chief of Small Business in the Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force. The scope of purchases in this country is, however, restricted to purchase made by the Director-General of Supplies and Disposals and does not cover Defence or Railway Purchases. The purchases made by the Director-General fall in four broad categories. Articles in the first category are the products of large-scale sector; those in the second category are purchased only from large units, although the large units can subcontract parts and components to small-scale units; in the third category goods are purchased from both the large-scale and the small-scale sectors, but a price preference of 15% is available for the products of the small-scale sector; and in the forth category are purchases of selected items made exclusively from the small-scale sector.

Over the years there has been a steady rise in the percentage of purchases made from the small-scale sector by the Director-General of supplies and Disposals (DGS & D). Shri N. E. S. Raghavachari, Director-General Supplies and Disposals, Government of India, disclosed on January 15 this year that purchases made by the Govt. of India from small-scale industries had reached the mark Rs. 8 crores in the year 1961-62 compared with Rs. 6.46 crores in 1960-61, Rs. 4.29 crores in 1959-60 and Rs. 2.63 crores in 1957-58. Earlier it had been reported on December 4, 1961, that the Government of India had decided to enlarge the list of products to be exclusively purchased fr small-scale units for departmental req ments by adding nineteen new items to existing list of 27 items. The new addit to the list included cotton and woollen go leather products, iron and steel prod such as, blacksmith's hearths and s trunks, tarpaulins, and brushes. The vised list contains the following 46 ite Brass padlocks; galvanised iron padlo brass dampers; boxes made of metal cluding those for army requireme painted signboards; metal bottons; po weighing scales; badges made of cloth metal (for civil requirements); lea belt; cash bags; dust shield leather; ch pals and sandals; leather boxes (o than army type); leather laces; boots shoes of types required by civil indent glass ampules; handles made of wood bamboo; washing and laundry shop civil requirements; metal polish. Ordin cutting scissors, coir fibre and coir ya postal lead seals; cotton and woo hosiery for civil requirements; wood kegs; stone curry and stone curry roll kodali; cane basket; lathies; woollen c belts leather and strips; wheel barro brushes and brooms.

The following items for civil req ments will also be purchased exclus from the small-scale units: cotton c mosquito curtain; cotton tape; ban cloth; garments; cotton wicks; stocking steel trunks and tarpaulins.

Nevertheless it is to be noted that better integration of the small-scale in tries with large-scale ones, the re might be still more encouraging. The In Productivity Team which made a repo Small-scale Industries in U.S.A., Germany, Sweden and Japan also that "The National Small Industries poration Scheme, however, lags behin American system in one major respec that the sub-contracting possibilities in contracts awarded to large contractors not seem to have been exploited. It is that the supply of stores to Govern from small units could be incre considerably if the contractors for Gr item are persuaded to sub-contract as

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items as possible to small units, consistent, of course, with their contractual obligations for delivery of stores to D.G. S. & D." (**Report of India Productivity Team : Small-scale Industries in U.S.A., West Germany, Sweden and Japan,** National Productivity Council, New Delhi, 1960, p. 40).

Common Service Facilities

Common Service facilities have played a significant role in promoting the growth of small-scale industries in many other countries. These facilities consist in setting up establishments and workshops to provide to a group of similar or allied industries processing facilities like electroplating, heat treatment, etc., and use of special purpose machines at a reasonable cost, so that each of the industrial units in the small-scale sector need not have to make separate investment on the machinery and equipment required for these purposes. In the Soviet Union this principle was extended to the field of agricultural development as well whereby the State set up Machine Tractor Stations (MTS) at central points to serve several collective farms in the USSR. After the initial period of growth the small units may become viable enough to have their own separate arrangements. Recently the MTS were handed over to the collective farms in the USSR. In this country only the Government can provide these facilities. By October, 1960, thirty-seven extension centres were functioning with workshops and thirteen with offices only. During 1960-61, 2,51,050 parties received technical advice and 18,924 parties were given information to start new industries, 25,610 parties were given advice on other matters. Two thousand two hundred and forty-two designs, sketches and drawings of various types were prepared in 1960-61 for the benefit of small industries. The Indian Productivity Team on small-scale industries has observed : "A beginning has already been made in the direction of providing Common Service facilities for a number of industries in India by the various State Governments and by the Central Government through their Extension Centres in some places. It is understood that ultimately it is the intention of the Government to hand over these Common Service facilities to Co-operative of Industrial Units. This appears to be the best way of tackling the problem under Indian conditions.

"There is considerable scope for expansion of these facilities, and we suggest that special incentives may be given to any entrepreneur, association or co-operative interested in setting up such Centres." (**Report**....para 16.2).

Licensing Policy

The licensing policy of the Government of India owes its origin to the desire for guided development of industries. In a developing economy it is obviously not possible to have any rigid licensing policy. On the other hand, there may conceivably be a time-lag before a felt need for change in a policy is actually translated into practice. If the licensing policy were to be implemented effectively, a definition of small-scale industries was immediately called for. In 1959-60, the Government of India defined the small-scale industries so as to include all industrial units with a capital of not more than Rs. 5 lakhs irrespective of the number of persons employed. These industries would not be required to obtain a licence under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951. During the following year (1960-61), there was further liberalization in this regard ; by a notification, the Government of India exempted from the licensing provisions of the Act, all the industrial undertakings which employed less than 100 workers and which had fixed assets not exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs. This year (1962) by another notification, the Government of India has exempted all industrial undertakings having fixed assets not exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs from the obligation to obtain a licence, irrespective of the number of persons employed by such undertakings. This would certainly facilitate the development of certain industries ; but it is obviously a moot point whether an undertaking employing more than 100 per-

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sons and having fixed assets worth Rs. 10 lakhs can be truly considered to be representative of small-scale industries in India. It is again an open question whether the same ceiling of capital and labour should be applied to all the industries without making any differentiation. The Japanese and United States examples, which variously define the term "small-scale unit" for different industries are worth studying from this point of view. In the U.S.A., different standards are observed for purposes of Government procurement, for sale of Government property, for Small Business, Administration, Business Loans, etc.

In the import policy also, provision has been made for helping the small units. Small industries need submit only one consolidated application for all their requirements of raw material and components. On the basis of such an application, separate licences are granted for the import of different items. With a view to minimizing hardship caused by any possible delay, small-scale industries including those located in the Industrial Estates are granted repeat licences on the basis of 75 per cent of the face-value of the licences issued to them during the previous licensing period, even if the application is not accompanied by an essentiality certificate from the Director of Industries of the State Government concerned. There are, however, frequent complaints of delay in disposal of cases by the licensing authorities.

Tariff Policy

Tariff policy followed by the Government of a country plays a crucial role in the economic development of the country. The retarded growth of industries during the British period was in no small measure due to the Tariff policy of unrestricted import of consumer goods followed by the then Government of India. Even such big, organized units as the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the organized sector of the textile industry had found it exceedingly difficult to stand on their own in face of foreign competition and had to seek Government support. In many other equally deserving cases, however, such protec was not forthcoming. Small-scale indus cannot grow unless they are assured freedom from competition from fo markets. During the past decade of p ning, the Government's policies have m or less sought to uphold the interests small producers. As was demonstr during the Indian Industries Fair w concluded earlier this year, small units also build heavy machinery. Ninety per of the 10,000 square feet of the pavilio the National Small Industries Corpora in the fair was devoted to a display machine tools which brought home realization that small industrial u could produce not only consumer g but heavy machinery as well.

Side by side with planning imp thoughts have necessarily to be given to export of the products of the small u The annual conference of the Federa of Associations of Small Industries India held in New Delhi in the middle December passed a resolution urging Government of India to set up an ex promotion organisation for small indus (H. T. 16. 12. 61). During 1960-61, a d export promotion councils were functio in the country for cotton textiles, silk, p tics, casbow, tobacco, sports goods, chem shellac, leather, engineering, mica spices. The suggestion for the creatio a separate export promotion council assisting in the export of the product the small-scale units deserves close s and examination.

Location and Size of Industries

The problem of location of indust particularly small-scale industries— complex one. The promotion of industries has to be considered from se points of view, viz., diffusion of owne dispersal of industries, diversificatio the rural economy and creation of ave for addition employment. There is sti much of concentration of economic p in few hands. A concerted developme small-scale industries is essential to se a corrective to this phenomenon. Th again very little dispersal of indu

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away from the established centres of growth. Out of a total number of 1,639 new companies registered throughout India during the calendar year 1961, no fewer than 1,256 new companies were accounted for by only four States which are already established centres of industries. Within these particular areas again industrial units are not evenly distributed throughout their territory; the units are more or less clustered around the cities of Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Calcutta. With a view to achieving a more balanced economy it would be necessary not merely to persuade industrialists to migrate to other States—a task which may not be very difficult in practice—but more importantly to achieve decentralization of industrial organization within the territory of the State concerned as well.

The other two points: diversification of the rural economy and provision of employment to the unemployed, are closely related to this question of decentralization. It is only through dispersal of ownership and decentralization of industrial development that one could hope for achieving the diversification of the rural economy and provide source of employment to the millions of the unemployed. What should be the area to be served by a particular industrial unit? And what should be the character of production? If the industry covers only a small area, it may not prove itself viable; so that the optimum size for the decentralized location of units will have to be found out. The optimum size would again vary from industry to industry and even for the same industry from region to region. But a broad measure has to be found out for settling policy in this regard. Otherwise things are likely to drift. Again if the industrial unit is located far away from the villages, villagers may, in fact, be unable to take advantage of the new units, which may have to function with the assistance of immigrant labour. That would not be desirable. But a viable unit of industry may not be possible to be set up always on the basis of making a village, the unit. In that case a redrawing of the villages may become imperative. The aspect of the viability of industries needs to be particularly emphasised. It is pertinent to recall the observations of the Report of the **Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community** on this point. The Study Group says: ". . . . . rural industries must be small in scale and widely spread over. They must also aim at maintaining a balance between employment and productivity; that is to say, aim at providing employment to the largest number of people and at the **same time be productive enough to maintain the persons employed at rising standards of living.** An industry that does not yield for the worker—hired or self-employed—at least a minimum living income is not an industry proper; it is merely a relief operation." (**Report**, Volume I, para 3.40. Bolds added). In other words, the scale of production is of crucial significance.

Technology

There is a close correlation between productivity, higher incomes and superior technology. One comes across a great confusion, in that many oppose higher technology in the erroneous belief that higher technology would inevitably lead to centralized production. This need not necessarily be so. Scientific and technological developments have made it possible to adopt better techniques even retaining the decentralized character of production. In point of fact, small-scale industries in the U.S.A. and Japan could survive only through their ability to assimilate the best results of modern technological growth for the purpose of enhancing the economic strength of the small-scale industries. It is of the highest importance that adequate consideration is given to this technological aspect. **The Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community** has accordingly stressed this point saying, that "A serious programme of rural industrialization should give the highest priority to research in small-machine technology, with a view both to improve the traditional tools and techniques and leads to inventions and innovations." (**Report**, Volume I, para 3.43). It may be,

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however, that the adoption of better techniques may require a redefinition of small-scale industries.

Small Industries and Urbanization

Industrialization inevitably leads to urbanization. But development of small-scale industries may help in overcoming certain undesirable aspects of urbanization, such as, bustees and overcrowding. Analyzing the data supplied from 99 Community Development Blocks after ten years of development efforts, a Study Team appointed by the Government of India observed as follows: "A combination of factors like availability of water and power, educational and medical facilities, proximity to urban and industrial centres, facilities for trade and opportunities for the establishment of industries, availability of entrepreneurs and skilled craftsmen, and assistance from Government seems to decide whether a particular Block Headquarter becomes a natural focus of development." **(Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks,** Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, New Delhi, 1960, p. 16). Population tends to grow faster in those Block Headquarters where some industries—either large, medium or small have been established and where employment opportunities had been created. (**Ibid**, p. 10). The degree of urbanization of a Block Headquarters is, however, influenced by its location in relation to a metropolis or a big industrial centre or a district town. According to the findings of the **Study Team**, "Block Headquarters located within the orbit of influence of a metropolis on a big industrial centre are likely to register a rapid increase in population due to industrial development. On the other hand, the Block Headquarters which are located within the orbit of influence of smaller urban areas, like the district towns, are not likely to grow fast, at least in the initial stages, as the tendency for the rural population is to move to the district town which first attracts the industrial units." (**Ibid**, p. 16).

Unquestionably this trend can be considerably modified by deliberate st towards rural industrialization wh should be defined in broader terms th connoting merely processing industr Through a judicious policy of fostering growth of suitable industries in selec centres, the purely rural communities be transformed into properly balan agro-industrial and urbo-rural communi The exact types of industries that should established in particular areas and formulation of a comprehensive for development would require a careful st of conditions prevailing locally. Governm can play a vital role "in directing physical growth of the township, assis the process of industrialization and pro ing essential amenities." **(Report of t Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Tow ships at the Block Headquarters of C Blocks, para 16.8).**

This very brief and selection revi highlights the vital role played by t Government in the development of sma scale industries, which is so needed not o from economic points of view—very imp tant as they themselves are—but also fr broader social and political points of vi The geographical dispersal and functio decentralization of industries can bri about qualitative changes in our vill environment, since industries are among most potent social catalysts. Moreover, i planned economy where development deliberately fostered or impeded much bound to depend on the policies of government. In point of fact, in India, only the availability of finance and ma protection is dependent on the poli adopted by the government, even the a ability of such an essential raw materi steel and coal and raliway transpor strictly determined by the priority down by the government. As has alre been noted the government has adopte large number of positive measures desi to help the small-scale sector thr favourable treatment in the matter of lic ing, common service facilities, provision finance and government purchases; cle the possibilities for taking further meas in this direction have by no means exhausted.

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STATEMENT BY G. A. ZHUKOV, AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN CALCUTTA

TODAY by signing of the exchange letters we have completed negotiations which took place during the last ten days in Delhi and Calcutta, on the programme of cultural and scientific co-operation between the Soviet Union and India for 1962-1963. I want to say with satisfaction that these negotiations were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

During the discussions, both parties came to the conclusion that the agreement of cultural and scientific co-operation between our countries signed on February 12, 1960 is being implemented successfully. During 1960 only, about 20 delegations from India visited the Soviet Union and the same number of Soviet delegations came to India. Among those delegations were famous Soviet and Indian scientists, professors, writers, artists, stage troupes, dancers and musicians.

During the course of implementation of the Cultural Agreement, special attention was paid to the exchange of experience between scientists of both countries, as well as to the training of Indian specialists in the universities and scientific institutions of the Soviet Union. At the same time a large number of young Soviet scientists and students came to India to study Indian history, literature and other aspects of Indian life.

The Soviet Government have provided 50 scholarships for Indian students and post-graduates to conduct their study and scientific researches in the Soviet Union. The Government of India also have provided scholarships for Soviet students and post-graduates to study in India.

During the last year a large number of Soviet and Indian scholars and scientists visited the respective countries, among whom special mention may be made of Prof. Thacker, Secretary to the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs of the Government of India, Profesors Mahalanobis, Mukherjee, Jilla, Bhagwantama, Dr. Ashrof, Raja Roy Singh and Prof. Naidu of Madras University. Eight Soviet profesors are now lecturing in different Indian universities. The Soviet Prof. Popov with two other economists came to India and exchanged their experience with Indian colleagues about prospecting and utilising the natural resources of the country. Five Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities visited the Soviet Union and had acquaintences with methods of higher education practised in the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet people celebrated very widely the birth centenary of Rabindranath Tagore, the great son of the Indian people. Hundreds of meetings, lectures, seminars and other functions on Tagore were organised throughout the Soviet country. The Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. together with the Union of Soviet writers held special sessions to mark the birth centenary of the great poet. Many Soviet theatres staged dramas by Tagore, such as "Daughter of the Ganges," "Sacrifice" and "Chitra." Two special films on the life of Tagore were produced in the Soviet Union. The first volume of Tagore's works in eight volumes was published to mark the great occasion.

The new Programme of cultural and scientific exchanges for 1962-1963 which was signed today envisages further development and extension of cultural and scientific co-operation between the Soviet Union and India. In particular, the new plan provides for sending to the Soviet Union during this year, 96 students, post-graduates and senior scientists for study, research and training. Reciprocally many Soviet post-graduates and senior scientists will visit India to study and do research work.

The plan also provides for exchange of two artist groups between the two countries (the Georgian Dance Ensamble and the Soviet Circus group) will tour India in 1962. A famous Russian ballet troupe (probably from the Bolshoi theatre) will come to India in 1963. Besides, the exchange of delegations of writers, musicians, medical workers and sportsmen, will also take place during the year. According to the plan, a team of Soviet footballers, will come to India for participating in friendly football games with their Indian counterparts. Similarly a team of Indian footballers will go to the U.S.S.R., to play at Soviet stadiums in different cities of the country.

We are convinced that the cultural and

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scientific exchange, planned for 1962-1963 will further promote the strengthening and developing of the already existing friendly relations between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. The cordial relations between the U.S.S.R. and India, we think, are a classic example of peaceful co-existance and fruitful co-operation among nations. Cultural ties between countries are the best weapons against cold war. The wider the cultural relations develop, the more grows the mutual understanding of the peoples, the more effectively it is possible to remove fear and suspicion, which are still poisoning the international atmosphere.

Let the strengthening and developing of cultural ties between our two countries promote further co-operation and prosperity of our peoples.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Indian side for the co-operative spirit they have mainfested in working out with us the programme of cultural and scientific co-operation, as well as for the hospitability they accorded to us.

—:O:—

LIBRARY SERVICE AND RESEARCH

Historical Development

The concept of research had all along been associated with science or technology, and in this sense the laboratory was the better known place for research, where men of science worked day and night for purposes of advancement of learning, which resulted in the innumerable discoveries and inventions known today. Science consists of knowledge arranged under general truths and principles. Experiments based on hypothesis, and verified by observations are made by different investigators of some occurrence or phenomenon not sufficiently known or understood. These observations are recorded in journals. Libraries, which began as simple store houses of books and manuscripts, no doubt existed; but scientific experiment in the sense of a study of a natural phenomenon is much older than libraries. With the introduction of printing and the resultant tremendous increase in the production of books and other publications, the concept of library service kept on changing. Upto 1840 books were recognised as the only sources of technical information and reference. Later on, the Public Libraries Act of 1850 was placed on the Statute Book of Great Britain. Scientific societies began to be formed and to start publishing their journals and proceedings. This was the beginning of many trends that have led to the present pattern of library services.

Age of Machine: 19th Century and after

The Industrial Revolution, which ushered in the age of the Big Machine and all its allies, changed the face of human life. The later period of the 19th century saw the growth of industry and the development of large-scale production. Libraries began to be established by industrial concerns. There was also a simultaneous growth of Learned Societies in science and engineering. The application of knowledge obtained from scientific and industrial research became in due course a powerful factor in moulding our modern standard of living. Although the characteristic of recent times is the phenomenal increase in the quantity of research, particularly its application to industry, research as such is not now restricted merely to science and technology; but it is carried on in the field of social science and humanities also.

Library Service—New Concept

The term "library service," when coupled with research is science and technology or social sciences and humanities, will cover, as far as this article is concerned, one aspect and by far the very important aspect of library service, the information service not of the routine type, but embracing the dissemination of the right information from the printed material to the right person at the right time. This involves the

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ing up of the requisite information not only from the resources of the library, but also the procurement of like information from other institutions through library co-operation and inter-library loan system.

Prepondernace of Periodicals over Books

The concept of research, which was principally confined to science or technology, is now applicable to both social sciences and humanities, because of the growing awareness of the direct utility of research to government, business enterprises and society in general. As already stated, the impression that the library is just a store house of books or knowledge is now practically fading out. This is particularly so, in view of the prodigious progress in the domain of science and technology, which has produced a truly overwhelming flood of literature describing new inventions and discoveries. This is mainly in the form of short monographs, proceedings or transactions of the societies, periodicals, which also include a new kind of journal concerned with the abstracting of current scientific literature. Scientific progress needs that new facts, new discoveries, and new inventions should be made available immediately to the research worker. Since, new observations are recorded in periodicals or journals, ordinary books are not effectively useful as they are meant for the study of a subject and not for its evolution. As a consequence, what is needed is the means of assembling all new facts, and of sorting them according to a particular aspect, so that all relevant information concerning a special subject that is required by a research worker for study could be made available.

Inter-Relation of Library Service and Research

However, in view of the overwhelming output of periodical publications and other material consisting of monographs, pamphlets and documents of all kinds, it was practically impossible for a research worker to find out from amongst huge piles of the published material the requisite information, which is likely to be useful to him in suggesting and prompting the right course of action for his research. Generally a scientist prefers to work in the laboratory, so that he can utilize his time on experiments and not on reading. It is well-nigh impossible for him to attend to both. It is equally important to place before a research worker not only the material needed in the furtherance of his research, but also to enable him to have within his reach the existing literature, in order that he may be made fully aware of the previous achievements in the subject of his research, and thus be saved from the wastage of his energy upon the work already done. It is here that the library steps in and provides the necessary link. The person assigned with this type of service "organizes" the literature and works in full co-operation with his colleagues. He is mainly concerned with the scanning of new literature, searching for information in specific problems, acquisition of all relevant material, which is sorted, classified and produced for purposes of use. The idea underlying this process is to "organize" the literature, to bring out its subject value and to offer it to the research worker, since it is very essential to keep him continuously informed of the newly published work in the field of his research.

Constituents of Expeditious and Effective Library Service

The successful functioning of the library service described above depends upon the following factors :

1. Acquisition of appropriate material.
2. Its organization and interpretation for effective use.
3. A human agency to select, sort and direct the material to the right person.
4. Anticipation of demand.
5. Library co-operation including inter-library loan system.

To perform these duties in an expeditious way, it is necessary that the person entrusted with this assignment should have, (1) training and skill in the Library technique, (2) an understanding of the needs of the research worker and his clientele, (3) subject knowledge for purposes of building up the resources to meet the demand

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for specific points as and when needed through retrospective searching.

ACQUISITION OF APPROPRIATE MATERIAL

General Principles

The acquisition of the material for this type of library service will mainly depend upon the requirements of the organization and also the individual research worker in it. Unlike general liberaries, a special library functions as an indispensable part of the organization engaged in the pursuit of research. In western countries the industrial concerns conducting research have made the library the heart of the activity—the clearing house of all new ideas. The criteria for book selection involves something like complete coverage of the activities of the organizations in their special fields and subjects cognate to their own. Coverage in the subjects of marginal type can be attended to on a co-operative basis through inter-library loan system. But by far the stock will consist of such publications, as are expected to be useful in the pursuit of research including a large number of periodical publications, monographs, pamphlets, etc., on the subject of research. As far as research is concerned, books get out of date in regard to the facts they record at times even before they are printed. It is for this reason that periodicals figure prominently in the stock of special libraries. It is well-known that the periodical article, the short monograph, even the advertising material now form the characteristic media, through which research worker publish their investigations. In any research the first duty of either the investigator or the librarian is to know what has been written before upon the subject of the enquiry. As a step towards that he should be able to find the appropriate bibliography in which what has been written, has been recorded. Cumulated publisher's lists, Catalogues of Government publications, National Bibliographies, printed catalogues of books, subject index to periodicals, lists of dissertations, reviews of books, and announcements of new publication in periodicals, etc., will enable the librarian to plan a programme of building up the basic stock of the library.

Research and Government or other Bo

In modern times it is the Government w conducts a large amount of research thr several bodies, many of which are gener autonomous. In India, Government carries scientific research through the Ministry Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and c Ministries like Defence, Food and Agricul Health, Irrigation and Power, Railways, We Housing and Supply, etc. Research is cond through the various research bodies, which concerned with the fields of national interest as National Physical Laboratory, National Che cal Laboratory, Survey of India and other inst tions. Private bodies, which receive Govern grants, do research to promote the growth particular industry, *e.g.*, Textile of Silk Rese Associations. There is also the traditional hom research—the Universities, which set up dep ments of applied science and social scien Learned Societies and Institutions also pu research in the respective fields of their activ All these organisations publish results of research work through various media, and by the most important is the periodical, which regarded as the life blood of research.

Types of Material

A special library should, therefore, tr collect all such material covering the field of research, and published in the form of jour abstracts, proceedings or the transactions of societies and all other kinds of documents. addition, there is a lot of material issued Government in the form of Annual Report Reviews of administration, special reports the Committees or Commissions, monogr manuals, pamphlets, brochures, maps, charts, and other graphic or pictorial mat A special library should try to collect as material as will be necessary for purposes conducting the research or investigation.

2. ITS ORGANIZATION AND INTE PRETATION FOR EFFECTIVE USE

Need for a Systematic Procedure

A systematic arrangement of the re in a special library consisting of books and

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types of publications is considered to be one of the most important foundations of an effective library service. As already stated in one of the previous paragraphs, in modern times it is the Government which undertakes the largest amount of research. Moreover, the business of a Government is no longer exhausted by offensive or defensive measures as was the case in the past. Aiming at the welfare of the people as its ideal, its field is progressively widening, and it now includes the organization and advancement of the nation at the material, economic, social and cultural levels. For these activities of the Government, planning is necessary. Everything that Government does, has to be considered in all pros and cons, and also in the light of what other Governments have done when confronted with analogous problems. This involves the collection of recorded information relating to the present and the past as well as to other parts of the world.

Looking to the great mass of literature that is being released by the Government, private agencies and individuals, it becomes a problem to "organize" not merely the books, but whatever material is likely to be acquired for the use of the special library. It is a recognised function of every library that it shall render its resources properly available by means of an adequate system of Classification and Catalogues. All kinds of documents are collected for the information they contain, and hence a piece of paper recording a vital information may well be more important than a merely revised publication. As a consequence, it is all the more essential that the different kinds of material acquired for a special library should be systematically classified and catalogued for an effective use. A new technique covering these processes has now emerged, and it is known as Documentation. It is employed for interpreting the contents not only of books, which are called "micro-units" of thought, but also an article in a periodical, which is called a "micro-unit" of thought. As far as the tracing of even a stray item like a reply to a question in the Legislature is concerned, no better method could be employed to spot and pick up quickly the desired information out of the proceedings.

Documentation its Technique and Importance

The need for a precise information to be culled from the vast mass of periodical literature resulted in the emergence of a new aspect of library service known as the Documentation work. In plain words it is the process of acquiring, classifying, cataloguing, abstracting and supplying articles, or reprints of articles, special reports, any graphic or pictorial literature and documents of all other kinds. The process involves collecting and classifying all such material and making it available quickly to the reader or research worker. In any field of human activity, welfare of the society implies progress. The principal medium for recording progress is the periodical press. Since progress depends on access to recorded information, documentation work serves as the means for finding out the location of the requisite material from the recorded information in the domain of Science and Technology or Social Sciences and Humanities. This technique involves a thorough knowledge of the Library Classification and Cataloguing. As already pointed out, the main function of the library is not only to keep ready the material in anticipation of a demand, but also to see that it is utilized by the readers or research workers, who might thus be saved from the dissipation of their energy upon the work already done. Documentation enables the librarian to locate, and bring to the notice of readers or research workers the exact information required by them in the pursuit of their enquiry or research.

Documentation and Newspaper Coverage

Since documentation has been found to be so indispendable in placing before the research worker, the information out of the "organized" material bearing on the subject of his research, it would be equally helpful in bringing out any news items or references to different kinds of items relating to the subjects of topical and current interest. Moreover, the press constitutes the only agency for eliciting public opinion on Government policy in regard to its various activities. A record of the clippings particularly

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of the editorials and other comments from various papers will reveal the consensus of public opinion concerning the desirability or otherwise of introducing new measures affecting the social or economic life of the people, or any reforms in administrative or other matters. A clippings file maintained on systematic lines will be invaluable for obtaining quickly, necessary references to the policy statements, feature articles, information concerning social or political events, public grievances, profiles of eminent persons, obituaries and other matters of local interest. The Reports of the Conferences, Seminars, Symposia, Proceedings of the Legislatures, etc., which generally take a long time to appear as regular publications, could be located immediately when needed for reference. It is obvious that in India, where indexes to newspapers (like Official Index to the Times) are not yet available, a clippings file, covering information collected and documented from scattered sources, proves invaluable for quick reference service.

3. A HUMAN AGENCY TO SELECT, SORT AND DIRECT THE MATERIAL TO THE RIGHT PERSON

Nature of the Service

In view of the ever-increasing flood of literature of different kinds that is being released from day to day, it is evident that its organization needs the provision of a human agency competent to select, sort and "organize" it for purposes of transmitting the requisite information therefrom to the right person at the right time. Conservation of knowledge has been a major activity of libraries since their beginning. But as the concept of library service has changed according to the needs of the users, the new concept of library service, when embodied in the working of the library, enables the librarian to supply the right information, to the right person at the right time. The dissemination of information is no doubt the characteristic activity of every library. However, as far as the special library is concerned, what matters, is the time. A quick response not only to what is wanted, but also to keep it supplemented by a second or subsequent "helping" the matter of investigation has its own divi

Library Technique

Consideration of the needs of a sp library suggests that the librarian must fir all have a thorough knowledge of the lib technique. Basides, the different types of pr material, that will flow in regularly, require specialised handling for purposes of brin out the exact information bearing on the su of investigation. The indexing and anal cataloguing prove very effective in qu locating the material in all its aspects.

Personal Qualities

A personal contact with the investig or research workers enables the librarian of special library to place before the rese worker not only the material he needs, but a any like material which will prove helpful the pursuit of his research. A good mem imaginative observation and aptitude are of g value for a good service in a special libr The flair for finding is also an addit attribute. Pleasant and brisk manner are hi in creating good impression about the speed efficiency in library service. An understandin the needs of the research workers enabl librarian to build up the resources of his lib and to "organize" its contents for purpose furnishing the research workers with wh they would need in the pursuit of their rese A library organization demands high stan of accuracy in its working. However, it ha at times that the tools of research in the fo an adequate library and a competent t librarian are not taken cognizance of consequently it is not uncommon for perso be appoited as Librarian or Information Of who have no training or qualificatio librarianship.

4. ANTICIPATION OF DEMAND

The speed is often the most vital fac an information service in a special library

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basis of dissemination implies the examination of every new document received in the library for finding out, if it is related to the work of the research worker or workers. In the event of its being so, it should be supplied to him. The same principles apply to the circulation of periodical articles, research reports and new books. Although the periodicals take preponderance over books, it is also desirable to bring new additions to the notice of research worker; for, it adds efficiency to the organization as a whole. The circulation of a regular list or bulletin of additions with details about their contents further enhances the usefulness of such a service. The librarian in so doing anticipates a demand for all such items as are likely to be useful in the furtherance of research.

5. LIBRARY CO-OPERATION INCLUDING INTER-LIBRARY LOAN SYSTEM

It is recorded that modern period in history started with discoveries and inventions approximately towards the end of the 15th century. Decades rolled into centuries, when the Industrial Revolution of the mid-eighteenth century ushered the age of machine with all its complexities of life and inter-dependence of the organizations on one another. In this nuclear or jet age, when man is trying to explore all the hitherto unknown mysteries of the space, the variety and the magnitude of the published material particularly in science or technology is vast and outstanding. As a consequence, the acquisition, maintenance, and dissemination of even a portion of this huge mass of literature in the field of a particular branch of science or technology seem to be well-nigh impracticable for one single library. Even the largest libraries often fail to furnish immediately the information that is sought. The solution lies in co-operation—the watchword of the modern times—or pooling of resources, preferably on regional basis. A well-planned and throughly organised programme of co-operation among libraries will prove very useful in meeting the demands for recorded information. The union catalogue of books or particularly of periodical publications will reveal the special material maintained by different research Associations, Government Departments, Learned Societies or Institutions.

An inter-library loan system will further facilitate the research work of an investigator, inas much as, a document bearing on the subject of his research could then be borrowed quickly for the solution of his problem. A regular programme covering the exchange of the lists of acquired material by different libraries will facilitate their inclusion into the union catalogue. This will further reveal the holdings or the resources of a particular library, which could be tapped for use.

CONCLUSION

It is manifest then that the importance of library service as an indispendable aid to research need not be over-emphasized. The amount of published material in different fields of human activity is growing at an almost terrifying rate; and the difficulties of finding among it particular items of value for specific purposes increase proportionately. A well-equipped library engaged in documentation work can make valuable contributions to an organized scheme for the disseminaiton of information to persons or institutions concerned.

In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the plea made by the Prime Minister for "developing a scientific temper" at the time of inaugurating the Indian Parliamentary and Science Committee on August 27, 1961. The main function of the Committee will be to compile for the benefit of the Members of the Parliament authoritative and scientific information from time to time, to bring to the notice of the Government and Parliament the results of research and technological development in questions of public interest, to arrange for suitable action in Parliament, and to provide a regular summary of matters pertaining to science figuring in Parliament. Thus it would be evident that "organization" and "interpretation" of the material that will be acquired for the use of the Government and Parliament will involve the documentation work, the details of which have already been explained in the previous pages.

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EXHIBITION OF OLD INDIAN PAINTINGS

By Prof. HIREN MUKHERJI

The Academy of fine Arts, a leading Art Organisation of Calcutta has earned our gratitude by organising two exhibitions of Old Indian Paintings from two famous private collections that were hitherto known among few Scholars and connoisseurs.

The first collection the Sitaram Shah collection of Banaras—is a collection of rare Moghul Miniatures. This collection was acquired by the ancestors of Late Sitaram Shah from a fugitive

Zel Unnisa—Moghul School Artist Dad Khan —about 1975 A.D.
—*Sitaram Shah Collection*

prince of the house of Timur—named Jahandar Shah—who saught refuse in Banaras. This prince happened to inherit a part of the private collections of the Moghul Emperors and as a result this collection is one of the best private collection in the world. We are grateful to the heirs of Sitaram Shah for taking the initiative in showing this collection to the art-lovers of Calcutta.

Of all the branches of Indian Painting Moghul painting has drawn the largest number of admirers and was the first to obtain recog by foreign scholars. Long before the pr century when Indian painting had not fired imagination of foreign connoisseurs, the g Dutch master Rembrandt copied Moghul m sures to learn drawing. Theressa adorned walls of her palace by a large number of Mo miniatures. The Austrian Empress Maria latter this spontaneous appreciation by foreig is not difficult to explain. Moghul Minia have a certain superficial resemblance to Europ Academic Paintings and for this reason Europ can easily understand them. Moghul mas like European Academic painters have stu Nature and have also created a sense of d in their pictures. Moreover, unlike all o religious paintings of the Orient Moghul pai does not want to convey any message. Its ap is straight to the eye. But it must be unders at the same time that the similarity betw Moghul painting and European Academic Pa ing is more apparent than real. They d fundamentally in their approach to Nature. W Moghul master have combined reality imagination European Academic Painters portrayed things as they are. The quality painting in Europe in those days was judge its fidelity to Nature and so the artists slav imitated Nature to achieve complete likeness with the invention of modern colour photog the achievement of these artists seems very and Art in the West underwent a revol The merit of Moghul miniatures, how remained unaffected as it like all other Or paintings never attempted at copying Nature

The foundation of Moghul painting laid by Humayun who on his way back to brought with him two Persian Master Sayed Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad. masters were the heads of the Moghul a But an atelier cannot be built up only wi masters, specially when such an am project as the illustration of the epic R Namah was undertaken. Indigenous prac artists from different parts of the country of whom were Hindus were summoned court and commissioned for this purpose.

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were trained by these Persian masters who could not Persianize them overnight. The result is seen in Moghul miniatures where the Persian Blue has given way to Indian Red and the exotic Art has taken a new garb in a new environment. But this harmonization of different foreign and indigenous elements could not take place all on a sudden and it was only through the untiring effort of the Emperor Akbar that Moghul painting shaded off its foreign character and took up national role.

Jahangir, too, like his father was a great patron of art and literature and it was in his time that Moghul painting reached its zenith. He was too much conscious of his connoisseurship and was proud of his artists. He evinced keen interest in birds and animals and the great animal painter Ustad Monsur was one of the gems of his Studio.

Shajahan had a special inclination for architecture but painting in his time continued to flourish and many fine examples were produced that can rank with the best products of the earlier period. But the development of painting received a serious jolt with the usurpation of the throne by Aurangzeb, whose religious fanaticism made him antagonistic to every form of Art. But contrary to popular belief he did not disband the atelier, though with the waning of court patronage most of his artists migrated elsewhere in search of new patrons. After Aurangzeb patronage to painting was revived to certain extent but the art was already past its zenith and was now rapidly declining. By the second quarter of the 18th century, Moghul painting had become degenerate and the same worn-out formulae were repeated again and again. However its inertia was so great that it dragged on till the end of the 18th century when it disintigrated into several provincial Moghul styles which were but relics of the great tradition.

Moghul painting is essentially on aristocratic art. It was fostered in the court of the Moghul Emperors and enjoyed by princes, noble men and ladies of the harem. Naturally its subjects were chosen from the daily life of the court and a glance at this pictures would re-incarnate before our eyes the splendour of that grand age. Every detail of the life of the Emperor is faithfully portrayed and thus there is no dearth of subject like the Emperor receiving an Embassy, a royal camp, a battle scene, a marriage procession, rejoicing at the birth of a prince, the emperor visiting a holy man, the elephant fight and so on. Books and fables were also illustrated and portraiture attained a high level of success. Later, purely genre scenes such as the prince

Maru Ragini—Rajasthani School—Mewar Idiom—Artist Nasiruddin—d. 1605
—*Kanoria Collection*

with his favourite, lovers in a garden, ladies watching kite flying or feeding the pigeons, a bullock chariot, a pilgrim, ladies of the haem visiting a saint, dancing derveshis, a lady under a tree, etc., were very much preferred. Purely Hindu themes (Sive Puja, Ragamala, etc.) were sometimes illustrated and this indicates to what extent Moghul painting was influenced by indigenous traditions.

Moghul painting is reputed for its fine brush work and delicate handling of colours. This is amply borne out by a number of exhibits of which the 'Bullock chariot' by Abul Hasan is a class in itself. This miniature in Indo-Persian style is a happy blending of different foreign and indigenous elements. The figures are drawn in

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Persian style where as the pair of bullocks and the bejewelled chariot are purely Indian. Draughtsmanship is superb and colour tonalities unreproducible in any process of reproduction. This miniature clearly proves that Jahangir conferred the title Nadia—Al-Zaman (wonder of the age) to a really deserving candidate. (The other miniatures attributed to this artist are the

Hanuman Crossing the Sea—from a Mamayan Set—Rajasthani School, Malwa Indiam, about 1634 A.D.
—*Kanoria Collection*

'Pilgrim' in the Rothschild collection and the 'Chenartree' in the India Office Library). Another masterpiece of the Jahangir period is the Darbar Scene (11). This picture is documentary as it depicts a group of about fifty important personages of the age all inscribed. The European embassy (51) is one of the finest products of the Shajahan period vividly recalling the pomp and splendour of the golden age. Zebunnessa (20) is a delicate drawing full of poetry and pathos. "Near the temple" (74) and 'Chhari shah mother' (66) by Mir Kalan Khan are two superb examples of night scenes. Other notable pictures are 'Marriage procession of Dara Shikoh' (63), 'Shajahan on royal garge' (50), 'Royalties being entertained' (68), Kabir Sahab (36), Meeting of Raja Gopichand (Bhartrihari) with his penitent queen Pingala (4, 64), Hir Ranjha (Sohini Mohinwal?) (1), Begam on the terrace with Pigeons (48) and Kite match among the prince and princess (49). The last three are rather unusual in a decadent age.

There are some fine examples of the Akbar period, few genuine and few later copies. There are also some exquisite illustrations Christian subjects which prove that Jahangir's boasting was not a hollow one.

We purposely omitted the naming of the fine picture depicting a gorgeously caparisoned Elephant identified with chanchal (67) as is a Deccani Product. The inscription Daccaniyan suggests that the artist hailed from the Deccan.

Lastly a word of praise for the carefully compiled and beautifully illustrated catalogue. The date of a painting is indicated by the century but the limits are too wide and should have been narrower. A serious error, however, has come to our notice. It has been stated in the annotation of item No. 40 that Hazrat Mariyam was the Armenian wife of Akbar. This theory is long exploded and it is now known that Mariyam Uz-Zamani (Marvel of the age) was the mother of prince Salim and daughter of Biharmal, the king of Amber.

The Gopikrishna Kanoria collection of Calcutta has long been know as a treasure house of Rajasthani paintings. It is a unique opportunity to study this collection at leisure and Mr. Kanoria deserves our praise for providing us with the opportunity.

Rajasthani painting differs from Moghul painting not so much in technique as in spirit and outlook. Coomarswamy rightly described it as a pictorial counterpart of Indian vernacular literature. Unlike Moghul Art, it is an art of the people though fostered in court. The draughtsmanship is not so fine as in Moghul painting but it is compensated by an intensity of feeling. The pictures are full of emotion and steeped in religious thought. The subject-matter is generally drawn from epics and romances and especially from the exploits of Krishna. There are other subjects such as the moods of heroes and heroines or illustrations to musical modes.

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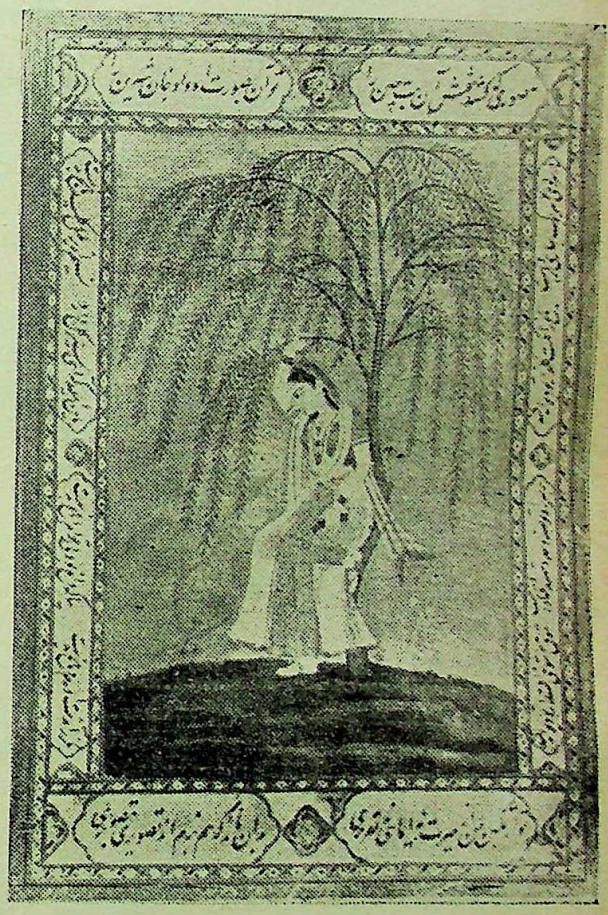
The Origin of Rajasthani painting has given rise to so much controversy that it is unsafe at present to utter the final word. Some regards it as a Pre-Moghul art tradition while others strongly oppose this view. Scholars like Khandalwalla have sought to prove that Rajasthani painting orginated as a fusion of Moghul style with the Western Indian style. Others like Mr. Basil Gray and Rai Krishna Das have always believed that Rajasthani painting took its shape before the arrival of the Moghuls and it's contact with the Moghul style began only after the 16th century. In fact, later Rajput paintings smell so much of Moghul that they were at one time confused with Moghul paintings.

Whatever may be the origin of Rajasthani painting the Kanoria collection deserves to be studied as it contains many interesting examples. The collection is representative of the various sub-schools of Rajasthani painting and shows the development of Rajasthani painting from the 16th to the 18th century. It contains examples from Mewar, Malwa, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kishangarh, Bundi and Kotah. The collection of Mewar paintings is really unique and no history of Mewar painting can be constructed without its help. The earliest dated example is a set of Ragamala pictures painted in Chawand near Chitore in the year 1605. But the series bears strong Moghul influence and it is likely that the artist was trained in the Moghul court. But the single leaf illustrating a scene from Bhagavata Purana seems to be still earlier and bears practically no Moghul influence. The other leaves of the series are now scattered but several are in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras and few are in the possession of Motichand Khazanchi of Bikanir. From the colour scheme and wavy cloud formation the series is linked with the Chawand set. The important characteristic of this set is the presence of Kulhadar turban and in this respect it is related to the group comprising of Laur-Chanda, Chaur-Panchashika, Prince of Wales Museum Gita-Govinda, Vijayendra Suri Ragamala and Kala Bhavan Mrigavati sets.

The development of the Mewar School is shown by a splendid Nayika set, a brilliant series illustrating verses from Sur-Sagara by Surdas, several pages from a charming Rasikpriya set, a fine drawing illustrating the episode of Gajendra Moksha, few illustrations from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahavarata*, an incomplete Ragini series, several leaves from a highly sensitive Panchatantra set and a few portraits. Some of these have already been published by Motichandra in his Mewar painting and others remain unpublished. As regards dating accord has not been reached by critics (vide Gray's review of Moti Chandra's Mewar painting in Lalit Kala-5).



The Aggrieved Lady—Illustration to Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari, Rajasthani School, Hewar Idiom, C. 1630 A.D.
—*Kanoria Collection*

The Malwa school is represented by several pages of a Ramayana series datable c. 1634 on the basis of the National Museum Rasikpriya, a few fine illustrations to Kesavadasa's Rasikpriya, some delicate drawings illustrating musical modes and a Bhaghavata series dated 1688. It has been suggested in the catalogue that Coomarswamy's S-2 series is stylistically similar to this

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set but we don't subscribe to this view. In our opinion the Boston S-2 series is at least forty years earlier than the present set.

The paintings in Bundi style are not very remarkable the only exception being a Ragini series. The representatives of the Jodhpur and Kishengarh Kalams are rather late and decadent. There are some miniatures which cannot be identified with any known style. And this indicates that our knowledge of Rajas[illegible] painting is still very insufficient.

The catalogue prepared for the exhib[illegible] is neatly produced and contains food thought. But we wonder that after 50 years researches of Rajasthani painting introd[illegible] by a foreign authority is still necessary! [illegible] the time ripe yet when Indian Scholars [illegible] stand on their own Legs?

———:O:———

WATER RESERVOIRS OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR

In a massive desert like Rajasthan where famines are frequent and failure of monsoon is a common feature, the significance of water storage devices is essentially supreme. There is hardly any city, town or village which does not possess a water-reservoir. It may be in the form of a lake or tank, a bund or a bawlee, a pond or a colonneded well.

Lakes

Revealing to many may be the fact that Jaisamand, also known as 'Dheber' situated 34-miles south-east from the historic city of Udaipur, is one of the largest artificial lakes of the world. This lake with an area of 21 sq. miles is surrounded by beautiful hills and has seven small islands in the midst of the cool and placid waters which are inhabitated by Bhils and Minas.

Another picturesque lake of Mewar, is the Rajsamand, about 4-miles long and 1¾ miles broad adorning the pious feet of Lord Dwarkadheesh, a well-known shrine of Vallabh sect of Vashnawas at Kankroli. The story of its construction dates back to the latter half of the seventeenth century when Maharaja Rajsingh, the then ruler of Mewar, started it as a relief work for the famine-striken people. Constructed at a heavy cost of over Rs. 150 lakhs, its dam is nearly 1,000 feet in length, entirely covered with white marble steps. The northern part of the dam, or 'Nochowki' as it popularly known, is about [illegible] yds. long and 70 yeards broad paved with [illegible] and spotted with exquisitely built Chhatt[illegible] There is a famous inscription in Sanskrit [illegible] parised of 1017 verses carved on 25 slabs de[illegible] ing the history of Mewar, and it is habited [illegible] the biggest literary work inscribed on stone [illegible] dated as for as 1675.

The picturesque lake of Pichhola abou[illegible] miles broad which bounds the city of Ud[illegible] and its palaces was constructed by a banja[illegible] the 15th century during the reign of Ma[illegible] Lakha (1382-1421). The embankment of [illegible] fascinating lake is reached through a series [illegible] beautiful gardens, of the palaces, now [illegible] the Sajjan Niwas, and from there a round [illegible] part the Dudh Talai down the east side o[illegible] lake to the Odikhas built by the late Chief [illegible] southern end for use as a shooting box. F[illegible] ful as the lake is when seen from the p[illegible] another points, the view on it near the ro[illegible] with the marble cabbed islands and the [illegible] palace and city in the distance, is one of [illegible] greater loneliness. The southern island is [illegible] the Jagmandir and is mainly notable for the [illegible] Mahal, a domed pavilion on it Prince Kh[illegible] later known as Shahjahan lived when in [illegible] against his father, the emperor Jahangir a[illegible] refugee ladies from Neemuch were prote[illegible] 1857 A.D. Further, works is the Jagniwas [illegible] famous island palace amidst beautiful ga[illegible]

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Young farmers winnowing wheat in a Central Indian tribal village

G. A. Zhukov along with others carrying the wreath to Tagore's birthplace at Jorasanko

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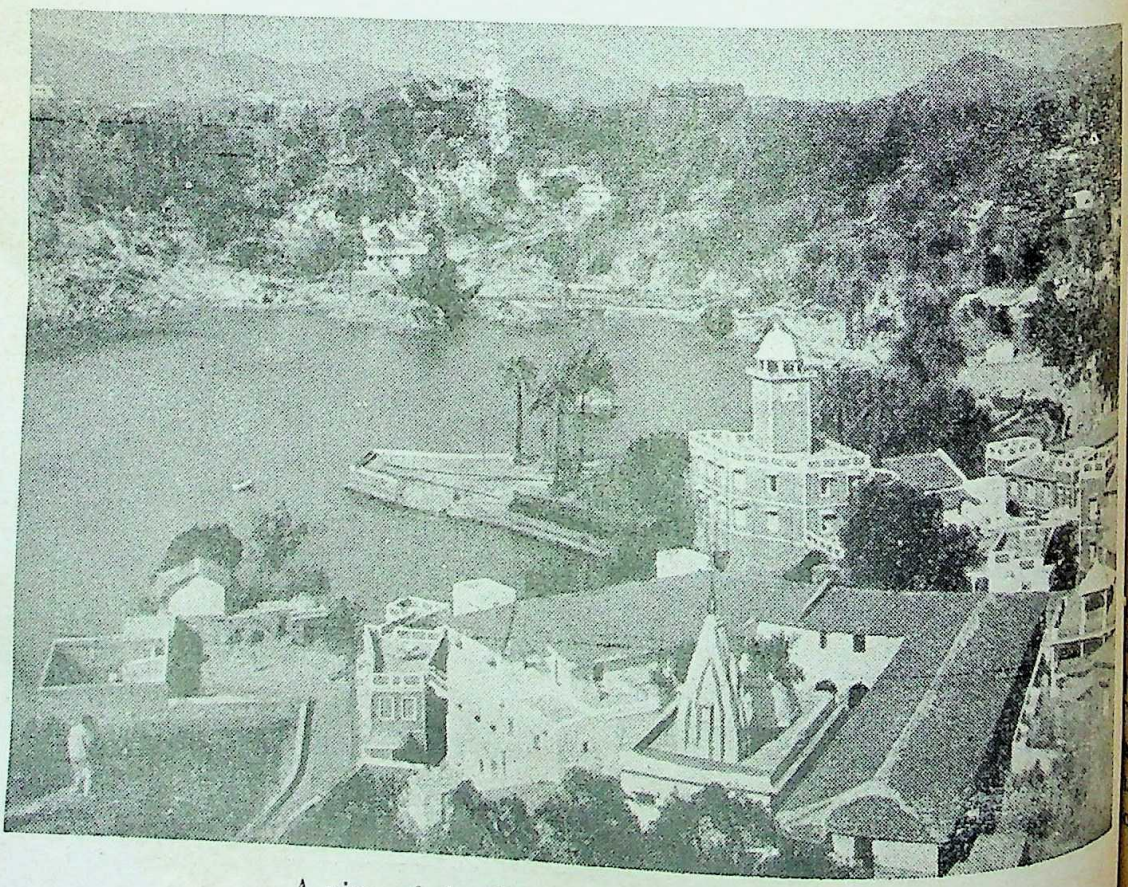
The Pichola lake at Udaipur with magnificent palaces on its embankment



A view of the Nakki lake at Mount Abu

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In Marwar, the pride of place is held by Balsamand and Sardar Samand lakes of Jodhpur, while the Nakki lake at Mount Abu is the centre of attraction for the tourists throughing in thousands there.

Pushkar Like

How water has been magnified and glorified in this sandy region of India is evident from the Pushkar Lake, a prominent place of pilgrimage situated seven miles away from Ajmer. According to *Padma Purana* which mentions that Brahma, the creater performed a yagya here, Pushkar is as old as the universe itself. References in the epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* also bear testimony to its antiquity. It is also believed that the Pandavas while in exile, spent some of the years here. The Ashram of Kanva Rishi referred in the 'Abhigyan Shakuntlam' of Kalidas is also said to have situated somewhere near Pushkar.

The Pushkar lake located at the other side of the Nag Pahar is surrounded on all sides by ghats presenting picturesque sceneries.

Another alluring beatuty-spot in Ajmer is the artificial 'Anasagar' lake constructed by King Armoraja (about 1135 to 1150 A.D.), the grandfather of the famous Hindu emperor Prithavi Raj Chauhan. The lake formed by an embankment between two hills, when full, has a circumference of eight miles surrounded by hills with the lofty Nag Pahar as its background. "It is perhaps the greatest of the various national beauties", says Dr. Fuhver, "that continue to make Ajmer one of the old native cities of India."

Like Pushkar is the famous holy resort of Galta, a natural gorge located in the east of Jaipur, the pink city of India. Over the crest of the ridge on a rocky platform is a temple dedicated to the Sun God. At the foot of the first incline of the gorge is a perennial spring which flows through a succession of terraced pools. Picturesque shrines and pinnacles deck the entire valley. The walls and platforms usually swarms with long-tailed monkeys who willingly extend their sooty hands to accept purchased gram from the visitors.

Bawlee and Colonnaded Wells

Besides lakes and tanks, there is a large number of bawlees and colonnaded wells in Rajasthan.

Although the shortage of water is most acute in north-western part of the State it is Bundi, a picturesque Rajput town situated in a beautiful wooden gorge on the steep side of a hilly pass in the south-east which is privileged to have the grandest and the finest colonnaded wells in all Rajasthan. The most artistic Bawlee is Nathawatji-ki-Baori wherein the sheet of water is reached by the descent of hundreds of stone-steps, the pavilions on either side being exquisitely carved with figures of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and the flora and fauna in high relief. The Bawlee has not failed to supply the inhabitants of Bundi with drinking water even during the severest famines in living memory. Its top is crowned by an open pavilion, from where the Bawlee appears to be a grand and unforgettable sight. The Samana-Dha-Ka-Kund is another notable work among the scores of Bawlees and Kunds of Bundi. Unlike, the first, it is open on all sides at the top and the spacious four walls are out from top to bottom into labyrinthine steps, which lead to water, making it impossible for one to reach the top back by the same steps by which he had descended.

Among the Bawlees and Kunds of Jaipur territory, the Bawlee at Bhandarejh, a village some 40 miles from Jaipur deserves specific mention. The history of this Bawlee, which dates back to the 12th century A.D., is shrouded in mystery and the many supernatural legends, which are prevalent about this gigantic water resource, prevent the ascertaining of the name of its builder. The architectural lay out is in the traditional Bawlee style and the stone used came from the local quarries, which is a strong weather resistant rock.

In Amber, the old capital of Jaipur, there are a number of Bawlees, but they are neither so big nor of any architectural importance. A spacious stepped tank known as the Panna Mian-ka-Kund with four chatris on the corners is a replica of the Samana-Dha-ka-Kund at Bundi. A similar tank, Hadi Rani Ki Bawlee, at Toda Rai Singh is more elaborate than this Kund.

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In the desert areas of Rajasthan, it is the Bawlee which dominates the scene. The Kunds, which are generally open and exposed to evaporation, are in lesser number and at places conspicuously missing. The Mool Sagar, an oasis in the desert near Jaisalmer, contains a very artistic Bawlee called Jhalra built entirely of the soft Jaisalmer stone, which has lent to carvings and delicate perforation. The great Bawlees of the Jain temples at Amar Sagar, 5 miles from Jaisalmer, are rich in symmetry and proportionate design. There are many other Bawlees at Jaisalmer among which the Bawlees in Jawahar Bund area are fine specimen of this kind of building works. There is a series of them, occupying bed of what was once a glittering sheet of in the heart of the desert. The whole town Jaisalmer and the villages within a radius to 20 miles from it are dependent solely on sweet water of these Bawlees during dry periods. The Bawlees at Badi, the crematorium of the Bhati Princes of Jaisalmer, feed the cious lawns and gardens laid out on either of the 400-year old bund, in which all sorts fruits and vegetables are grown. Thanks to water reservoirs which has enabled the people Rajasthan to fight against the anguish of resulting into devastating famine and scarcity

———:O:———

POET TAGORE AND THE VILLA IN MORAN'S GARDEN ON THE RIVER HOOGHLY

By MRINAL GHOSE M.A.

Rabindranath Tagore was almost a teenager when he came to live with his gifted elder brother Jyotirindranath in a beautiful river-side Villa in Chandernagore. At that time Chandernagore was a pretty little town in undivided Bengal. The city was then under French administration. The Villa was in Moran's Garden on the Western bank of the river Hooghly. Long before attaining global celebrity as one of the greatest of poets the world has ever seen, Tagore experienced the most ecstatic moments of his life in his 'Boyhood Days' here in this splendid river side Villa in Chandernagore. The green woodlands, the calm and sequestered hamlets along the river-bank under the canopy of a blue and serene sky, the ebb and flow of the babbling river and the silvery moonlight glimmering over the stream touched the inner chords of the boy's heart. His 'Reminiscences' bear witness to those happy which he spent in Morna's Garden :—

"The Ganges again! Again those ineffable days and nights, languid with joy, sad with longing, attuned to the plaintive babbling of the river along cool shade of its wooded banks.... Those lovely days of mine at the side passed by like so many dedi lotus blossoms floating down the sa stream, etc., etc."[1]

Over half a century later, during civic reception in French Chandernagore 1338 B.S. (approximately 1929), Tagore recalled the fond memory of happy boyhood days which he spent river-side in Moran's Garden. In the ciously packed up city hall we listened rapt attention how the future Laureate breathed his juvenile tunes lute in the Moran's Villa on the ban the Ganges. Long before his world reception Mother Nature hospitably ceived the little boy on the wide green velvety river-bank of Chandernagore Then she whispered into the ears child to play on his tiny little flute he readily responded. The topmost of Moran House had open windows around. From there the boy watched

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glimmer of the sunbeams on the leafy fringe of the thick-growned Bakul trees on the river bank. From the terraced roof of that stately villa it seemed to the little boy as if the free and frolicsome clouds were at play on the adjoining courtyard. There at the topmost apartment of Moran House, he invoked his Muse thus :—

Here I have built my haunt
For Thee, O Poesy dear![2]

Sometimes back, in connection with his talks on Tagore Centenary, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for scientific research and cultural affairs paid tribute to Rabindranath Tagore as the 'International Citizen of the World.' As an welcomed guest, Tagore had to reside in many houses all over the world. But never had he described any dwelling house so vividly and with so much warmth of feeling as the Moran House of Chandernagore :—

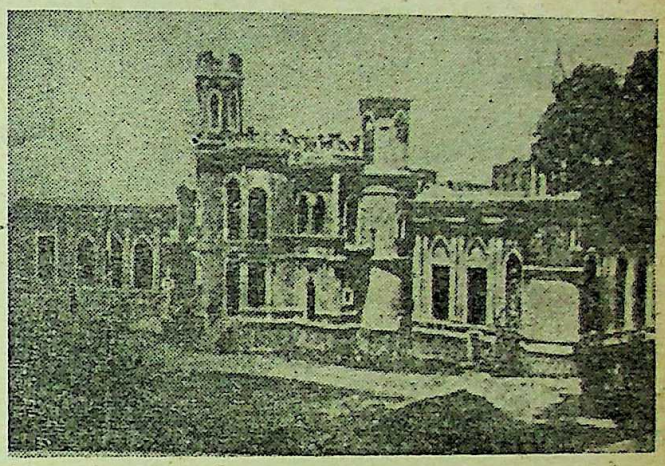
"The big sitting room overlooking the landing-steps had stained glass windows with coloured pictures.

One of the pictures was of a swing hanging from a branch half-hidden in dense foliage, and in the checkered light and shade of this bower two persons were swinging, and there was another of a broad flight of steps leading into some castle-like palace, up and down which men and women in festive garb were going and coming. When the light fell on the windows, these pictures shone wonderfully, seeming to fill the river-side atmosphere with holiday music. Some far-away, long-forgotten revelry seemed to be expressing itself in silent words of light, the love-thrills of the swinging couple making alive with their eternal story the woodlands of the river-bank.

The topmost room of the house was in a round tower with windows opening to every side. This I used as my room for writing poetry. Nothing could be seen from thence save the tops of the sorrounding trees, and the open sky. I was then busy with Evening Songs, and of this room I wrote :—

There wherein the breast of limitless space
clouds were laid to sleep
I have built my house for thee, O Poesy![3]

About 55 years later (approximately 1929) we were fortunate enough to hear the thrilling description of Moran House and particularly the topmost room referred to in 'Reminiscences' his autobiography, from his own lips when he was giving reply to the civic reception held in his honour in Chandernagore.



Poet Tagore's Villa in Moran's Garden, Chandernagore.

Again after 8 years, on 21st February 1937, while inaugurating the 20th Bengali Literary Conference, Rabindranath himself disclosed the story of the Genesis of his Poetic Inspiration in the Villa in Moran's Garden, Chandernagore. Almost all the eminent men in the domain of Bengali's Art, Literature, Science and Culture listened to the Poet with rapturous amazements :—

"Today you have requested me to inaugurate this Conference. The very word inauguration recalls in my mind the memory of some by gone days..... With my elder brother I spent a pretty long time in the famous Moran House. In fact the first awakening of my Muse was here on the banks of the river Ganges, on the outskirts of this town. The Villa in Moran's Gadren hospitably received me. Many a night had I spent on the balcony and the topmost room of that Villa and there my mind frolicked with the clouds floating in the sky. It seemed to me as if the universe had stooped down to me. And just then I first realised the Poet in me."[4]

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This historic utterance of Tagore forthwith flung a halo of glory around Moran House. Once a river-side property of a wealthy European indigo-planter, but afterwards inseparably linked with the hallowed memory of Tagore, it has long ceased to exist. On the very site of the splendid Villa, Gondolpara Jute Mills is belching forth clouds of black smoke. The Poet himself has lamented thus :—

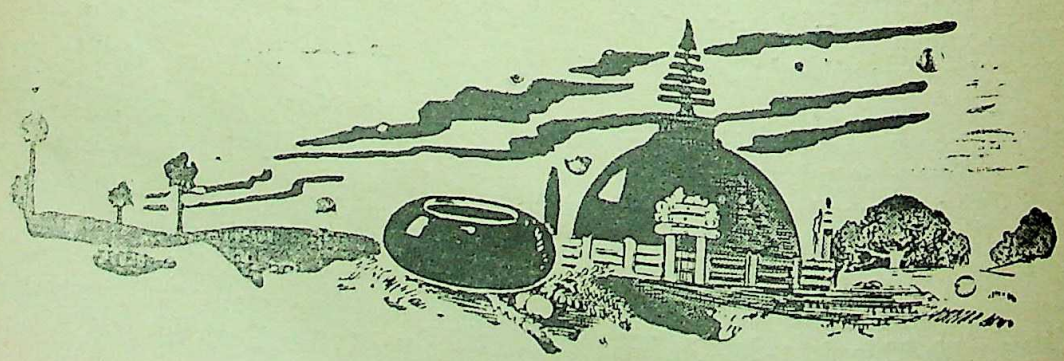
> "That Garden is no longer in existence, the iron jaws of the Dundee Mills have crushed and swallowed it."[5]

Regarding this historic Villa, Marjorie Sykes writes :—

> "It was a beautiful place on the bank of the Ganges. He spent long hours watching the beauty of the river, the changing colours of morning, noon, afternoon and sunset, and at night the moon shining on the dark water.
>
> In this happy home, among these beautiful scenes, he wrote the volume called Evening Songs. This book made him famous atonce among the Bengali writers of the time."[6]

With special stress we may cite here the unforgettable incident at the residence of the famous civilian literateur Ramesh Chandra Dutt. On the day of his daughter Kamala's marriage ceremony when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee the king of Bengali letterdom stepped into the wedding hall, to honour him the host with a garland in his hand readily approached the most distinguished guest. But the great novelist, the immortal composer of "Bandemataram" depriving himself of the singular honour instantly placed the floral wreath around the slender neck of the genius-teenager Rabindranath the composer of "Sandhya Sangeet"[7] and writer of "Bowthakurani's Hut"[8] with the remark,—"Ramesh, have you read Sandhya Sangeet and Bowthakurani's Hut ?" Today everybody knows that the Poetic Muse of Rabindranath inspired him to write particularly these two volumes when he was at the Villa in Moran's Garden in Chandernagore.[9]

1. *Reminiscences*, Rabindranath Tagore.
2. Writer's own English rendering of Poet's speech delivered in Bengali in French Chandernagore.
3. *Reminiscences*, Tagore, page 210-11.
4. The writer's own English rendering of the Poet's inaugural address delivered in Bengali at the Literary Conference on February, 1937, in Chandernagore.
5. *My Boyhood Days*, Tagore, p. 74.
6. *Story of Rabindranath Tagore*, Marjorie Sykes.
7. According to critics and scholars, the inimitable lyric fervour—the predominant characteristic of Tagore's poems first found expression in *Sandhya Sangeet*—a collection of 23 poems. Almost all the poems, save and except *Bis O Sudha* were composed at Moran Villa.
8. *Bowthakurani's Hat*—the first published novel of Rabindranath Tagore—earlier he wrote *Karuna*, which he never published.
9. The spell of Moran House was life-long with Tagore. In *Galpaguccha*, his short-stories, particularly in *Adhyapak* and *Apad*, we find haunting description of a river-side Villa in Chandernagore and its sublimely beautiful environment.



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SNAKE-CULT IN WORLD RELIGIONS

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

The animistic belief is, perhaps, one of the oldest beliefs of mankind. It might be because of physical powers and freedom of movement that primitive men became eager to establish a relation with different animals: some animals began to be worshipped as evil gods by certain tribes while the same animals became symbols of wisdom, patience and goodness for other tribes. Thus the strange compromise between animal and man was sought out in making images in almost all parts of the world. The elephant-headed God Ganesa became the remover of obstacles in India; the jackal-headed God Anubis was chosen to be the only guide to lead the soul of man to the other world in Egypt; the horse-headed god Hayagriva was taken to drive away all evils by its neighing in Tibet; the boar-headed incarnation of God Vishnu became the Saviour of the earth. In the same way many an animal including bird and beast became either the mounts of different gods or they in their native forms began to be worshipped; crocodiles are thus revered in Cambodia and Crocodopolis of Egypt; tiger became an object of honour and respect amongst the Angami Nagas and in Sunderban area; the dragon became the symbol of abundance and goodness in China; it became the symbol of purity and procreation in Japan and India. But of all the animals the snake was the most feared but at the same time was most widely worshipped. The Sanskrit term for a snake is 'Naga' which means literally "that which does not walk, which only creeps." A snake's uncanny mystery, his unlikeness to any other living thing, his way of shedding his skin and coming out reborn, his power to live a long time without eating and his way of dealing death with a stroke, "all combined to make him feared and worshipped." The story of the mysterious relationship of man and this venomous reptile is very interesting.

Wundt, a great anthropoligist, has tried to find in the mystery in the way of totemism; it is the sight of the corpse in decomposition which suggested the idea, when men saw worms coming out of the body they thought that the soul was incarnate in them and escaped with them. Worms and by extensions reptiles (snakes, lizards, etc.,) were, therefore, the first animals to serve as receptacles for the soul of the dead and consequently they were also the first to be venerated and to play the role of totems. Durkheim in similar manner opines that 'the animal thus serving as a receptacle for a venerated being becomes a holy thing; the object of a cult is a totem, for all the decendants of the ancestor, who form the clan desended from him.' The other view is that religion itself originated with primitive man in fear and rituals and sacrifices were resorted to as a mode of cajoling and pacifying maligant and vindictive suprenatural beings. It was probably the dreaded powers and deadly venom of the snakes particularly the mamba and puff adder of Africa, the cobra capello of India, the Malayan King cobra and the coral snakes of the New world that led to the deification of serpents. The serpent was credited with an earthly wisdom, being the Guardian of oracles and the genius of physicians. He was the symbol of a large number of gods and goddesses: Hermes, Ahriman, Thoth, Ophiris, Merecury Pales, Acsculapius, Kolowissi, Harpocrates, Dew, Cneph, Hoa, Pelpos, Apap, Isis and Jesus Christ. Baal or Bel, Chaldean god supreme, was worshipped as a serpent. Sometimes the serpent was looked upon as a living symbol or representative of the Sun-god. In Egypt, a serpent as the emblem of immortality, always accompanies the image of Osiris. In Java, superb-winged Nagas placed like Atlases or Carriatides, adorn the base of the temple of Panataraes. In China, the Naga-god was worshipped from the earliest times. Like the Nagas of Hindu folklore, the Chinese dragon (a vast people governed by the Dragon-King Lung Wang) have been likened by missionaries and believers; from the Naga, they have borrowed the power to assume human shape when they

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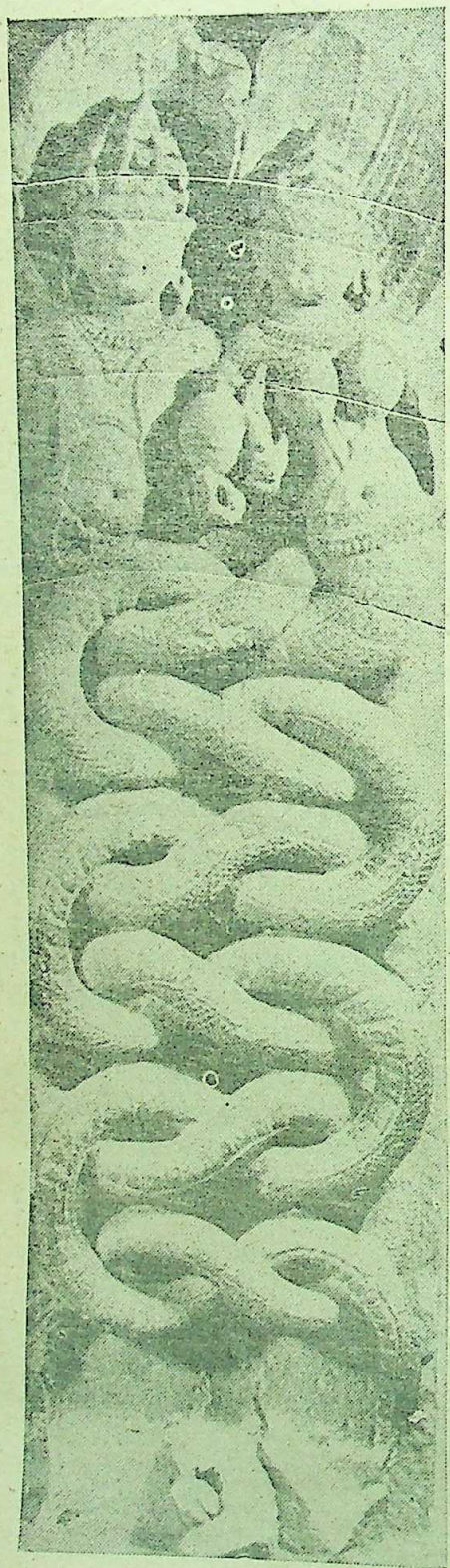
wish and they take advantage of this to move about among mankind, most frequently in order to marry and to carry away girls. Fergusson in his 'Tree and serpent worship' mentions that 'two heaven-sent serpents watched over the first w ing of Confucious'; the Chinese also consider serpent to possess the power to send rain u the earth.



Naga Couple—symbol of eternity

In Japan, the serpent has been worshi from pre-historic times and many Naga shri may still be found throughout Japan. A serp is the messenger of Benzaiten, the goddess love. As she is a very popular deity, it may that the serpent has become identified with as an object of adoration. Her shrines generally on islands and always near a river, is believed to be a special maifestation of Indian goddess Saraswati. At Kamakura, there a temple dedicated to a local Naga, who is presented coiled in shrine shape with the head a bearded man.

The Greek vase paintings and the like h one curious feature in common, there is nea always a snake or so in the composition. T introduction of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, early Greek religion perhaps suggestes that snake is the link between the underworld and earth surface world, a most natural form for dead to return which or a netherworld sp to take. The very early hero cults of Gre picture the hero with a snake (symbol of pow behind him; the snake is often bearded which is first step in changing it to a man (cf. N images of Buddhist sculptures of India). Ad or the Phoenicean god Eshmun, was identi by the Greeks with their god of healing Aesc pius, who holds a snake twined round a st the serpent here is an emblem of rejuvenesce Other Greek gods and goddesses like Hygea, Erinys, Laocoon always possess as serpent as of their attributes. All this makes us believe the first level of Greek religion is locked up a cult of the dead and the worship, for purp of propitiation, of underworld spirits' like serpent.

Eusebius says that the ancient Persians shipped the first principles under the form serpents, and dedicated to them temples they used to perform sacrifice and hold fe and orgies esteeming them to be "the greatest gods and governors of the universe." These principles, or forces of good and evil, persoi in the Ormuzd and Ahriman, 'were repre in the form of two serpents standing erect

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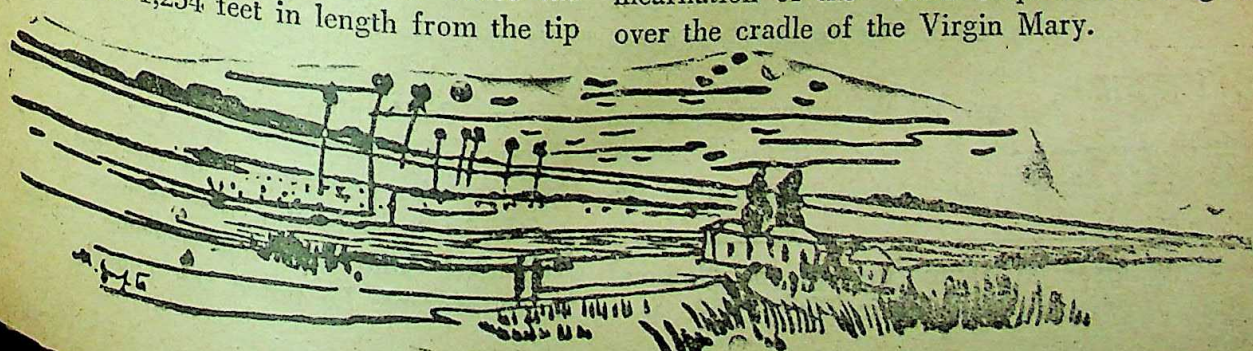
their tails, with their teeth fastened upon the mundane egg; which was between them, and over which both contended to secure the mastery.' The Athenians, it is said, kept a snake in the temple of Minerva to represent the presiding deity of the Acropolis. In Mexican mythology, according to Gama, the goddess Cihuacohante, or Female Serpent, was believed to have given brith, to two children one male and other female, which were responsible for the origin of mankind. Pausanius says that 'in his time serpents were kept for the purpose of adoration in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus'. The temple of the serpent deity Erecthonios also contained a living snake (cf. the custom of keeping living snakes in temples is still prevalent in many parts of India like Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Madras). Clement of Alexandria says that a consecrated serpent was a symbol of the god Bacchus. The serpent was also the emblem of the Egyptian God Kneph, of Thoth, and of Hermes. The porticoes of the ancient Egyptian temples are always found to have a winged disc between two-headed snakes which signify the sun with its two attributes, motion and life, on each side of it. The coins of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians showed the same symbols. In Scandinavian mythology, the goddess Isa often appeared between two serpents. Knight in his famous work 'An Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology' says that 'in connection with the elebration of the mysteries of Jupiter Sebazius, accordng to Arnobius, the initiated were consecreted by having a snake put down their bossoms'. Helius, the Egyptian sun-god, married Ops, the serpent deity and became the father of Isis, Typhon, Apollo and Venus. The Mohican tribe of North American Indians refused to destroy a rattle-snake 'which they looked upon as their grandfather.' The Serpent Mound near Louden, Adams country, Ohio is an object of great interest. Here the serpent measures 1,254 feet in length from the tip of its upper jaw to the extremity of its tail and has an average width of 20 feet and height of from 4 to 5 feet; the mound is situated upon a high cliff, and presents an 'extra-ordinary life-like appearence.'

We have also evidence of worship of the serpent in the Bible. The snake-cult went to Palestine perhaps from Egypt. Much credit goes to Moses for making this cult popular. Cox has propounded a very interesting theory that the phallic-cult of the ancient people of both east and west is originated from the snake-cult. He believes that the phallus, in its physical characteristics, suggested the form of a serpent, which thus became 'the emblem of life and healing.' On this capacity, Moses set up the brazen serpent in the wilderness, in response to a command from God, so that those of Isralites who were victims of the plague might be cured. And as a result of this 'seeming miracle,' upon its pole the serpent remained to be worshipped for nearly 800 years. Indeed, it was not until the reign of Hezekiah, that the idol, termed a mere piece of brass by the king, was destroyed, as stated in the Second Book of Kings. 'He removed the high places, and broke the images, and cut down the groves, and broke in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and he called it Nehushtan.' At the time of Christ also we find that the serpent worship was mixed with Christianity. According to Epiphanius and Tertullian, the Ophites considered that Christ was the same as the serpent. They were said to have kept a living snake which was allowed to crawl over the Sacramental bread that was partaken of in the Lord's Supper. Before the ceremony ends the serpent was kissed by each of the participants. Manes, the great promulgator of Christianity in Persia, used to say that Jesus Christ was an incarnation of the Great Serpent which glided over the cradle of the Virgin Mary.



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TEACHING OF SCIENCE—ITS WHY AND HOW*

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.SC. (Cantab), F.N.I., Sarbabhauma

In a symposium on Teaching of Science on a national plane, it is necessary to clear the ground before proceeding to discussion. It is essential to settle the purpose of Science Teaching, which includes its necessity for the nation. It is also equally important to decide the standard, content, and method of teaching. Mere platitudes that this is the age of Science and the pursuit of Science alone can raise nations to their proper stature will not serve any purpose. The methodology of science, of studying on an objective basis, has also to be applied here, as elsewhere.

Science arose out of social necessity, like other inventions and discoveries of man. Geometry began to develop when settled agriculture and ownership of land came and the need arose of determination of its area to estimate likely crops. This occurred in the ancient civilization of Babylon. The need for determining how far and in what way guns throw projectiles and the need of ascertaining latitude and longitude at sea to guide ships led to the systematic study of mechanics and astronomy in England in the time of the Stuart Kings. Scientific observations had been made by ancient Hindus, by Greeks of old and by Arabs. But the men who did the intellectual work did not do manual work. Hence, the progress of science was arrested among all three people after a certain stage. It was only when master craftsmen took up the study of properties of matter that modern science arose. This happened in Western Europe for historical reasons which need not be discussed here especially as a separate paper on it has been published by the writer.[1] The direction of research at any given period and area is furnished by the forces implicit or explicit in the cultural background; the exact lines are determined by the sensitive minds we call genius and lead to fundamental discoveries in science, and later to their applications.

One of the lessons that the study of man and his culture teaches us, is that progress in culture has occurred through increasing cooperation between human beings. Such working together, first limited to the family and later to [illegible] linked groups, led to the pooling of early [illegible] ledge and experience and made possible [illegible] progress. Life in the very primitive material [illegible] dition in which the Australian tribal folk [illegible] would have been impossible if the local group [illegible] a whole had not shared the flesh of large ani[illegible] in the chase. The Esquimaux, before recent [illegible] would have died out if in their Arctic [illegible] they had not shared fresh meat in winter, or [illegible] spare tools and implements. Shifting cultiv[illegible] in forest areas with fast growing vegetation [illegible] have been impossible, if the local comm[illegible] usually the village, had not worked together. [illegible] a higher level of culture, irrigated cultivation [illegible] rendered possible only because whole groups [illegible] villages joined in cooperation to make the [illegible] sary channels and to share the water suppl[illegible] our own times, atomic fission became an ac[illegible] plished fact only through the pooling of resear[illegible] of scientists of many nations.[2]

In modern civilization, the need of such w[illegible] ing together is recognised, and every state [illegible] claims to be advanced in civilization, irrespe[illegible] of the colour of its political learnings, allo[illegible] substantial part of its national income to com[illegible] nity welfare which is the present day equiv[illegible] of community co-operation. But a second le[illegible] conveyed by the study of man and the envi[illegible] ment created by him that we call culture, is [illegible] overlooked. It is, that where the scarcity [illegible] operates, after a certain standard of living has [illegible] reached, co-operation tends to break down. [illegible] primitive food collecting Veddahs of Ceylon [illegible] cooperation among themselves, and still [illegible] some remnants of it (or at least had in the [illegible] century). But faced with the encroachment [illegible] their hunting territory by more advanced [illegible] they developed a sharply individualistic [illegible] in economic matters. Similar examples are [illegible] among Californian Amerindian tribesmen [illegible] America. The suspicion and lack of cooper[illegible] that scarcity engenders, in fact, led a [illegible] sociologist to state that man is naturally an [illegible] dividualist and does not welcome cooper[illegible] As an example he noted the Touareg of S[illegible]

*Talk given at Symposium of the National Institute of Sciences of India in May, 1959.

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who live in hard conditions and display an intense jealousy in the matter of individual rights.[3] Such non-cooperative attitudes are really found with scarcity of prime necessities of life.

In our country, we are trying to build up a composite nation out of many different elements. There are many fissiparous forces operating in them. In order that the necessary objectives may be realised, it is essential that the people of our country should realise the problems and accept the changes that are essential. This introduction of changes, *i.e.*, of new culture traits cannot be done simply by legislation or by direction of a Planning Commission. Reports of the United Nations Educational and Scientific organisation reveal how attempts to introduce useful traits of culture have not often succeeded in modern conditions due to non-acceptance by the people concerned. Study of man and his culture shows numerous examples of such resistance to introduction of useful traits and also of disappearance of useful arts even when the essential technique was known. A certain amount of preparation is therefore absolutely necessary to bring about a receptive frame and mind and behavioural attitude on the part of the people among whom we want to introduce new traits such as scientific thinking and application of methods of science in every day life.[4]

Elimination of want, and ensuring of an adequate supply of food, clothing and other essentials of life require that modern technology should be applied, wherever possible in fields of production to step up output. This does not mean that cottage industries or individual craft work should disappear. But it does mean that even in these fields modern tools, as also ways of eliminating unnecessary expenditure of human labour are to be introduced. Since a large proportion of our adolescent and adult population will have to work in fields and factories, it is essential that the outlook of these people should specially be influenced by objective training in science, keeping in view the principles already discussed. As the labour corps in agriculture and industry will not be drawn in the less-skilled grades from persons educated in the Universities, it follows that the teaching of science to such people will have to be given in schools. Since modern technology is going to occupy an increasingly important place, not only in factories and plantations but also in cooperatives of craftsmen and cultivators, the teaching in schools has to ensure that those who go through these institutions get a good training in and acquaintance with scientific method and the facts of science and technology. Emphasis in teaching has to shift in this direction. Again, since it is essential to plan for the nation, and it is well-known that freedom of the individual under Planning is limited in many fields, it is essential that from early childhood, the future citizens be trained to think for themselves on the basis of facts. Only in this way can independent scientific thinking be combined with the limitations of freedom imposed by planned economy. I have considered it necessary to emphasise these two points—of preparing people to accept the introduction of modern scientific methods, and of ensuring freedom of thought within limitation of socio-economic behaviour under planning, as there are strong trends in our country which run counter to these objectives. At present Basic Education is emphasised and sought to be introduced all over our Republic. When the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh was founded to develop this type of education, I pointed out as one of the original members of that body the limitations of its methodology and objectives, and advocated combining with it modern techniques. Some of the defects have since then been removed but even now we read that in Basic Schools—"The things to do without delay are (1) To put productive work without any ambiguity or reservation at the core of Basic education, (2) to ensure that good productive work becomes the medium of effective learning and therefore to check, measure, and properly to evaluate productivity in relation to specific norms and targets." Details are then noted, with special approval of targets laid down in one state of net *per capita* monthly income from pupils' work for all grades beginning with Grade I. In the eighth grade, *i.e.*, in the secondary stage it is to be Rs. 3|- *per capita* per month. These details are noted from the Report of the Assessment Committee on Basic Education appointed by the Ministry of Education, New Delhi and published by end of 1956.[5] The Committee laments that in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh

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the target of production output is neglected and emphasis is placed on creative work. In the introduction to the Report Sri K. G. Saiyidain notes with approval the general recommendations made in the Report. The emphasis on craft and income production in school is unmistakeable. It is hardly necessary to point out that widespread extension of this type of education is not compatible with teaching of science on an objective basis, linked with modern technology. In my book, *Our Education*, I have indicated the undoubted value of hand and eye training and also the need of centering education round life activities, as is done among simpler folk.[6] But this does not mean that our educational structure should aim at the old self-sufficient village system with its own craftsmen or that children should work in schools like miniature factories to earn for their education. But early training in science is essential if we are to break down the prejudices that hamper objective thinking and create social divisions. Such training is needed also to impart the necessary skill to our youth to understand and utilise the tools and implements of modern technology. The extent to which such training has been found necessary in technologically advanced countries may be judged from the following details about European schools.

For England, I shall note the details first of the type of training imparted to teachers, as this gives a good indication of the teaching work they are expected to do. A training college for women teachers is selected for illustration. The time of visit was in 1934, and later reports on education in England indicate further raising of quality and standard of such work.[7]

The normal course of study for a teacher's certificate is a two years' course after the Higher S. L. certificate. Every candidate has to study,

1. The Principles and Practice of Education, (Two papers—one on psychology and one on Practice),
2. Hygiene,
3. Physical Training (Theory and Practice),
4. English Language and Literature (three papers).

Any three of the following subjects, of which not more than two are to be taken fr either group.

A. History, Geography, Mathematics, Sci A Foreign language.

B. Music, Drawing, Needlework and H work (for men).
Housecraft (for women only), Ga ing and Handwork (for men).

The Furzedown Training College which visited provided at the time a two year's co for women who wanted to be teachers of pu elementary schools.

For Geography, class work was supplem by excursions and visits to Museums. Stud were encouraged to make a study of the lo area, whether a village or a town. Indivi free work found expression in these studies. A thropogeographical details, the economic g graphy of the area, peculiarities of the lay of land or architecture of habitations were n and illustrated with maps and drawings. Such ports were found on examination to be of v good quality.

For Biology, each student carried o piece of individual work, chiefly on her own on a subject chosen by herself. The first year spent on the study of animal life, the second plant life. The following pieces of indivi work were found to have been done by stud at the time of visit :

A study of

1. Some common London trees.
2. Tame mice in captivity with special re rence to their behaviour and colour heritance.
3. Rabbits, wild and domestic their st ture and habits.
4. Photo synthesis based largely on exp mental work.
5. Plant and animal life in ponds streams.
6. The life structure of the honey bee a year's life in the hive.

There were other titles but these will some idea of the type of work done. How are run may be judged from the Central

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boys' schools of the London country council for students who show normal aptitude or do better in the primary stage. Here science is regularly taught of a standard of near about the present Intermediate standard of our Universities. In most Central schools there was one big hall for teaching Physics, Chemistry and Botany. The shelves round the room held apparatus and chemicals. The demonstration table had gas and water laid on as usual. In addition the boys' desks had gas laid for conversion into laboratory tables for Practical work. A few science lessons observed were found to be imparted on the usual lecture-cum-demonstration method.

The students did technical drawing and then advanced mechanical drawing in two years before the final year, if they take up a technical bias course. In the final year designing and advanced work is done. Visual educaion was helped by cine reels and slides from a central store. Scottish schools in Edinburgh were similarly, though not so well-equipped.

In Sweden, the standard of science teaching was found to be higher. As an example the work done and equipment in one of the secondary schools in Stockholm is noted. Children are admitted to it only after they have spent five to six years in primary school (folkskola). The age of pupils is then about 11 or 12. After five more years the Real Skolexamen is taken. Further, study is also arranged for admission to the University. There was in one institution visited a Physics Laboratory for 20 pupils to work at a time of a standard equal to that of our B.Sc. pass course laboratory. This was for the senior classes. There was also a smaller laboratory for the lower forms. Each table and seat had a numbered board where in slots instruments like calipers, screw gauges, etc., were kept. There is also a demonstration room with apparatus for the B.Sc. pass standard. The chemistry laboratory was comparable to a well-equipped I.Sc. laboratory in Calcutta. There was also a very well-equipped natural history museum, with well arranged specimens in thirty large cases of size 10′×5′×5′. The Botany department was also properly equipped with usual microscope, etc., and had a projection apparatus to show sections on screens. The Geography Department had a map and chart room and a museum showing examples of costumes, tools weapons and economic products of different areas.

In Denmark, the equipment of science laboratories and demonstration rooms for Physics, Chemistry and Biology were adequate even in schools in small towns, although not on such a lavish scale as in the schools in Stockholm. In France, the teaching in science in the higher forms seemed to be less elaborate in the state and municipal schools. Greater emphasis was placed on practical training. The equipment in the continuation school at Suresnes for children of age 13 to 16, for example, had lathes, drills, forges, electrical machines, etc., comparable to the corresponding workshops for the junior certificate course in Jadavpore Engineering College. Secondary schools proper have arrangements for general science teaching.

In the schools in Moscow, the equipment for science teaching was found to be more abundant. Greater stress is also laid on visual education and on learning by doing. In Moscow, students complete study in class X, the final year of the secondary schools, normally at the age of seventeen. In visits to several such schools in 1952, the teaching of Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Geography and English were observed. In the class room for work in chemistry for class VII, each table had the equipment needed for small experiments. As the teacher taught and demonstrated, the pupils followed him, repeating his experiments. Apart from such small-scale work, larger experiments are carried out in the bigger laboratory.

In Physics, as well as in Biology, I found the same elaborate equipment for teaching. A geography lesson on Kazakstan was in progress in class VIII in another school. Besides maps and charts, the teacher used a cine film to illustrate the physical features of the area studied. Earlier conditions of primitive production and its effect on social life were also shown in the film. Finally, the pupils saw how introduction of irrigation and modern technical methods had changed the economic conditions and led to the growth of better integrated societies at a higher level of culture. The teaching of Trigonometry in class IX and of English in one of the higher classes

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appeared to be adequate. The assessment of the work of the students was done in these two classes and also in Physics when I was observing the teaching. For mathematics, there was questioning to elucidate, and also blackboard work, and for physics, by experiment and exposition. The assigning of marks on the basis of quality of work done went hand in hand with teaching. The advantage of this method seems to be that the students have to come prepared regularly to these classes, not deferring preparation to the examination season. At the end of the year only a sample checking over and above this marking, is done. The results are declared on the combined report on standard of work done during the year and the performance at the sample test. At the University level also, the tests are not deferred to the end of the five years' course. Here the American model is followed to some extent. Courses are so planned that particular topics are covered at the end of terms of about six months. Two tests are held, one in the middle and one at the end of the year in each of the five years at the University.

In Prague, the system of testing and marking in class is similar to that of Moscow schools. The equipments were adequate but not so lavish.

To encourage voluntary acquisition of skills, Soviet authorities have organised what are known as Pioneer Palaces. In U.S.S.R., there are also various centres where young people can take up Biological and other researches as hobbies. All these help to increase science and technology mindedness among youths in U.S.S.R.[8]

In our own country, we are now trying to raise the standard of teaching in schools and in colleges. The Education Ministry at the Centre and the University Grants Commission have encouraged and emphasised the introduction of the three years' degree course and of the eleven years' Higher Secondary School syllabus. There is, however, some confusion of thought leading to lack of proper coordination.

The introduction of teaching of science in secondary schools requires costly equipment as well as properly qualified teachers. To get enough teachers trained in science and also in teaching methods requires expansion of science teaching in colleges in the Honours stage and also in the University at the Postgraduate level, well as more room in Pedagagic Institutes. T are not enough seats for science Honours co in Physics or Chemistry or Biological sub or in Geography. Even for a Pass degree w distniction there are not enough laboratories used for a single shift. Nevertheless, the S Government and also the U.G.C. want college buildings and laboratories should be for a single shift. This means that buildings laboratories will be used only for about hours—from eleven to five daily. Is there reason why the building and laboratories sh not be used from seven in the morning till e in the evening, with one hours gap to en teaching of students in two shifts? To argument that in a poor country like o capital should not be locked up without (except for just one shift of six hours) objection that is raised is that with shift sys efficiency in teaching falls and there is a l percentage of failures. But is the use of building for two shifts responsible for s failures? Or is it the use of the same labora by two sets of students responsible for los efficiency? Surely, if in a factory different s can, with adequate gaps use the same machi without loss of efficiency, different batches students can study in the same building and the same laboratory without loss of efficie Failures are not due to such common use building and laboratory. It is due to the emp ment of the same teachers for several batches students overworking the staff unduly and also due to lack of facilities for study by l numbers of the students.[9] The real target sh be to pay teachers an adequate salary and i on appointment of separate staff for sep shifts. There should also be more amenities study for the students. I may point out th a different level of education—in schools a rich country like England did not hesita use the same well-equipped centre—for H craft and for Hand work located in one s by several other similar schools without equipment on different half days. In Cal when I was Education Officer of the city I this method to keep down capital expense workshop for manual training. Those wh

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acquainted with the standard attained in Corporation Schools in my time will certify that these arrangements had proved to be successful. I have also indicated elsewhere how training facilities can be expanded without unduly increasing the cost of training. Such experiments were also successfully conducted for training teachers of Corporation Primary Schools. Indications have been given of modification needed for teachers of Secondary Schools. There is no reason why similar devices should not be used in keeping capital costs low for expansion of scientific education, in colleges and schools as also for training of teachers in secondary schools, without sacrificing efficiency to any extent. I may note further that unless some arrangement is made for use of laboratories of rural higher secondary schools by several institutions, these costly set-ups will lie idle for our fifths or more of their usable capacity. The number in the top classes are usually small and even they use the laboratories only for a few hours in the week. This is wasteful. To think of giving the best to our children is good. But it is folly to go bankrupt in the process, without reaching anywhere near the goal.

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CRISIS IN LAOS

By H. N. GULATI

Laos together with the states of Vietnam and Cambodia constitute the peninsula of Indo-China, whose eastern sea-board runs after the letter S. The people of this landlocked country, numbering some two million are composed of various ethnic groups—aboriginal Kha, Meo and Yao—the hill tribes, the Buddhist Lao and the tribal Tai. In addition there are Europeans and Asians from countries like India, Pakistan, China and Vietnam.

Laos, entirely dominated by the Mekong river, could not achieve political unification till as late as the French occupation. It remained divided into independent village groups. Brief periods of a loose union have only been exceptions in its chequered history.

Independence has never been the gift of the poor inhabitants of Laos, who suffered invasions at the hands of Javanese Tibetans, Indians, Mongols or the Thais. The country divided into principalities seldom enjoyed peace. A shrewd Prince Fa Ngoun by name taking advantage of the political mess which overwhelmed the country carved out a kingdom for himself in the middle of the fourteenth century. Having occupied Vientiane, he proclaimed himself the king of Lan Xang (the country of million elephants) in 1355, and set up his capital at Luang Prabang. Fa Ngoun

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military astute, was incapable of keeping the masses happy. Being oppressive, he had to abdicate after twenty years' rule in favour of his son Oun Mueun.

Lan Xang could not persist as a kingdom for long. The death of Soulingne Vongsa in 1694 brought in disintegration. Dynastic disputes for the throne resulted in the creation of three kingdoms of Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Champassak (Bassac).

Siamese taking advantage of perpetual internal rivalries and bickerings came to establish their suzerainty over the Laotian people in 1778. Their hold, however, could not last long. The French had already penetrated the Indo-Chinese lands in the 17th century, with the proselytizing mission. This activity, it must be remembered, was inextricably woven with the trading interests.

The insatiable French appetite next undertook a political conquest. In 1893, through the agency of one Auguste Pavie, an employee of the Cochin-Chinese Postal and Telegraph Services, a protectorate was established over Laos. It was rendered possible by a treaty with Siam, who terror-stricken of French military might, chose to step down the saddle of suzerainty.

The whole of Indo-China came under the virtual military occupation of Japan in 1941. With the defeat of the Japanese, Laos after some formalities reverted to France.

By this time, the Laotian people had tasted a dose of freedom. Influence of Viet Minh, operating actively in Vietnam especially in the South, had made them more conscious of their rights. Lao Issara (Free Lao), a cross section of the populace bent upon complete freedom from the French yoke, were increasing in strength They had the active support of Phetsarath, a Lao prince. The Prince held a key position in the political set-up. He was the Viceroy and Prime Minister, in rank second to the king of Luang Prabang.

The French pinned faith on Sisavang Vong, the reactionary king of Luang Prabang. In his person, they discovered hope of continuing with the protectorate.

Taking advantage of Japanese capitulation, Phetsarath who was then in V tiane, on September 1, 1945, proclai abrogation of the French protector over Laos. With their headquarters Vientane, the Lao Issara Government gan to function. This sensitized the Fre who with the help of their stooge, Sisavang Vong faced no difficulty in exp ing the budding independent Governm from Vientane. This happened on A 20, 1946.

The imperialists though able to st a come-back on the Indo-chinese soil, w not feeling easy there. They had to rec with a people who had awakened to co ciousness and could give a tough fig Viet Minh, working under the sagac leadership of Ho Chi Minh were alre making them restless. Expense over w was mounting high. Force of circums ces constrained them to grant a slice independence. By the general Fran Laotian Convention of July 19, 1947, L acquired the status of an independ state within the French Union.

The end of French rule marked beginning of divisions within the L Issara. Prince Phetsarath because of ul nationalist ideas was removed fr leadership. His younger brother Pr Souphannouvong alienated himself fr the party by his extreme leftist leani Dissensions were in clear evidence. Am the exiles brought back to Vientane in French plane, Phetsarath and Soupha nouvong were conspicuous by absence.

The recent crisis which captured headlines in the periodicals in 1959 re sents a cumulative effect of the dis started in 1949. Internal political bic ings between the communists and royalists happened to assume big pro tions. Taking advantage of the fissipar tendencies, foreign elements came to in vene, making Laos a pawn in the cold To know how the volcano of acrimony enmity erupted, it is essential to trace history of events.

The period between independence conclusion of Geneva agreements has note-worthy developments to its credit the time of cease fire in 1954, Laos was

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impregnated with the communist Viet Minh forces. The two provinces of Phong Saly and Houa Phans (or Samneua) bordering Vietnams were under their firm control, and were administered by the Pathet Lao, the local communist party.

Development of Pathet Lao

The Lao Issara which stood for independence from France had within it leftist elements, which constituted the nucleus of what later on came to be known as the Pathet Lao.

We know, Souphanouvong in view of his being a communist was detached from his comrades at the time of independence. From his exile in Bangkok, he along with his followers fled to North Vietnam to join Ho Chi Minh, who after reckoning with his foes—the French colonialists—would have respite in a hide-out in Tuyen-Quang. There they felt that the independence given to the Laotians was a farce. Royal power was against the principles of democracy. With a democratic republic in mind they proclaimed the Pathet Lao on August 13, 1950.

To make Pathet Lao broad-based, it permitted non-communist 'progressive' elements to join its ranks. In November, Neo Lao Issara (Free Lao Front) was attracted to it. The year 1952 witnessed a further development. Strictly in accordance with communistic principles, with rigid party discipline, Pathet Lao became a full-fledged Laotian Communist Party. It chose to designate itself Phak Khon Ngon Lao (P.K.N.L.)—the Laotian Workers' Party.

Working of P.K.N.L. proved that it was not making much headway towards winning popular support. Keeping this in view, the leaders created in January 1956 a 'legal' party called the Lao Hak Xat (N.L.H.X.) or Lao Patriotic Front. It undertook to increase membership and honey-combed the entire kingdom.

Towards the Crisis

The Geneva agreements purported to merge unity. Separate administration of the two border provinces by the Pathet Lao was to come to a stop. They were to come under the Royal control. U.C.P.L. (Unites Combatantes Pathet Lao), the Pathet Lao armed forces were to merge themselves with the Royal troops.

For implementation of the terms, Prince Souphanouvong and his half-brother Souvanna Phouma, the leader of the moderates met in November, 1957, and concluded an agreement. Civil and military organizations of the Pathet Lao were to be integrated with their Royal counterparts. Fresh elections were to be held, NLHX was rendered a legal party and could contest.

Complimentary elections were held on May 4, 1958. NLHX annexed 14 seats, getting two cabinets posts—that of planning and religion and cults. The portfolio of planning, one of the vital departments was entrusted to Souphanouvong. This embarassed the Americans—dealt as the department did, **inter alia** with foreign aid.

Next came the question of the integration of the Pathet Lao forces. The Royal Government desired that the merger take place on an individual basis. The two UCPL battalions should disintegrate; and all the various officials enlist themselves individually in the Royal army where they would be posted according to the exigencies. UCPL did not relish this policy of dispersal. It stood for the retention of the compact identity of the two Battalions. Stern attitude on the part of the both the parties—Royal Government and UCPL—serves as a dauntless answer to the explosive situation that enveloped the country a little later.

Another factor that explains the subsequent mishaps is the replacement of Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister by Phovi Sananikone. The former as a result of his compromising policy was able to maintain the balance of politics in equilibrium. August, 1958, witnessed the change-over.

What the role of the Americans was in this change is not clear. No documentary evidence is available to suggest that it was prompted by them. One thing is certain.

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Inclusion of ministers like Souphanouvong with charge of vital departments, was not to the taste of American aid officials. And Sananikone had firm pro-Western slant. This is evident from a talk he gave soon after he took over. "As far as peaceful co-existence is concerned we shall clearly inform neighbouring countries and the world that we shall co-exist with the free world only . . . ."

The new Prime Minister undertook to resolve the deadlock arising out of the terms of the integration. Finding the UCPL adamant Sanannikone chose to proceed with an iron hand. Getting wind of the intentions of the administration one of the battalions of Pathet Lao managed to escape across the border to North Vietnam on May 18, 1959. The other failed in its attempts, and was brought to the heels. Prince Souphanouvong being taken as a dangerous man was arrested.

These events had far-reaching repurcussions. They brought in their trail the crisis which startled the press. July 16 marked the beginning of the stirrings. Regular fighting commenced.

Upheavals in Laos were attended by the news 'North Viet-Namese invasion', 'The Red bugbear' began to slide from the Western, and pro-Western lips. The facts, however, are not far to seek.

An Investigation Commission consisting of pro-Western countries like Argentine, Italy, Japan and Tunisia was sent to Laos. Its report nowhere mentioned the complicity of the Reds. Vietnamese prisoners were conspicuous by their absence. Greater part of the captured military equipment was American as well as that of Royal Laotian army.

British and French through their own independent sources drew the same conclusion. France has a long and intimate experience with the Indo-Chinese. She has got the best intelligence service in North Vietnam and Laos. Never did France throughout 1959 referred to the "foreign invasion."

Foreign invasion is but a mental construction arising out of fear psychosis developed by the terror-stricken capitalism, whose arch advocate is the United States. The basic reason of drawing the coun into a series of convulsions is the oppres policy of Sananikone. Instead of embark upon long overdue socio-economic refor the prime minister undertook to meet situation by an outright repression.

Sananikone on adopting a tough a tude towards Pathet Lao counted much American support. Before long he d covered that his expectations were being borne out. Instead of improving situation worsened. Chaos and disor began to reign the country. There wa series of cabinet crises.

Impotence of governmental autho was clearly in evidence. All the Pathet detenus escaped on May 24, 1960.

While the political house was at si and sevens, one Kong-lae, a 26 years captain of the Royal army seized con of Vientane on August 9, 1960. With patri zeal, he pronounced that he liked to graft and corruption and save Laos fr foreign influence. Prince Souvana Phou was invited and again charged with responsibilities of primeministership the National Assembly.

These developments instead of bri ing peace to the country, ushered in dawn of uneasiness and misery for poor Laotians. Phouma in a deterior situation found himself helpless. Pr Boun Oum had set up a "revolutio committee" as a challenge to the Vien government. Phoumi Nosavan acting as right hand man of the prince was pla an important role as the extreme opposition. Neo Lao Haksat, the po organisation of the Pathet Lao too become active.

September 20, 1960, witnessed the open clashes between the forces of 'revolutionary committee' and those of government. The presence of communis the field added fuel to the fire. started, the hostilities showed little of an end. A three cornered fight wa sight, with (i) Souvanna Phouma-King combination in nominal control of mu the north-western Laos; (ii) Pathet occupying much of the north-eastern r and (iii) the Phoumi Nosavan group ing control of the south.

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The chaotic situation left the king in an awkward position. He chose to remain neutral between the contending factions. The lukewarm attitude of the king with situation going out of hands, Prince Souvanna Phouma fled to Cambodia on December 9, 1960.

Foreign Aid

At this juncture when Laos is being strangled it will be in the fitness of things to peep into the anxiety of the senior wranglers to save the country—to save it from going either extreme left or extreme right.

The internal clashes in Laos stirred the Americans and the Soviets to a campaign of charges and counter-charges. These were accusations of intervention. The war of nerves apart, it is for us to see the facts in so far as the Reds or non-Reds have interests in the tiny land torn by warfare.

Alarmed by the drift of events, Mr. Graham Parsons, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, alongwith the Assistant Secretary of Defence, visited Vientane on October 12, 1960. Talks with the Laotian Government on economic and military aid got under way. Their success was announced by the State department on October 17.

The new Soviet Ambassador, Alexander Abramov, arrived in Vientane on October 13. Two days hence, came the announcement that the Soviet Government had made an offer of financial aid to Laos. Prince Souvanna Phouma responded with equal warmth and accepted the offer, which was to be unconditional.

Reverting to the flight of Prince Phouma on December 25, Boun Oum, with the approval of the King was invested as Prime Minister by the National Assembly.

Abdication of Phouma brought Pathet Lao closer to the moderate wing led by Lae-Phoma combination. Their activities grew more vigorous, and they set up a rival government at Xieng Khouang.

Pained by the critical situation prevailing in the country the three princes, Souphanouvong, Boun Oum and Souvanna Phouma, met in a Zurich Hotel with a view to thrash out a solution and save the country from ruin. Unable to reconcile their differences, the meeting proved unavailing.

In the meantime Soviet Union and other countries were putting forward proposals for a Geneva Conference. A truce was considered an essential pre-requisite to the anticipated success of the proposal. To that end a cease-fire conference was convened. The Chairman of the International Control Commission (ICC) for Laos announced the cease-fire.

The fourteen nations Geneva Conference got under way in May, 1961. Despite certain serious differences among the international oligarchy eyes of the pacifists are fixed on them. With wistful eyes, they are waiting for the day when Laos might breathe calm.

Whatever might be the achievements of the Geneva Nations, one thing must not be lost sight of. An enduring peace and prosperity can be brought to Laos by the men and women of Laos themselves. Let the leading politicians of the country come to a compromise and save the nation from the writhing pains. Establishment of a Democratic Republic, with the policy of non-alignment implying non-membership of military blocs, acceptance of economic aid without strings and friendly relations with all the states—this is what a peaceable future of the country calls for.

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THE KASHMIR DISPUTE : INDIA'S POSITION

By B. C. NAG,

Assistant Editor, Hindusthan Standard.

WHENEVER Pakistan is faced with internal troubles, its ruling class raises the cry of Kashmir and spits venom on India. It plays this game to divert the attention of the people from their real grievances which are many. What India feels about this vexed question is explained here.

Pakistan believes that religion is the basis of nationality. Its claim to Kashmir stems from this belief. Of the 5 million population of Kashmir, about 3.5 million are Moslem, out of 40 million Moslems of India.

It should be borne in mind that the partition of India did not take place on the basis of the two-nation theory of Mahommed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, according to whom Indian Moslems were a different nation as they professed a different religion. India never accepted this theory, but agreed to partition only as a concession under compelling circumstances to politically dissident groups which wanted a separate state for them.

Besides, this concession applied only to British India and not to the princely India, consisting of more than five hundred states which were semi-independent.

India thinks that this two-nation theory is a challenge to its Constitution, the acceptance of which will upset the *status quo*, adversely affecting the 36-1/2 million Moslems in other parts of the country, and kindle religious fanaticism, resulting in large-scale migrations, attended with great human suffering, as was witnessed in 1947. India, the home of many religious communities, Hindu, Moslem, Christian, Buddhist, Jewish, Zoroastrian and other, consider the theory of nationality based on religion extremely dangerous for the stability of its secular democracy.

Besides religion, there are three aspects of the Kashmir question. They are its accession to India, Pakistan's aggression and the issue of *plebiscite.*

ACCESSION

Kashmir acceded to India in October, 19[illegible] when its ruler Maharaja Sir Hari Singh sig[illegible] an instrument of accession which was acce[illegible] by Lord Mountbatten, India's then Gover[illegible] General. It was endorsed by the largest poli[illegible] party in the State, the Kashmir Nati[illegible] Conference, 75 per cent of whose members w[illegible] Moslem. It was further approved by a fre[illegible] elected Constituent Assembly of Kashmir [illegible] October, 1951. The accession was thus legal a[illegible] constitutional. It has never to date been challen[illegible] on legal grounds.

The United States representative said at t[illegible] U.N. Security Council on February 4, 19[illegible] "With the accession of Kashmir to India, t[illegible] foreign sovereignty went over to India and [illegible] exercised by India and that is why India happ[illegible] to be here as a petitioner." The British dele[illegible] tion to the U.N. has never questioned this [illegible] of accession which was made directly under [illegible] enactments of the British Parliament. The Le[illegible] Adviser to the United Nations Commission d[illegible] agreed that the State's accession to India w[illegible] legal. It was recognized and defined by the U[illegible] Commission in its resolutions of August, 19[illegible] and January, 1959. Both these resolutions w[illegible] accepted by India and Pakistan.

AGGRESSION

President Ayub Khan admitted Pakis[illegible] aggression when he said at Djakarta on Decem[illegible] 7, 1960, "Thus began the problem of Kas[illegible] where the Moslems were fighting for free[illegible] Naturally we in Pakistan went to their aid."

Mr. Jinnah, according to Campbell John[illegible] book, "Mission With Mountbatten," told M[illegible] Mountbatten in 1947 that if Indian troops w[illegible] withdrawn from Kashmir, "I will call the w[illegible]

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thing off," meaning thereby that he would withdraw Pakistani forces from Kashmir.

Sir Zaffrulla Khan, Pakistan's principal delegate to the U.N., admitted before the U.N. Commission in July, 1948 that three Pakistan brigades were fighting in Kashmir.

Sir Owen Dixon, Australian jurist and U.N. Representative for India and Pakistan, held that the entry of hostile elements into Kashmir in October, 1947 was "contrary to international law" and the entry of regular Pakistani forces in May, 1948 too was "inconsistent with international law."

In his book, "As I See India," Robert Trumbull of the *New York Times* says, "There was never any doubt that Pakistani provincial authorities, perhaps unofficially but certainly not without the knowledge of Karachi, supplied the blood-thirsty tribals with truck transport. And Pakistani army officers, alleged to be on 'leave,' led the contingents."

Plebiscite

Pakistan says, India has not honoured its commitments to the U.N. Both Pakistan and India accepted a resolution adopted on August 13, 1948 by the U.N. Commission. The first part of the resolution imposed cease-fire. The second directed Pakistan to withdraw all its regular and irregular forces from the territory of Kashmir. The third, which was to be acted upon when the first and second parts were implemented, envisaged a method whereby the free will of the people of Kashmir could be ascertained in a peaceful manner.

While the first part, *i.e.*, cease-fire, has been acted upon by both sides, the second, *i.e.*, withdrawal of its regular and irregular forces from Kashmir, has not been implemented by Pakistan. In the circumstances, India cannot implement unilaterally the third part of the resolution.

Pakistan makes much of an assurance given by Prime Minister Nehru to the people of Kashmir after India had accepted the State's accession. The assurance was that after Pakistan's aggression had been vacated and the entire territory of the State cleared of Pakistani hordes and tribals, India would again ascertain, if necessary, the will of the people of Kashmir. The assurance was not that India would hold a plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir should join India or Pakistan. The assurance was purely an internal affair with India. So it is not understandable how Pakistan comes in it.

So far as this assurance is concerned, it has already been more than fulfilled. The people of Kashmir through their freely elected Constituent Assembly have ratified their decision to make their State part of the Indian territory. Today it is one of the 16 constituent States of Indian Union. Neither the Kashmir Assembly nor the Parliament of India can now alter this settled fact, a fact which is enshrined in Article 3 of the Constitution of the State of Kashmir and has the sanction of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Plebiscite like general election is one of the recognized forms of democratic process to ascertain the will of the people. But while there has not been a single general election in Pakistan since it was created in August, 1947, free elections in the normal course have been held three times during this period in Kashmir on the Indian side.

Sheikh Abdulla

The question of the detention of Sheikh Abdulla, the first Prime Minister of Kashmir after independence, has nothing to do with the original Kashmir dispute. But as Pakistan now also makes much of it, it should be explained here why the Sheikh, whose Kashmir national militia fought along with the Indian Army to repulse the Pakistani raiders, is now in detention. Kashmir acceded to India with the complete concurrence of the Sheikh who was at that time the head of the Kashmir National Conference, a wing of the All-India National Congress, and it was under his leadership that the Kashmir National Conference unanimously endorsed the accession. The charge against him now is that as the Prime Minister of Kashmir, he utilised his position, with the connivance of some foreign powers, to make it secede from India and to make it a sovereign buffer state between India, China, Pakistan and Soviet Russia. When in 1953 these activities were unearthed, he was dismissed from the State premiership by the Sadar-e-Riyasat, *i.e.*, the head of the State, arrested and placed on

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trial. Abdulla has no sympathy for Pakistan, nor is he a believer in Jinnah's two-nation theory. His present interest, as alleged, lies elsewhere.

No More Beru-Bari, Please

According to recent reports from New Delhi, the Nehru Government is agreeable to accept the present cease-fire line as the permanent boundary between India and Pakistan, but the Pakistan Government, which wants to keep enmity between the two countries alive, has rejected the offer. The question here is not how Pakistan reciprocates India's gesture of friendship, but how long will the Nehru Government be allowed to surrender territory after territory for the mere fun of it.

The whole of Kashmir belongs to India and if the Nehru Government wants to surrender part of it to Pakistan, it should not be a gift but it should be on an exchange basis. In return of the territory to be ceded, the Government of India should ask for a territory of like nature and value from Pakistan. The disputed twelve thanas of Sylhet or the Chittagong Hill Tracts or both may to an extent compensate the resultant loss to be suffered by India, if the Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir is given away. Mr. Nehru himself once said that he was a bad bargainer. So our representatives in the Parliament should see to it that he does not repeat Beru-Bari in the present case.

———:O:———

INDIA, A MODERN HISTORY*

By JOGES C. BOSE

INDIA, by Percival Spear, is in the scheme of global exploration, so laudably undertaken by the University of Michigun, U.S.A. It is no history in the technical sense, far less a work of research. Quite a pleasant and illuminative study, its approach is one of understanding with freedom from an obsession of metalic chronicling of events over dates, dynasties et cetera. The author, as a historian, has already made his mark by rewriting the British section of Vincent Smith's Oxford History of India and some notable excavations, associated with the Indus Valley Civilization. He adds one more feather to his cap of attainments.

The book is divided into 4 parts—*India: Ancient and Mediaeval, The Mughul Empire, The British in India* and *Modern India*, consisting of 41 chapters all told. There are, besides, some very useful pages on 'Suggested Readings', which are bound to be of great use to those who intend to proceed further.

The author has given us an excellent account of the leading aspects of the ancient Indian civilization. He speaks of Hinduism as no hide-bound religion, but a socio-religious system, which does not admit of any definition. It is so elastic that there is no bar to accepting as a Hindu an atheist, an agnostic or anyone having no religious belief at all. It is polytheistic, the author says, with the sense of of a Supreme Being behind all the Gods and Goddesses. I would rather put it like this that Hinduism takes as kindly to Gods and Goddesses with idols representing them, and does not reject the form of worship as quite a valid mode of worship. In fact, within the fold of Hinduism, paradoxical as it seems, there is room for various, nay, mutually-destructive cults, from animistic faith in Nature's cosmic energy to the deification of the Divine in man. This Divine in man is not, however, the samething as what Novalis understands by his 'revelation in flesh'—the idea on which Carlyle bases his *Heroes and Hero Worship*. In the light of the above, the author's assessment that 'there is no end to the study of Hinduism' only highlights his faith in its vastness and unplumbed depth. It is significant that the Sanskrit word *Dharma* (Religion) means that which holds the mind. Therefore, within a certain framework—and that for social purposes—with egress and regress not rigidly defined, Hinduism is an intellectual attitude to life.

*As Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee made over the book to me, he suggested that I would better not press it to a scheduled review.

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Hindu is within his rights to hold that man's religion, *i.e.*, his relation to God is exclusive and personal, and is sore against any imposition.

I wish the author had devoted a few lines to the Hindu conception of 'one world one humanity', floating down the mists of antiquity since the days of *The Upanishads*—Shri Aurobindo calls their authors, 'the liberated knowers of the Eternal.' It has gone so far deep into the Hindu social system that no man can offer oblatory satisfaction to the deceased kith and kin, which is enjoined in all important social observances, unless the offer is, at the same time, for all men of the world. As a result of political collapse in ignoble circumstances with die-hard beliefs and prejudices crowding round Hindu life thick and fast, the vital link with the venerable tradition of its past snapped; and Hindu civilization stagnated and suffered an eclipse. It is one of the riddles of history that a handful of British merchants rowed up the river Hooghly and founded their Indian Empire; but no less surprising is the fact that they brought the dynamics of a new civilization, which illumined the eclipsed period of our history, and, truly, in that light did India discover her transcendental self. Thanks to the 'Indian Renaissance' which, the author says, began among the active-minded Bengalis',* India owes, as Dr. Radhakrishnan says, 'the recapture of the spirit of universalism'. Sir William Jones and Professor Max Muller should have been mentioned in this connection.

Similarly, as I get on to Buddha, I miss a discussion on the line how this rebel son of Hinduism has saved Hindu culture from the turbulence of Brahminism: how he has brought down *The Upanishads* from the academic circle of the learned few to dwell among the common-folk in order to instal a perfectly democratic society on the basis of the equality of man: whether or not because of Buddha's great release of man's mind and intellect from the iron jacket of religious tyranny and dictatorship that India's attainments in the Gupta period were such that no country in the then contemporary world came near its height. It produced men like Chanakya, Panini, Deepankar, Seelbhadra, Charak, Sushruta, Nagaryoon and others, each a name to conjure with in the domain of Art or Science.

As to what, again, has posed like a problem is the banishment of Buddhism from India. Percival Spear's answer is: 'Brahminism sanctified fighting for the military caste. Krishna exhorting Arjuna to fight as a moral duty was preferable to Buddha's otherworldliness. The center of Buddhism was renunciation, while in Hinduism there was a place for all worldly activity.' Reference to Shri Krishna becomes free from confusion as the author gives the timing of *The Mahabharata* that it 'finally attained its present form, with its immense accretions, around 200 A.D.' 'The Brahmins', the author is justified in saying, 'triumphed but only at the price of taking Buddhist ideas into partnership. The recognition of Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, the Hindu Preserver-God, had in it a deep symbolism'. To me it seems that it is, by and large, the sovereign resilience of the parent cult gathering strength by adjustment, which triumphed. Buddhism, by the sheer weight and pervasiveness of its moral and essentially human indoctrination, successfully combatted and put to rout the *Vedic* and post-*Vedic* elements of Hinduism, and held the field for fairly 1000 years. But as Hinduism broadened in terms of the new pulls, Buddhism, its mission fulfilled, faded out. Besides, to have accepted Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu was an act of consummate statesmanship. We have, by the way, an exemplification of the same historical process in Bengal of modern times. Raja Rammohun Roy, with the sure trod of a giant, travelled back from *The Purans* to *The Upanishads;* but as Hinduism stood the initial shock, it was toned up by an all-round cultural orientation; and the Brahma Samaj began to dwindle ideologically. In fact, such was the resilience of the ancient Indian civilization and its power of assimilation that the Greeks, the Saks and the Huns, as they came in turn, were absorbed; and they lost their identity. It is for the historians to pause to reflect why it proved otherwise and became cohesive with the Turko-Afghan intruders.

On the topic 'Islam in India'—chapter VIII—the author says, 'Islam and Hinduism stood in

*'In Bengal', says the author, 'we come upon people noted for their artistic achievement and sensibility, their intellectual brilliance and their mercurial temperament'.

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marked contrast to each other. . . . In doctrine Islam is all definition and clarity, while Hinduism is vague and confused.' In the context of what we have been told all along that Hinduism is so very vast and comprehensive that it admits without let or hindrance many-varied religious thoughts, habits and predilictions, compendiously speaking, ways of life, the words 'vague' and 'confused' do not assort well. The different texts of Hindu belief, when assembled together, do not knit well; and the dilettante halts. For those, however, who would just go into the matter, all the seeming differences, nay, even conflicts converge on the point of fighting for freedom in pursuit of Truth, which must not in any circumstance get crushed under the dead weight of dogmas. To borrow a simile of Bergsson, it is like the eye, made of many complex mechanisms, but the vision is one simple fact.

Polytheism, caste, cow, et cetra, have been mentioned as dividing the Hindu and the Moslem. The author, however, hits the nail squarely on the head, when he says, 'The Hindu, though his social system was by no means wholly monogamous, objected to the Moslem principle of polygamy'. It is not the whole of it. It is the difference in the Hindu and Moslem outlook on sex which is the crux of the position.

The author has, truly, done well to pinpoint with reference to the Muslim invaders that 'the Turkish destruction of temples and monasteries would excite general horror as well as terror; but the peasants found that the Turkish horrors only occured when their armies were on the march and were not, in fact, much worse than the behaviour of other armies.' What 'other armies' are meant? If they are the armies of the country, in it is to be found an answer why India has bowed down to all attacks from outside.

The author's proposition that the Mughul Empire was no foreign rule in India is open to controversy. The author should have given us weighty reasons in support as against the elaborate discussions of the veteran scholar Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, amongst others. Is not it, as well, inconsistent with his considered opinion that the Mughuls maintained Islam in India 'as a branch of the Caliphate'? (page 232). In fact, his disconcerting proneness to near-adoration leanings for Nehru such as to call India, 'the home of Nehru and Gandhi', post-independent India 'Nehru's India', and even while refering cas to Hindustani, to fly at a tangent and speak as the language 'Mr. Nehru spoke in his hom Allahabad' make one incline to the concl that he has fallen an easy prey to Azad-N fad on the point, Dr. Tara Chand coming to rescue. To Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the D of modern Bengali literature, the Pathans were nationals in Bengal but the Mughuls were Again, on Akbar the following reads fanta "In the case of India it can certainly be that the shape of things to come would have different if Akbar had not reigned. On the w India was fortunate in the conjunction of pe and circumstances. In many ways the M Empire which Akbar established prepared way for the British, who in turn laid the fou tion of the new India. We can thus trace *a* *connection* (italics mine) between Akbar and prototype today, Jawaharlal Nehru". I have to trace it. Patel, if alive, would have jumped with malicious insistence that if Akbar was a foreigner he was a nationalist Moslem— Michael Brecher's biography of Nehru. I do know why the author disrobes Nehru of As gown and makes him don that of Akbar.

Before I leave the interlude of Moslem I would ask the author one very simple ques He introduces his book as 'the story of how gifted, passionate, religious people threw foreign rule to become the pivotal state of time, an emerging industrial giant in the E By people he certainly means the Hindus Moslems of India. My trouble is with word gious'. Do the Moslems, whose religion is clarity and definition' accept the Hindus as gious'? Mohommed Ali did not scruple to Mahatma Gandhi a *Kaffir*, even if he was ini found handy to launch the Khilafat move Again, it is no use from the standpoint of a torian to shy at the part played by he Moslem the fight for Independence. What Mr. Jinnah cates is for history to note without any ex cation. On 12th November, 1930, he said at Round-Table Conference, London, "When say that a large, a very influential party in stands for misusing or wrecking the future C titution, I ask you the question: Do you those parties, *who have checked, held in abe*

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the party that stands for complete independence of India (italics mine) do you want those people to go back with the answer from you that nothing can be done because there is a strong party, which will misuse or wreck the Constitution?"

As we come to the British period, the author discounts the truthfulness of the story of Black Hole. He cites the authority of J. H. Little to say that Holwell 'invented the whole incident.' It is so true, as he says, that it was not solely by superior arms or military discipline, that the British won India; India had brilliant leaders but they were working against each other as much against the British; there was no national feeling, and what corporate spirit was there it did not go beyond tribe and clan, whereas the Company's servants, how so dishonest individually, were actuated by a sense of national solidarity in championing the cause of the Company. There should have been a reference to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. It brought into being the middle-class intelligentsia, which revolutionized the thought and outlook of India. A rather generous space should have been given to Raja Rammohun Roy, who was the largest single factor in accepting the West to build India anew on the balance of spiritual and material strength. The discovery of 'essential Hinduism' is the least service he has done to India. He is, as Tagore calls him, 'the inaugurator of modern India'. We do not know if there was anywhere by the time protest such as it was his by his *The Rights of Woman According to Hindu Law* in vindication of the individual rights and dignity of the woman. Even as the foreign government imposed its stringent rule on the people struck dumb by a superior might, he strenuously advocated the freedom of the Press and Civil Liberty. He talked out, as early as the twenties of the last century,—Surendranath Banerjea has so handsomely acknowledged it—the line of constitutional struggle, envisaging the Dominion Status dealing with, as Dr. Brajendranath Seal says, 'a free, puissant and enlightened India'. He it was who laid down that the ideal of civilization was not in the isolation of independence but in the interdependence of brotherhood—the ideal that India stuck to even in the trying, bitter moments of her struggle for Freedom. The author, however, makes some compensation when he speaks of Raja Rammohun Roy as having 'provided a basis within Hindu thought for Indian democracy'. It is well of him that in marking the watershed between mediaeval and modern India by the introduction of English Education, he has rescued from oblivion the explosive personality of Professor Derozio, who was one of the prime factors in the making of new Bengal.

With regard to the Sepoy Mutiny, it is least expected of a historian of Percival Spear's standing to toe the line of a made-to-order history and call it a national event. "The Mutiny", he says, "became a national event when the troops at Meerut rose, shot their officers, marched to Delhi and on May 11, 1857, compelled the aged Emperor Bahadur Shah to become their leader". This is carrying the Indianised-national Mughul viewpoint to a convivial excess. Jawaharlal Nehru says in his *Discovery of India*, that the mutiny was 'essentially a feudal outburst', but celebrates its centenary as a national event. The one inevitable outcome of its being a success was for India to have slunk back to feudalism.

I hope, I tread no sensitive corn if I happen to say that the first national challenge to the British rule in India is Bengal's Swadeshi Movement as an answer to her Partition. "Led by the now mature Surendranath Banerjea", says the author, 'they carried the agitation to the people' —speaks of launching the Swadeshi, boycott of foreign goods and all that but does not say that as the supreme call of the moment came, they initiated the fight for Freedom. The question erelong, says Sir Valentine Chirol, was not whether Bengal would be two partitioned provinces under British rule but how long was it at all to endure. It clinches the issue. Arquith, as Prime Minister of Great Britain, spoke in the House of Commons on the India Act, 1909—Morley Minto Reforms—that it was 'a step which will avert the serious danger which has been confronting us for the last few years'. Sir Reginald Coupland speaks of the Act as 'a practical attempt to control and canalise the now swift-flowing current of Indian nationalism'—and this at a time when 'the rest of India', says Mahatma Gandhi at his prayer meeting on 23rd August, 1947, *i.e.*, seven days after Indepen-

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dence, 'was almost asleeps.' There is one other reference to Surendranath Banerjea, the great leader of the Swadeshi Movement†, and it is in connection with the dark chaotic conditions which obtained in the country in the pre-Congress period, but only this much—'A young man of fire and ability appeared in Bengal in the person of Surendranath Banerjea.' These are, in fact, the two meagre citations in respect of the man of whom Rajagopalachari says on the floor of the Calcutta University Senate Hall, in the first lap of our freedom, that 'in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea': and of whom Mrs. Sarojeeni Naidu says, on 6th August, 1941, at the Calcutta, Esplanade public meeting, 'there is not a single weapon that we have used which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea'. On the question of Separate Electorate introduced as a part of the Morley—Minto Reforms, Percival Spear rightly says, 'Behind the shadow of democracy had come the shadow the Pakistan'. I wish the author ad pursued the line to the final break-up—how England broke India at each conceivable point by a chain of Ulsters before she left our shores.

"Today, it is rather the fashion", says the author, "to regard the moderates as timid time-servers and Tilak as a fearless patriot and political seer. Nevertheless, regarding the break in circumstances, it is difficult not to feel that the Moderates were *right at the time* (the author's italics) as Tilak was partly right for the future." It is really true that some of the political grass-hoppers of today bypass, in a rather offensive manner, the Moderates, as though of no consequence, and this is in total disregard of the fact that they untiringly built up the Indian National Congress, which reared Indians into a Nation 'by bringing together bone to bone and infusing breath into them so that they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army.' It is not correct to say that "between 1916 and 1920, Gandhi climbed to the leadership of Congress over the live body of Tilak'. Even on 1st January, 1920, the resolution, the Amritsar Congress passed on Montford Rforms was a triumph for Tilak and a climb-down for Gandhi. In the early hours of 1st August, Tilak died, and in the following September Gandhi had his non-operation resolution passed by the Congress.

On Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru *vis-a-vis* Gandhiji, the author says, "Gandhi with uncanny prescience selected Nehru rather than Bose and determined to disarm him by promoting him. In 1939, he was elected President at the age of forty.* . . . . His plan seems to have been to divide the left-wing leadership by attaching Nehru to himself. Why did he choose Nehru rather than Bose, a choice to which he adhered with tenacity and suppleness? . . . . Nehru was more tractable. . . . . Bose, on the other hand was not under Gandhi's spell. He was a convinced socialist. . . . . Nehru could be charmed into non-operation against his own judgment. Bose could only be restrained." I do not know whether the Nehruites would relish it at all. Subhas Bose would have said, 'I have already said that it was by preferments and prospects that Nehru was wheedled away from socialism'.** The irrepressible Dr. Lohia would be chuckling with his sapier thrust, 'Have not I said that Nehru is a greedy opportunist?† None of either, if I am permitted to have my say in the matter. It is that Nehru, in any matter of conflict with Gandhi just allowed his heart to govern his head.' The author calls him 'An intellectual moving in anguish amind scenes of passion. To many he was 'a Western playing at Indian patriotism; to others a patriot dogged with a Western heritage. He was a soul in travail, whose impulses were often read as signs of weakness and whose outbursts were interpreted as indications of lack of depth, a Hamlet murmuring.

'The times are out of joint, O cursed spite
That I was ever born to put them right!'

At last thou too Brutus! Things are not as they and I sincerely hope that the verdict of history on Nehru will not be that he as remorseless

†Fortunately for Bengal', says Sir P. C. Roy in his *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist*, her destiny was then in the keeping of able leaders under the guidance of Surendranath Banerjea'.

*Gokhale became President of the Congress at the age of thirty-nine.

**The Indian Struggle.

†Guilty Men of Partition.

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wasted himself on the barrenness of 'to be or not to be'.

With regard to the blood-bath that trailed over the division of India, the author very pertinently asks, 'Why the danger was not more clearly forseen and why more effective shock absorbers, as it were, were not provided in advance?' The echo answers 'why?' and the iron has gone deep into hearts of lacerated Punjab and Bengal. It is truly a sad commentary on the intelligence and foresight of Lord Mountbatten, Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and Patel, the five leading protagonists of the division of India. It must, however, be admitted in all fairness that Jinnah at least suggested a peaceful, phased exchange of population.

The following strike me as notable omissions.

(1) The political tours made by Surendranath Banerjea all over India in connection with the Civil Service regulations, when he urged people—the first time in the history of British rule in India— to wake up to their responsibilities and make India stand head-erect amongst the nations of the world. "These tours", says Sir Henry Cotton I.C.S., M.P., "contain in them the seed of the Indian National Congress.

(2) The Indian National Conference, convened by the Indian Association in Calcutta in 1883: Sir Wilfred Blunt calls it as 'the first stage towards India's national Parliament'.

(3) The Revolutionary Movement of Bengal. Its great architect, Aurobindo Ghose is referred to as a great philosopher acclaimed by the East and West and as a great master of English language, but not on that massive aspect that on his pathway 'the shadow of the hangman fell', as Ramsay Macdonald put it in flesh and blood terms.

(4) Gandhi resiled, under pressure from Nehru and Patel, from his oft-repeated solemn assurances to his countrymen that it was only over his dead body that there would be the division of India.

(5) The crucial point, Dr. K. N. Katju makes out, as he said over the All-India Radio, Calcutta, on 23rd January, 1952, that 'the final decisive blow to the British Raj was dealt by Netaji Subhas bose.'

In connection with this, it must be categorically stated that no history of India is complete without a review of the character of British withdrawl from India. It is capable of presentation from three different stand points. *The Manchester Guardian*, dated 11th October, 1947 said, 'Public opinion has preened itself on British virtue in withdrawing voluntarily from India. . . . . It is hard to disentangle whether the British action was based on high principles or on the less glorious desire to retreat to shelter before the storm broke.'

Secondly, the Labour Party of Great Britain all along claims that they saved their Indian trade by conceding Independence to India, not a day too late. In March, 1958, Prime Minister, Mac Millian said at New Delhi that their trade position with India was better than what it was during the British regime. And thirdly, A. E. Ross in his *India : Destruction Through Partition* says, 'Not only did the Partition shatter an economy worn out by the demands of Britain's war-efforts, but it involved the uprooting of millions of of people leaving in its wake a further legacy of hatred. This self-annihilation or atomization of the Indian people is guaranteed by boundaries that ferment pogrom and internecine strife'.

The following among inadvertant slips are likely to mislead the unwary.

(1) Rashbehari Ghose and not Bose was the President of the 1907 Congress.

(2) It should be Swami Vivekananda and not Swami Dayananda, who addressed the World Conference of Religions at Chicago in 1894.

Percival Spear has acquitted himself well in writing a biographical study of India, which is informed and informative, discerning and admiring. He has steered clear of all obstacles to read in it that 'the Indian genius is primarily that of assimilation'. He is one of those few foreigners to appreciate that Hindu Civilization enjoins life to be a sanctum sanctorum and no emporium; and that it is evolved by assimilation and adjustment on the bedrock of mankind's first yearnings for Light, Truth and Immortality.

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THE OMBUDSMAN AND ITSRELEVANCE TO INDIA

By J. B. MONTEIRO, M.A.

I

Introduction

Even since we attained independence, more than a decade ago, one of the problems which we are facing perennially is corruption in official quarters and its remedy. In recent years the problem has become very acute, or, at any rate, it is thought to be so by a large number of people. The problem is frequently discussed from the floor of the legislatures, from political platforms, in the Press and almost through all other media of communication. The question of alleged 'Corruption' in public life had become a political issue in recent months, largely as a result of allegations made by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the then Chairman of the U.G.C. and former Minister of Finance. In a lecture in Madras on the 11th July, 1959, Mr. Deshmukh had said that "an uneasy public hears of nepotism, high-handedness, gerry-mandering, feathering of nests through progeny, and a dozen other sins of omission and commission, and yet is helpless for lack of precise data, facts and figures, evidence and proof." He called for the establishment of 'a high-level, impartial, standing judicial tribunal to investigate and report on complaints or lying of information,' adding that, if such a tribunal is set up, "I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen reports myself."[1]

In a private correspondence with Mr. Nehru, Mr. Deshmukh was reported to have claimed to possess evidence that improprieties have been committed by members of the Government, including Cabinet Ministers, but to have refused to divulge it except before an independent judicial tribunal. Mr. Nehru has opposed the formation of such a tribunal, at a Press Conference on the 8th January, 1960, and also in Parliament, on grounds that it would be repugnant to democratic practice and would create an atmosphere of distrust and mutual accusation, but suggested that a judge should undertake an informal inquiry into Mr. Deshmukh's allegations. On the party level, the Congress has set up a "Vigilance Committee" to deal with public corruption. It seems that, by and large, few, outside the ruling party, are satisfied with these arrangements.

II

At this juncture, it will be useful to discuss whether the Scandinavian Ombudsman can offer nay solution to our problems. Lately, there is a revival of interest in this unique institution. The revival of interest was mainly due to the introduction of the Ombudsman in Denmark and the preceding debate in this country which finally led to the inclusion of a provision for an Ombudsman in the Constitution of 1953. Further momentum was given to the debate by the visit of Prof. Stephan Herwitz, the first Ombudsman of Denmark, to Britain, which incidentally, was at that time, considerably agitated by the 'Crishel Down' affair. A keen interest was shown by the British public in the radio and press interviews given by Prof. Herwitz, on the subject. The Society for Individual Freedom sponsored a book "Occasion for Ombudsman" by Mr. T. E. Utley. "Justice," the British section of the International Commission of Jurists, mounted a research project under the direction of Sir John Whyatt, which has resulted in the report, "The Citizen and the Administrator." On the official level, Mr. Macmillan, referring to the Whyatt enquiry, told Parliament that he was waiting "until the results of this study are known before coming to any final conclusion" on whether Britain should appoint an Ombudsman. This institution already exists in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. The system is to be started in Norway this year, and a bill to introduce one is before the Newzealand Parliment.

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This essay is an attempt to evaluate the functions, powers and achievements of the Ombudsman and to make out a case for the introduction of a similar institution in India.

Origin and History

In Sweden, there are two Ombudsmen. The Justitie Ombudsman (J.K.) or 'Prosecutor for Civil Affairs' had his origin in the Constitution of 1809. The Militie Ombudsman (M.O.) or 'Prosecutor for military Affairs' was introduced in 1915, to deal with military justice and administration.[2] The Danish Ombudsman defined in the Constitution of 1953 as "a parliamentary commissioner to supervise civil and military administrator of the state," began functioning in 1955. In Finland a well-known jurist is elected as Ombudsman by parliament for three years.

Scope and Jurisdiction

Almost all the attention has been bestowed on the Swedish and Danish Ombudsman, to the total exclusion of Finland. There are significant differences regarding powers, functions and jurisdiction between the Ombudsman in Sweden and Denmark. In Sweden, as pointed out above, there are two Ombudsmen with similar powers and functions within their respective spheres. In Denmark this jurisdiction is combined in a single Ombudsman. In both the countries the Ombudsman is considered as an official of the parliament, appointed by it and can be dismissed only by the parliament. The Danish Ombudsman is required by statute "to keep himself informed whether any, subject to his authority commits injustice or acts negligently in the performance of his official duties".[3] The Swedish Ombudsman's current instructions specifically require him to exercise general supervision over courts and civil service. He is required to investigate charges of illegality, negligence or misuse of official position. He is required to pay particular attention to offences involving fraud, abuse of power, or which impede the course of justice. He is to ensure that no one in an official position breaks the constitution, the laws of the land or the very detailed letters of instruction.[4] In the matter of jurisdiction the judiciary and the municipalities have been placed beyond his reach in Denmark, whereas in Sweden the Judiciary falls within his range of scrutiny.

Wide Powers

The Ombudsman has considerable powers. As Prof. Herwitz himself puts it: "I have the right to see all files of ministers or other authorities that deal with the question concerned; and I ask the police to assist me; and can summon people to give evidence in court."[5] He not only has powers to raise before the superior court questions involving mal-administration of justice, but he also has powers to demand the returns of prisons, asylums, mental institutions, remand homes for alchoholics, and any other cases involving detention of persons and deprivation of liberties. All state establishments are open to his personal inspection.[6]

Procedure

There are two distinct methods of procedure. The Ombudsman may start investigations on the basis of written complaints, from the citizens, filed within one year of the alleged offence. Secondly, the one can start investigations on his own initiative. This initiative is generally taken on the basis of press reports or confidential complaints. Or, cases may be discovered during his inspection tours, averaging about four to five a year, each lasting a week or so.

When a complaint is taken up, most of the investigation is done by correspondence, supplemented by personal interviews. A good production of cases is dropped after initial enquiry for lack of substance. In other cases correspondence is continued until either the complaint is found to be justified or eventually dismissed as unjustified. The typical working of the Ombudsman can be understood from the figures supplied by Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Swedish Ambassador for India, for the year 1959:

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(1) Cases referred, 780.
(2) Cases self-initiated, 223.
(3) Cases in which initiative was based on press reports, 39.
(4) Cases dropped as baseless, 184.
(5) Cases withdrawn, 8.
(6) Cases investigated, 619.
(7) No. of admonitions, 247.
(8) Cases remitted to other authorities, 13.
(9) Cases prosecuted, 5.
(10) Advice to Government, 8.

Lack of Executive Power

The wide powers of investigation of the Ombudsman are balanced by a virtually complete lack of executive authority. He has no power to nullify any administrative decision, he has no resources out of which to compensate any aggrieved party. No civil servant can be disciplined by him.[8] He can only bring such cases of miscarriage of justice to the notice of superior courts. This is done by instructing the public prosecutor to start criminal proceedings against the guilty or by recommending the plaintiff for legal aid in the pursuit of civil remedies. But such prosecutions are rare; about ten per year, on an average, in Sweden. In the majority of cases his recommendations are complied with Prof. Herwitz who himself admits that his recommendations are only advisory, and adds, "but as a matter of fact the advice is generally followed by the authorities concerned."[9] In some cases the Ombudsman may be prepared to allow the official to settle matters informally. For instance, military commanders who use their cars for private purposes will usually be asked to pay an amount assessed by the Ombudsman.[10]

Commenting on the success of the Ombudsman Brain Chapman says that the Scandinavians "are to be congratulated on their institutional achievement. The Ombudsman is clearly one of the reasons w Sweden has public services of an integr impartiality, and authority hardly matc if at all, in any other country. It is still early to comment upon the work of t Danish Ombudsman, but it already se clear that he is filling a gap in Da public life."[11] Any description of the O budsman will be incomplete without a plaining the essential secret of his succe He has no executive power. He is me a national councellor and a custodian public conscience in matters of priv right. He stands on the sideline of government to observe, to appraise and censure.[12] Where, then, lies the basis of power? In the words of Sir John Why "In practice the real sanction is the pu city which is given to the Ombudsm criticisms of the administration in annual reports to parliament but m specially to the daily press."[13]

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2. Brian Chapman, "The Ombuds Public Administration, Winter, 1960.
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5. Herwitz "The Danish Ombudsman his office," Listener, May 12, 1960, p. 835. article is reproduced in the Civic Affairs, 1960.
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7. Listener, cited above.
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11. *Ibid.*
12. Utley, Cited above.
13. Sir John Whyatt "The Public a Aministration" quoted in 'The Econ November 14, 1961, p. 413.

(To be Continued)

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,

instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORICAL RELICS, ETC., IN THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD MUSEUM : *By Monoranjan Gupta and Sajani Kanta Das. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Calcutta, 1960. Pp. 57. Price Rs. 2/-.*

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, which dates its origin from 1894, has now grown into a repository not only of the most precious collection of Bengali books and Mss in our country, but also of various objects of historical interest. It is the aim of the present monograph to provide a guide-book for the last-named objects. We have first (Ch. I) an inventory of the Parishad's collection of autographs of some Bengali litterateurs of recent times and mementoes of Rabindranath Tagore as well as of volumes acquired from private libraries by the institution. Then follows (Ch. II) an inventory of the Society's collection of old Mss and paintings as well as of letters of select authors and select historical documents. This is followed by tables of busts, oil-paintings and photographs of Bengali literary men with the names of the donors (Ch. III) and a list of mementoes of Bengali literary men (Ch. IV). The monograph concludes with a classified list of sculptures with descriptions of a few select pieces and a select descriptive list of images of metal (Ch. V), an inventory of copper-plate inscriptions and old weapons (Ch. VI) and a classified list of coins (Ch. VII) in the collection of the Society. The usefulness of the monograph would have been increased by the addition of a descriptive list at least of the rare coin-types and the inclusion of a few illustrations. The preparation of supplementary descriptive catalogues of manuscripts and of sculptures (besides the catalogues already published) and of a descriptive catalogue of coins belonging to the Society is one of its immediate requirements.

IMMORTAL INDIA, Vol. V : *By J. H. Dave. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1961. Pp. 168, 24 illustrations, and a map. Price Rs. 2/-.*

This monograph in continuation of the author's three previous volumes in the same series describing a number of sacred hills and mountains of our country, gives an exhaustive account of the sacred places on the banks of rivers and in the valleys of the great mountains in our country. The geographical configuration of the regions and the topography, summaries of legends from the Epics and the *Puranas*, the existing shrines and historical notices accompany the description of each of these *tirthas*. The long introduction gives a general account of the cult of *tirthas*. The monograph is enriched with a map of India showing the rivers and mountains, a number of illustrations and a glossary. Should a new edition be called for, the glossary might be enlarged and a number of printing mistakes corrected.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MY ENGLISH JOURNEY : *By Professor Sadhan Kumar Ghosh. Published by Writers Workshop, 162/92, Lake Gardens, Calcutta-31. P. 156. Rs. 10/- £1/$4.*

The author is well-known as a critic, teacher and author of "Poetry and the Age" "Tragedy"

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and other Essays. As an honoured Guest of the British Council, Professor Ghosh visited some cultural centres and met authors of the United Kingdom. In his foreword C. M. Bowra of Wadham College, Oxford, hails him as "a friend from an ancient land which has, for centuries, cultivated the fine art of words. He knows what he is talking about and it is our privilege to listen to him." This eulogy is followed up by Frank Swinnerton who attests that "Prof. Ghosh was exceptionally familiar with English literature." Such spontaneous tributes prove that the British Council made a worthy choice and that their guest has more than fulfilled his cultural mission. He struck the key-note when he penned his Preface: "*My English Journey* was the realisation of a dream as well as the end of a pilgrimage." It is a testament of human fellowship through literature the master-passion of the Author's life. We are moved not by *what* he saw but *how* he saw the land of Shakespeare and Johnson, Wordsworth and their modern descendants, whom we meet casually in literary interviews but who now speak to us through Professor Ghosh. He has done a real service to the cause of deeper understanding of the main currents of contemporary English literature which would benefit not only the post-graduate students but also the general public, who will get now many "friends, philosophers and guides", thanks to the excellent presentation of Prof. Ghosh's *My English Journey*. The book reminds us of the fact that much water has flowed down the Thames and Avon since the French critic Taine wrote, over a century ago, on English literature. Prof. Ghosh is our Essayist *par excellence*, so his discourses on the Decline of the Essay, Angry Young Men and Literary Specialism, are as inersive as they are illuminating. A life-time of passionate studies of English Literature has made his pilgrimage and its literary survey valuable and suggestive. From across the Atlantic, Emerson and Henry James have written significant things on English Traits. But within a decade of the slogan of *Quit India*, Professor Ghosh showed the "Other Side of the Medal", proving that India needs British cooperation and loves English Literature. His book should be in the library of all colleges and universities where English is taught, to enrich our mind and expand the Indian literary horizons.

The Writers Workshop has done a good job by publishing, in a worthy manner, *My English Journey* of Prof. Ghosh who should be encouraged to revisit Yarrow and other Beauty-spots of Great Britain. We felicitate him on his Testament of Friendships and hope that he will give us a full-length book on Shakespear's England, before the 400 birth anniversary of William Shakespeare who inspired our Poets and Playwrights from Michael Madhusudhan (1824-1873) to Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941).

A local English daily, reviewing Prof. Ghosh's book, good-humoredly satirized him for lion-hunting in the forest of English authors! But he took a noble revenge by producing a book which, in quality if not in quantity, will draw India and England closer to one another. Since the Poet-philologist William Jones (1746-1794) wrote English poems on Vedic deities, many British and Indian writers have used English as a medium of self-expression; now Prof. Ghosh joins the galaxy of prose-writers who add poetry to our appreciation of classical and contemporary English literature.

The workshop, a small and vital group which believes that English has proved its ability as a language to play a creative role in all-India literature, engaged the services of two eminent artists, Paritosh Sen and Mario Trevisan, to design the lay out of this literary causerie. The result is a beautiful specimen of book-craft, and the Catholic Orphan Press deserves credit for producing such a pleasing example of the printer's art. Good wine needs no bush, but this good book has got the art work it deserved.

SISTER NIVEDITA : *By Pravrajika Atmaprana, Sister Nivedita Girls School, Calcutta. Pp. 297 and 16 plates. Price Rs. 7.50 nP.*

On the eve of the Centenary of Swami Vivekananda, two inspired lady-disciples wrote on his age and his gift to Mother India, Sister Nivedita (1866-1911). Pravrajika Muktiprana of Sarada Math, wrote in *Bengali* her critical biography in *Bengali* (1959). Now Pravrajika Atmaprana (daughter of Sri K. M. Munshi) completes years of study the *English* biography of Sister Nivedita. She was also a pioneer and a collaborator of Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1943) in nation-building activities. In fifty pages, the author has given an able summary of Miss Margaret Noble who took (1895-1898) her predestined place in Renascent India as Sister Nivedita. Her life and career are inspiring sermons which will rouse generations of womanhood of India and the East. They will Sister Atmaprana's English study very handy and useful. After years of painstaking research, she corrected many current inaccuracies about Nivedita. But that negative work apart, she revealed the positive aspects of Nivedita's life and teachings, for she was a born teacher as we feel in *My Master as I Saw him*. From her first book

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with Swami Vivekananda in London (1895) to his funeral at Belur (July, 1902), barely seven years of contact; but what a world of devoted service and spiritual communion, partly recorded in the inspiring essays and books of Sister Nivedita! She often visited the Jorasanko House of the Tagores: Maharshi Debendranath, his sons and daughters, the Poet Rabindranath, Artist Abanindranath and their friends like Dr. J. C. Bose, Lady Bose, and Ramananda Chatterjee,—faithfully recorded (Ch. 43) in Nivedita and her "contemporaries". The Glossary and Index will help many to trace her personal contacts and impersonal visions of Mother India. Her native Ireland and Great Britain will, we hope, institute Nivedita Fellowship, to facilitate exchange of teachers and social workers, between East and West, under Unesco Plan. The now famous Nivedita School is a model Institute, for Indian girls who will rise equal to the occasion and make Sister Nivedita live for our future generation. The history of the School also has been admirably and truly narrated by the learned authoress, a daughter of Gujarat dedicating her life to Sri Ramakrishna and Sarada Devi, Vivekananda and Nivedita. We recommend this admirable book to all Schools, Colleges and Libraries.

A GARLAND FOR SHAUN MANDY: *Edited: By Professor P. Lal, Secretary, Writers Workshop, Calcutta-31. Price Rs. 2/- or One Dollar.*

C.R. Mandy served for over a decade as Editor of *The Illustrated Weekly* of Bombay. But he left the prize-post, bought an Island home Taprobane (Ceylon in classical form) which he suddenly sold out "for a handful of Silver" with which he may build a new Argentina! Thus temparamentally he may be called mercurial even if his guiding planet be not Mercury but our incarnation of *Fish*, linked up Indo-Sumerian mythology. His Anglo-Saxon heredity apart, he contacted (not without collision!) Indo-Anglians like Mulk Raj Anand (met at Colombo, 1946), R. K. Narayan (met in Madras, 1949), Sardar Khushwant Singh who introduced him to Nirad Chaudhuri of Indo-Anglian fame. He retained some as his friends but lost many. Yet his *Festschrift* is the eloquent and symbolical token of the literary camaraderie of the East and West through English, the world-language of this Atomic age of political atomism. Formal felicitations apart, some good food for thought has been patiently and tastefully served for this new *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*. Mandy and his Indian friends are strengthened by the faith that English language and literature has served a cause in the past and will serve a greater cause in future. The virtuosity and originality of the Indo-Anglican ladies and gentlemen are startling: "Tara Sahgel, Kamala Markandaya, Santha Rama Rao and Ruth P. Jhabwala . . . . their talent is only exceeded by their loveliness. . . . ." so whimpers the sly Hero of the centre piece C. R. Many. He may be in Taprobane or in Bangkok, in London or in New York, but he has the satisfaction of evoking a new faith and creative *e'lan* in the heart of many men and women of India, collaborating to complete the bridge of understanding between the Orient and the Occident as hoped by Gurudev Tagore who was bilingual and whose centenary naturally gives a new significance to the Indian Writers Workshop, infusing oriental moods and thoughts in occidental soul-syntax and rhyme-patterns. Prof. Lal offers to publish a similar volume on the coming centenary of Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1965) pioneer of journalism and creative writing in English Historicus.

KALIDAS NAG

ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE,—*Golden Jubilee Number of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, edited by Pulin Behary Sen and published by Srimati Tagore, Hony. Secretary of the Society. Pp.116. 10 colour plates, numerous Black and White illustrations 15, Park Street, Calcutta-15, Price Rs. 16 (Paper binded) and Rs. 21 (Cloth binded).*

The orgy of tributes recently paid to the pictorial contributions of Rabindranath Tagore had somewhat obscured the greater contribution made by his nephew, Abanindranath Tagore, the acknowledged leader of Modern Indian Painting —and the dynamic personality who, in association with E. B. Havell, discovered, with a rade vision, the glories of old Indian Art and firmly established it in the national consciousness of India. Born in this city in the third quarter of the 19th century, Abanindranath worked incessantly for the whole of his brilliant career, reviving the principles of Indian Art—in a new language of Art suitable for modern times, and, enthroned himself as one of the *greatest* Artists of Asia, in the 19th century, of the same calibre, as Bizhad and Ogata Korin. Somewhat neglected by the narrow literary and artistic coterie of the times in India, dominated by the denationalizing influences of European Art, of the Victorian Era, the fame of this great master—was built in a day, when in August 1914—at an Exhibition of his paintings and those of his disciples, was

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opened by President Poinacre at Paris, when all the foremost critics of Europe assembled and lavished on him unstinted praise and admiration of his masterpieces which had dispelled the gloom of the Dark Age which had settled on Indian Art—in the early part of the 19th century. Numerous analysis and critical appraisement of his works were published in the leading Art Journals of Paris *L' Art Decoratif, L' Illustration, Art et Decoration, Gazelse De Beaux Arts* and the whole world of Art in Europe echoed and re-echoed with his eulogies and, the correspondent of Reuter-flashed the news of the "Triumph of Abanindranath"—in banner headings in all the dailies of India. Since then, numerous exhibitions of his works have been held in Europe (Holland, Germany, Italy), and, in all the cities of the United States. In this number of the journal of the Indian Society—the editors have carefully presented all phases of the brillant activities of the great master, who occupies the same position in Art as Rabindranath occupies in Literature. Very interesting details are provided of the history of the growth of the Society of Oriental Art, founded by him. Two very important chapters—on his contribution to Indian Art and Iconography, *Sadanga* and *Indian Artistic Anatomy* (originally published in th pages of the *Modern Review*) are profusely illustrated. Critical appraisements of his Art—are provided by three distinguished contributions: Dr. Sunity Kumar Chatterjee, Sri Saumyendra Nath Tagore, and Sri Benode Behari Mukhopadhyaya. A brilliant analysis of the artist's contribution to Bengali Literature is provided by Pramathanath Bisi, and a useful bibliography has been given at the end. Tagore's paintings and his mystic and evanescent colour schemes are notoriously difficult to reproduce, but, owing to the great care taken by Mrs. Shrimati Tagore the ten full-page colour plates are on the whole accurately reproduced and help to convey the flavour of the originals. On the whole, it is a brilliant publication, to be treasured by every Indian, and, will provide a dignified rebuke to the malicious villification of the merits of his great contributions which have recently come from Bombay and Delhi to belittle his masterpieces by interested persons jealous of his world-wide reputation.

O. C. Gangoly

TEN SAINTS OF INDIA: By T. M. Mahadevan. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 147. Price Rs. 2.

The book contains short lives of saints, nine of whom belong to South India. They belong to Saiva and Vaisnava faiths and their holy lives worked as great inspirations to their devotees through ages. Of the saints, Tirujnana Sambandhav, Tirunavukarasu, Sundaramurti, Manikkavacakar, Naumalvai, Andal, are better known and followed in South India. Sankara and Ramanuja are known all over India and have followers widely distributed and their philosophy have tremendous influence on people. Sri Ramakrishna and Raman Maharshi belong to the nineteenth century and their lives and teachings not only influence India but the people of the West as well.

Of the ten lives, the last four, that are those of Sankara, Ramanuja, Sri Ramakrishna and Raman Maharshi are best written.

We congratulate the writer for introducing these saints to lay readers in simple English.

A. B. Dutta

SANSKRIT

CANDRAMAHIPATI: *By Srinivasa Sastri, Kavitakanta, 118, Amherst Street, Calcutta. Price Rupees Six.*

This is a fairly big modern fiction—apparently a unique work written in ornate Sanskrit. The learned author is actuated by the laudable object of popularising Sanskrit. But how far this object will be fulfilled by a work of this type is difficult to say. As matters stand, modern Sanskrit works fail to attract the attention of even a scholar, not to speak of the layman. Under these circumstances, it is a matter for gratification that the work under review has been highly spoken of by a large number of eminent people as well as Sanskritists whose appreciations have been collected and printed at the beginning of the work. Prizes have been awarded on it, as stated, by the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. It will surely occupy a place of honour among the not very few modern Sanskrit texts written and published in different parts of the country.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Indian Periodicals

U. P. Ministry—Magh Mela Crowd

A vivid description of the Magh Mela Crowd, in respect of U.P. Ministry has been published in *Kataka*, a Madras News Weekly, Vol. I. No. 29, March, 1962, which may be of great interest to the readers :

In 1937 when Rajaji formed a ten-man cabinet for the composite Madras State, the late Dr. C. R. Reddi remarked in his inimitable style that if the loophole in provincial autonomy was not plugged, ministers would go on multiplying like Minto's Hares ! Evidently, our Constitution makers have left the gap more wide-open, for in independent India the ministerial family is going on multiplying with a vengeance.

If the progress of a State is to be judged by the strength of the council of ministers, Uttar Pradesh will certainly get the first prize. G. B. Pant's cabinet formed after the 1952 elections consisted of 12 ministers and seven deputy ministers. Sampurnanand's cabinet had seven ministers, three ministers of state, 11 deputy ministers and six parliamentary secretaries, making a total of 27. And now Chandra Bhanu Gupta has established an all-time record of recruiting 42 people for his council of ministers.

This staggering figure seems to have provoked even a daily that has been backing Gupta out and out, to come out with a cartoon depicting Gupta riding an elephant crushing the tax-payer, and the caption read—Greatest show on earth ! People of U.P. can take pride that they are paying the maximum for the upkeep of the ministerial family.

Some figures are worth noting. The Congress strength is 248 in a house of 430. With a council of ministers consisting of 42 members the proportion works out at one minister (whatever his rank) for every six members of the ruling party. Gupta is in the distinguished company of his counter-part in the Punjab, Pratap Singh Kairon, whose ministerial family consists of 31 members. Here again figures make some revealing study. The Government strength in the Punjab is 90, the combined strength of the opposition is 62 and the difference is only 28. Who has outbeaten the other ?

The genesis of the inflated ministries in most of the states should be traced to the Congress High Command's insistence on the dubious term, broad-based ministries, with a view to minimising group bickerings. And the High Command has been caught on the rebound. Instead of eliminating groupism in the party, the party leaders in the states have simply doubled and trebled the strength of the council of ministers to make an outward show.

The U.P. provides the most glaring example of how in spite of Nehru's campaign and Ajit Prasad Jain's strenuous efforts, group rivalries refuse to die. Both Gupta and Jain have been claiming all these days that the groups have patched up their differences, and when the official announcement gave the list of 42 persons, apparently it looked as though he had triumphed at last. But there was a fly in the ointment.

Just a few hours before the swearing-in ceremony, Kamlapati Tripathi, leader of the ex-ministerial group, Bahuguna, Rawat, and Jai Ram Varma sent a note that they would not join the cabinet. These are the stalwarts of what was once known as the Sampurananand group, and that group is now known as Kamlapati group. There was some mutual sympathetic shedding of tears. Gupta said he was extremely unhappy over the turn of events and Kamlapati also said he too was extremely unhappy! And none of them would give any reason.

It appears that two factors were responsible for the last-minute hitch. The one was Kamlapati's feeling that his group would be outnumbered by the Gupta group in the cabinet and the other, the allocation of portifolios. The question is who should hold the portfolio of Home,—Kamlapati or Charan Singh.

How Gupta has tried to extend his ministerial family indiscrimiately with a view to covering up differences is evident from one simple fact. A member, Shah'd Faqri, just came to watch the swearing-in ceremony. He had the greatest surprise of his life when he was asked

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to take the oath of office. When a few dissidents did not turn up, Gupta picked up this member among those present to witness the function !

Judged by the allocation of portfolios it can be said that Gupta constitutes half the cabinet. He will be incharge of General Administration, Planning, Home, Medical, Power, Finance and Co-operation, besides being leader of the House in the Assembly. And the crumbs for the rest of the crowd! If one man can administer eight huge departments, besides being leader of the House, where is the need for 41 others to run the rest of the departments? This is a question that concerns the tax-payer.

The most tragic part of the drama was the proposal to take into the cabinet Hargovind Singh, Finance Minister, who was defeated at the polls. He has written to the Governor, saying that he would not like to join the cabinet till he got elected to the upper house. If Gupta was so very keen on taking Hargovind Singh into the cabinet, whether the voters returned him or not, he ought not to have been asked to contest the election. He could gracefully have remained out of the contest and got himself elected honourably to the upper house. The whole episode leaves a bad taste. The ve at the polls loses its meaning and signifi if defeated candidates are catapulted to cabinet by backdoor methods.

The most unhappy man in U.P. is Prasad Jain. All his one year's efforts in tr to patch up U.P. Congress differences have in vain. This is not a problem for poor only but for the entire Congress organis If groupism in U.P. Congress is to be elimin the solution has to be sought elsewhere and in taking a few persons from each group the cabinet.

Gupta may succeed in bringing in Ka pati and his close followers into the ca after some time but that is not going to solve problem. The rival groups are now so e matched that a crisis may come any mo Ministry-makings in the states have made point clear that cabinet expansion is no so to end groupism. At least in the interests of tax-payer the high command should issu directive for a ceiling over the strength ministers. If Madras can dispense with all paraphernalia of deputy ministers and mini of state, why not the other states? ·

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

West Berlin Issue Requires Early Solution

Delineating on the subject of transformation of West Berlin into a neutral demilitarized Free City for the interest of world peace, the *Information Bulletin* of the German Democratic Republic observes:

"It would be very easy—but not a pleasure—to add hundreds of similar examples. Therefore, we will mention only one more example in evidence of the anomaly in West Berlin, that is the West Berlin press. I do not want to speak of what the papers there are writing about the *GDR*. Everybody can imagine that. But they also write on other countries. And what do they write about them? Let us take for instance India and the liberation of Goa. One of the West Berlin papers, *Der Kurier*, published an article on December 18, 1961, under the headline "Aggressor Nehru." After quoting only one sentence of the statement by the Indian Prime Minister on the necessity of the liberation of Goa, the paper commented: "These words are still in the ears of the world from *Hitler*. It is bitter to have to express that, but it is necessary." Let us stop here. We think it is sufficient to show the urgency of normalizing the conditions in West Berlin. Now the question arises how that could be done. It has been repeatedly declared that West Berlin does not form part of West Germany because there is no legal basis for such a claim. From the legal point of view, therefore, the GDR Government would have the right to demand that West Berlin be brought within the jurisdiction of the GDR. But taking into consideration the fact that the political, economic and social conditions in West Berlin differ basically from those in the GDR, our Government has expressed its readiness to accept a compromise solution, namely the transformation of West Berlin into a neutral demilitarized Free City. Such a status would mean:

(1) The Government of the GDR on whose territory West Berlin is situated grants the city the status of an internationally guaranteed demilitarized Free City, that means it renounces to exercise its sovereignty over West Berlin until the creation of a united democratic German state.

(2) Until the reunification of Germany, West Berlin is administered by the West Berlin populations exclusively. The choice of the social system which shall exist in West Berlin depends on their decision, but, of course, in accordance with the principles of the Potsdam Agreement, no state shall be allowed to interfere with the internal affairs of West Berlin.

(3) The Free City guarantees the ban of all revanchist and militarist organizations and of all subversive activities against the GDR as well as against other states.

(4) All illegal links with West Germany are to be abolished.

(5) The status of West Berlin is internationally guaranteed by the signatories of the treaty or by the United Nations.

(6) The GDR guarantees the communications from and to the territory of the Free City by corresponding agreements based on international law.

These proposals would lead to the solution of the West Berlin problem and, therefore, deserve to be taken as a basis for serious negotiations which, in the interest of world peace, are urgently required.

Communist China's A-Bomb Program

An article regarding Communist China's A-Bomb Program was published in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay, which is reproduced here for the interest of our readers:

What progress have the Chinese made in military atomic power during the past three years? Peking's atomic program is, of course, cloaked in secrecy, and much of what we know —or can surmise—comes from indirect sources. Nevertheless, certain basic facts are clear:

China has large deposits of uranium and thorium. Uranium—probably in large quantities —has been mined and reduced for several years in Sinkiang and other regions for shipment to the Soviet Union. The extraction and processing facilities for natural uranium have thus already been set up. Exploration, mining and reduction-plant construction, which hampered both the American and Soviet programs, will not seriously hold back China.

It is likely that China has at least four large nuclear reactors. Indian and Japanese

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sources say they are located at Sian on the Wei River, Chungking on the Yellow River, Peking, and somewhere in Manchuria. At the November Moscow meeting, Liu Shao-chi supposedly claimed that these reactors can be used for either "peaceful or weapons purposes." Apparently, therefore, China intends to make plutonium on a large-scale, if it is not doing so already.

Many experts believe that there have been several atomic explosions in China within the last six years. A nuclear blast was reported in Sinkiang in 1955. Japanese sources spoke of a "small" blast in the summer of 1959 near Lanchow, a rapidly growing city in the North-West which seems to be the heart of China's nuclear and missile programs.

The initial Chinese atomic tests were probably made with Soviet weapons. Since Peking has undoubtedly put heavy pressure on the USSR to "share" its nuclear technology, Moscow may have offered a few demonstration explosions—without revealing the highly complex detail which must be mastered before weapons can be produced. It is possible, however, that China extracted enough plutonium from its new reactors to make the 1959 device itself. In fact, China's first atomic "bomb" may already have been tested.

There is some evidence that Peking has also entered the nuclear arms race *via* separation of uranium isotopes. Each of the atomic powers (including France) has found it necessary to begin large-scale production of U-235 by the so-called gaseous diffusion process. Diffusion plants, with their high initial costs, require huge amounts of electric power to operate. Interestingly, since 1958, Mainland China has pushed hard to increase its electric generating capacity, and it has complained bitterly about Soviet tardiness in supplying turbo-generators for a major hydro-electric project.

The Chinese are very probably building Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMS). A launching site has apparently been established at Lanchow and large sums are reportedly being spent on missile development. For this Peking has the services of Dr. Hsue-shen Tsien, one of the world's outstanding jet-propulsion scientists. An advisor to the U.S. Air Force during World War I, he also held a key research post at the California Institute of Technology, and may well be playing the catalytic role of a Robert Oppenheimer or a Wernher von Braun in the Chinese rocket effort.

No Chinese missile tests have been detected in the West—or, at least, none have been reported. But a chain of launching pads, pointing toward Formosa, has been constructed along the South China coast. The authoritative *Times* of India says a similar chain of pads (presumably for medium-range rockets) has been set up along the Tibet-Nepal border, facing India. Well informed observers in Japan expect Peking to start testing missiles on an expanding scale in 1962, at about the same time that nuclear testing is begun.

China places great emphasis on science, especially the disciplines related to modern armaments. Reviewing Chinese scientific progress during the 10 years following the "Liberation," in the November 1959 issue of *Scientia Sinica* ("Chinese Science"), Du Ruen-sheng, Deputy Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, revealed that China plans to forge ahead in "certain new techniques and important borderline sciences such as nuclear technique, computing techniques, semi-conductors, radio-electronics, automation, chemical physics, biophysics, etc." As might be expected, it is precisely in nuclear physics that some of the greatest effort is being made.

In 1955, when the Chinese government selected 10 major areas for rapid scientific growth, nuclear physics headed the list. Over a dozen Chinese universities now offer programs in the field. At the pinnacle of the Chinese research hierarchy is a new University of Science and Technology, founded in 1958, at Peking, whose departments include nuclear physics, nuclear engineering, radioactive chemistry and automation.

In addition, at least 950 Chinese have been trained in nuclear physics at Dubna, near Moscow, where the Russians apparently have isolated them from their own nuclear weapons projects. The Dubna centre is one of the world's outstanding institutions for study and research in theoretical atomic physics. One-third of the published monographs originating at Dubna are by Chinese authors.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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প্রকাশিত হল

বাংলায় সম্পূর্ণ অভিনব সাহিত্য প্রচেষ্টা

৮৪৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ বিরাটায়তন

প্রবাসী

ষষ্টি-বার্ষিকী স্মারকগ্রন্থ

এতে আছে আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, শান্তা দেবী, প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, বনফুল, শৈলজানন্দ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শরদিন্দু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, বিমল মিত্র, জরাসন্ধ, সরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী, পরিমল গোস্বামী, প্রেমাঙ্কুর আতর্থী, নারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, রামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ খ্যাতিমান কথাসাহিত্যকদের রচিত বিচিত্রমধুর বাইশটি গল্প।

সীতা দেবী ও মণীন্দ্রলাল বসুর দুখানি মনোজ্ঞ উপন্যাস।

প্রবীণ ও আধুনিক সকল শ্রেণীর কবিদের কবিতা।

মনোজ বসুর রোমাঞ্চকর ত্রিঅঙ্ক নাটক।

রবীন্দ্র-প্রসঙ্গে আছে: হিরণ্ময় বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, দিলীপকুমার রায়, প্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, প্রভাতকুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, পরিমল গোস্বামী এবং আরো অনেকের প্রবন্ধ।

বাট বছরের বাংলা এই পর্যায়ে সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, ইতিহাস, চিত্রকলা, ভাস্কর্য্য ইত্যাদি বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে বিশেষজ্ঞদের রচিত প্রবন্ধ এই গ্রন্থের সর্বপ্রধান আকর্ষণ। এই বিভাগে লিখেছেন: ডক্টর সুকুমার সেন, ডক্টর কালিদাস নাগ, ডক্টর সরোজকুমার দাস, ডক্টর নীলরতন ধর, ডক্টর দেবেন্দ্রমোহন বসু, ডক্টর আশুতোষ ভট্টাচার্য, ডক্টর নন্দলাল বসু, দেবীপ্রসাদ রায়চৌধুরী, বিষ্ণু দে, অর্ধেন্দ্রকুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি।

এই ছাড়া আছে স্মৃতিকথা, মহিলা মজলিস, ছেলেদের পাততাড়ি প্রভৃতি বিভাগ।

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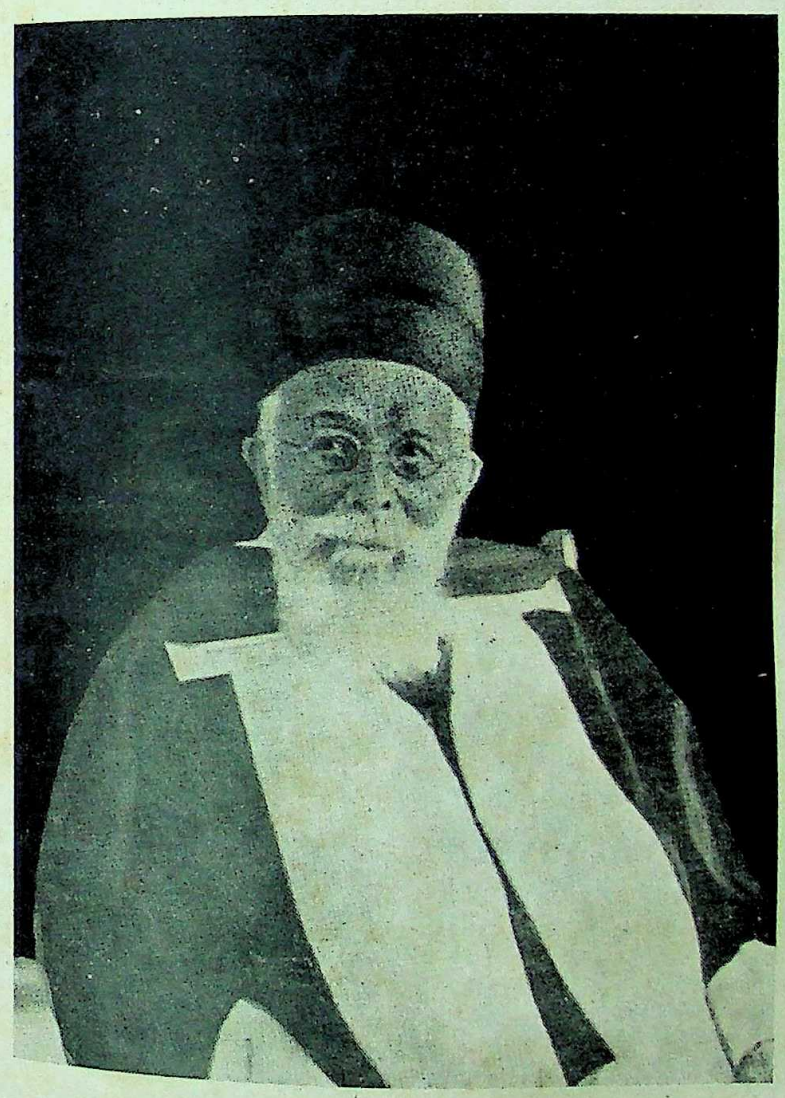

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কাশীরামদাস বিরচিত

সচিত্র

অষ্টাদশপর্ব্ব মহাভারত

ব্যাসদেব কৃত মহাভারত পুরাণ-ইতিহাসের অন্তর্গত হইলেও, কাব্য হিসাবে ইহা মধুরতম। বস্তুতঃ মহাভারতের মত বিরাট গ্রন্থ আর দ্বিতীয় নাই। একসঙ্গে সহস্রাধিক চরিত্রের যথাযোগ্য মর্য্যাদা দান কম কৃতিত্বের কথা নয়। অপূর্ব্ব ইহার আখ্যানভাগ। তেমনি অপূর্ব্ব চরিত্র-বিশ্লেষণ। রাজনীতি সমাজনীতির গূঢ়তত্ত্ব ও তাহার অনুশীলনী ইহাকে আরও গুরুত্ব দান করিয়াছে। বস্তুতঃ, ব্যাসদেব শাস্ত্র-সাগর মন্থন করিয়া অমৃত পরিবেশন করিয়াছেন। 'যা নাই ভারতে, তা নাই ভারতে' এই প্রবাদবাক্যটিই মহাভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ পরিচয়।

সংস্কৃত-কাব্যের এই অপূর্ব্ব রসাস্বাদনে সাধারণ লোক দীর্ঘদিন বঞ্চিতই ছিল। কাশীরামদাস তাঁহার সুললিত পয়ার ছন্দে সেই অভাব দূর করিলেন। এজন্য বাঙালীমাত্রই তাঁর নিকট কৃতজ্ঞ।

আজ মুখে মুখে এই মহাভারত সর্ব্বত্র প্রচারিত। ইহার ফল একদিকে যেমন ভাল হইয়াছে তেমনি মন্দও হইয়াছে শতগুণ। মূল কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত আজ নানা কারণে বিকৃত—যিনি যতটুকু পারিয়াছেন, তিনি ততটুকু আপন মনোমত রচনা ইহাতে সংযোজন করিয়া দিয়াছেন। এই প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি ও ভুল পাঠের পুনরুদ্ধার করিতে আজ পর্য্যন্ত কেহই সাহসী হন নাই। তাই রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত এই মহাভারতের এত সুনাম।

পূর্ব্ব সংস্করণ শেষ হইয়া যাওয়ায় পাঠকের আগ্রহাতিশয্যে বহু অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া এই অমূল্য গ্রন্থের পুনর্মুদ্রণে সাহসী হইতেছি। শীঘ্রই আপনাদের হাতে দিতে পারিব বলিয়া আশা রাখি।

পূর্ব্বাপেক্ষা যাহাতে আরও সুন্দর করিয়া আপনাদের হাতে পরিবেশন করিতে পারি, সে বিষয়ে আমাদের যত্নের ত্রুটি নাই।

ভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ শিল্পীদের অঙ্কিত প্রাচীন রঙীন চিত্র প্রায় পঞ্চাশটি সন্নিবেশিত হইয়াছে।

সুন্দর ছাপা ও সুন্দর কাগজে এই পুনর্মুদ্রণ সংস্করণ আপনাকে সকল দিক দিয়াই লোভনীয় করিয়া তুলিবে।

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড

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5	5	25	27	45	48	65	70	85	91
6	6	26	28	46	49	66	71	86	92
7	8	27	29	47	50	67	72	87	93
8	9	28	30	48	51	68	73	88	94
9	10	29	31	49	53	69	74	89	95
10	11	30	32	50	54	70	75	90	96
11	12	31	33	51	55	71	76	91	98
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14	15	34	36	54	58	74	79	94	101
15	16	35	38	55	59	75	80	95	102
16	17	36	39	56	60	76	81	96	103
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8	8·57	18	19·29	28	30·01	38	40·72	48	51·44
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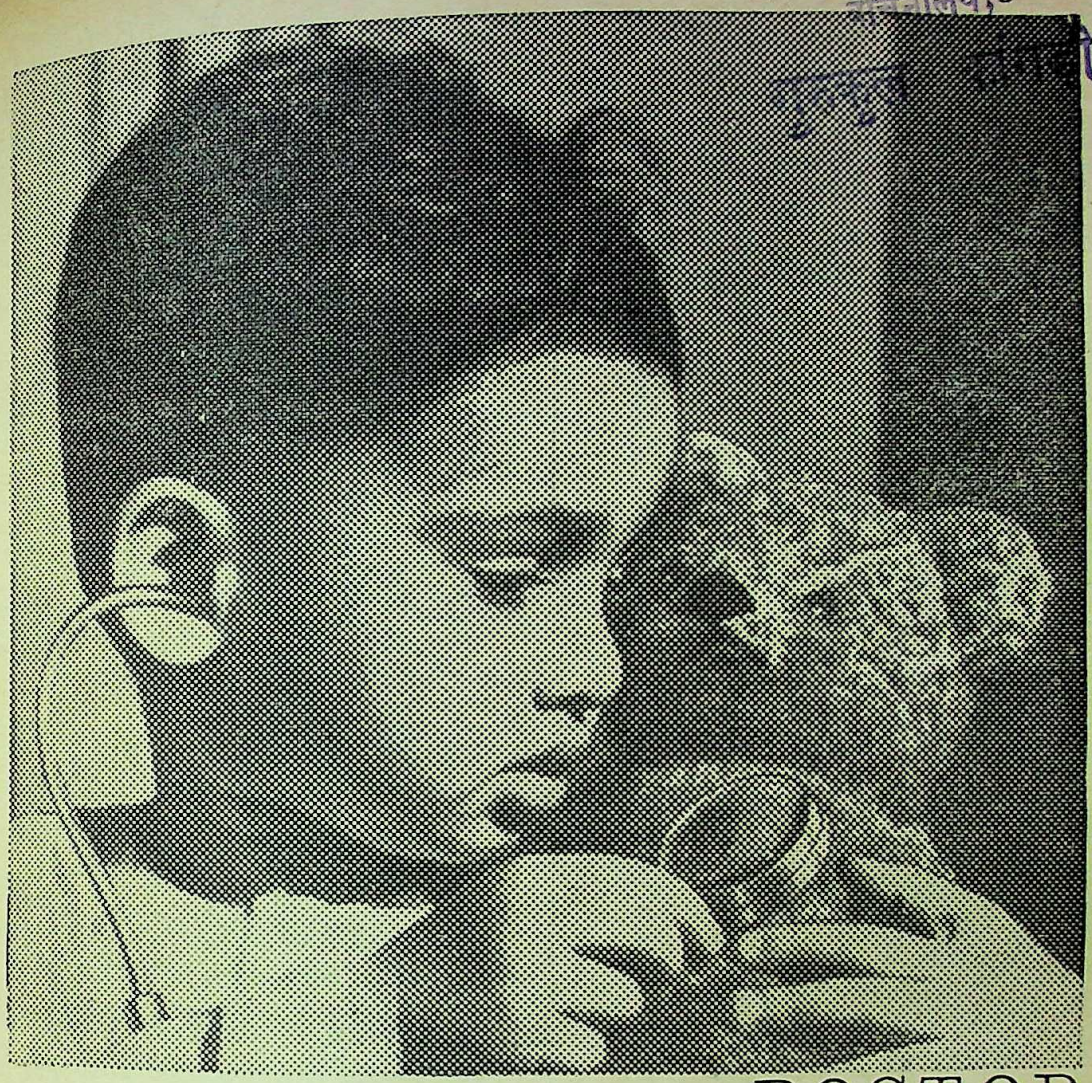

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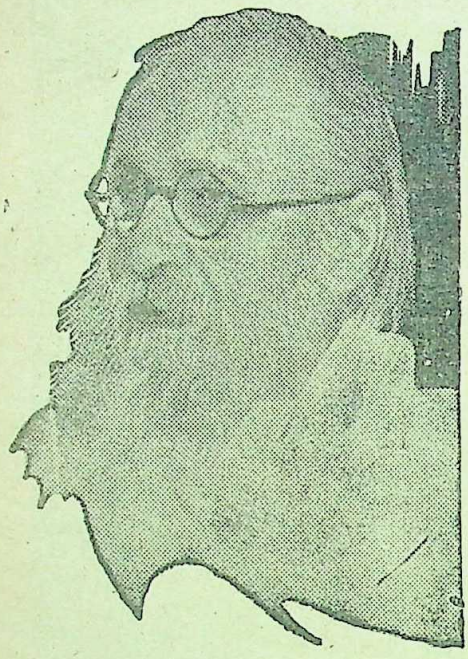

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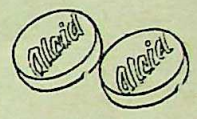

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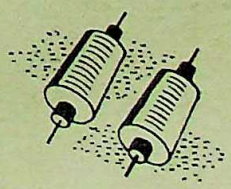

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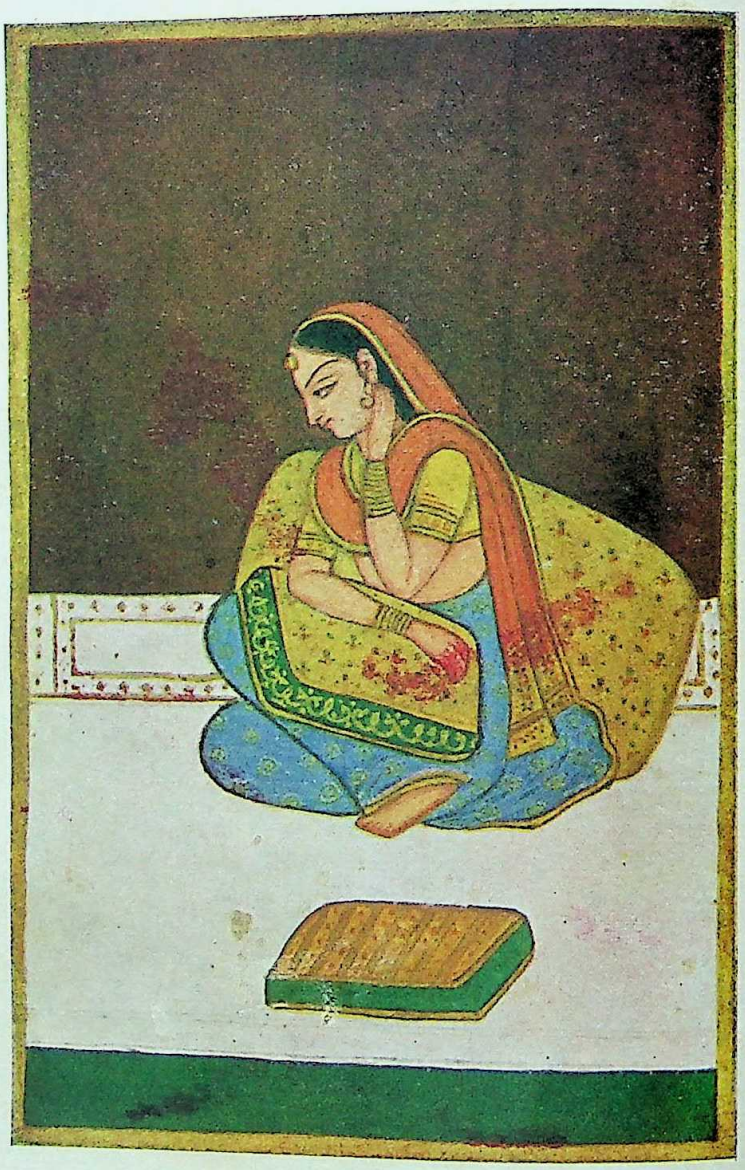

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1962

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VOL. CXI, No. 6 WHOLE No. 666

NOTES

The World

On April 22, 1961, four Generals of the French army, no longer on active service, led a rebellion in Algeria in an attempt to stall and defeat the peace-negotiations that General de Gaulle had initiated as the President of the Republic of France to settle the terms and conditions for a cease-fire in Algeria and for the progressive steps leading to the liberation of Algeria and the Algerians. President de Gaulle had obtained the sanction of the people of France proper, through a nation-wide plebiscite, in which the vast majority of the voters indicated their assent to the proposals of the President to end this genocidal war which was being waged in Algeria in the name of France, against the children of the soil of that stricken and agonised country and against all the moral and ethical principles that were the bases of human liberties. In reality this war was being waged to perpetuate the domination of a million French **colons** (colonists) over nine million Moslem Algerians who had been ruthlessly exploited and deprived of their birth-rights in order to feed the rapacious maws of the French settlers. The details of this seven-year long war, which had lowered French prestige to abysmal depths by the atrocious methods practised by the army commanders, are too well-known to need capitulation here.

The rebellion, which was sparked off by a mutiny led by some paratroopers, collapsed because the bulk of the army remained loyal and because there were no armed uprisings in France proper, much to the surprise and disappointment of the rebel leaders. But a new terror was born out of this abortive **putch**, in the form of a secret army organization, the O.A.S., formed of the die-hard and ruthless elements in the army and their civilian supporters, and led by General Raoul Salan. The objective was, as before, to launch an organized campaign of terror in order to precipitate large scale disorders that would upset General de Gaulle's programme for the transfer of power in Algeria. In this attempt they received active support from the **colons** who were mostly irreconciliables. **The New York Times** gave a summary of the situation up to the arrest of General Salan in the following editorial:

"The one million European settlers of Algeria call themselves **pieds noirs**—black feet—in proud reference to the time their forefathers arrived barefoot, figuratively speaking, onto Algerian soil. It is their way of saying they belong to Algeria, and Algeria to them.

"Down the years, the **pieds noirs** have thrown their full support to any movement which set itself up against concessions to

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Algeria's nine million Moslems. They rioted in 1956 and 1958 when Paris proposed talks with the Moslem rebel leaders; they became Gaullists until General de Gaulle, who came to power in the 1958 uprising, showed he was not their man; they banked on the Army until even the Army proved an unsure ally. In April and May, 1961, they placed their last hope on the **Organisation de l'Armee Secrete**—the O.A.S. In doing so they wedded their cause with one of the strangest insurrectionary movements in modern history.

"Its leader, Salan, was a man the settler extremists tried to murder in 1957, when he was French Commander-in-Chief in Algeria and was regarded as a liberal. The mystique of **"Algerie Francaise"** began to work on General Salan, however, he was involved in the settler-Army insurrection that pulled down the Fourth Republic in May, 1958, and was a rallying point for extreme rightists by the time he retired from the Army in 1959. From self-exile in Spain he flew to Algiers when Generals Maurice Challe, Edmond Jouhaud and Andre Zeller raised the mutiny of April, 1961. When the revolt collapsed four days later, Challe and Zeller gave themselves up; Salan went into hiding with Jouhaud and organized the O.A.S. along military lines.

"Under Salan in the O.A.S. was a clutch of colonels—veterans, like him, of the Indo-China war—waging "revolutionary war" learned from Mao Tse-tung (as they explained it) against "Communism" (their name for any anti-colonial movement) in Algeria. Under these leaders gathered a motley collection of thugs, neo-Fascists, romantic youths, deserters from the Foreign Legion, and ordinary people who compared their fight with that of the Irish Republican Army or the wartime French resistance.

"But the most important source of the Secret Army strength were the **pieds noirs** who did not join the O. A. S., but paid 'contributions,' connived at its lawlessness, made their homes hiding places for killers and stolen arms.

"The showdown wtih Paris began when a cease-fire ended the Algerian w five weeks ago. Stepping up its camp of terrorism and destruction the O. collided with the French Army and thrown back with a heavy loss of l The capture last month of General haud, Salan's second in command, was blow to O.A.S. morale.

"Since then, however, the O.A.S. settled down to steady indiscrimin slaughter of Moslems in Algiers and O with the purpose of goading them into attacks on the Europeans. The O.A.S. has been that the French Army would fire on the Moslems and become engaged' in a struggle to keep Alge French."

Then on April 20, that is, almost a ye to-a-day after the original **putch**, Gene Salan was captured in a flat in Algie disguised as a business man, with dy hair and a moustache, without a struggle whatsover. He was flown to Pa and incarcerated in the Sante prison. had been sentenced to death in absen but was given a new trial in accorda with French law before the same trib that retried General Jouhaud and confirm his sentence of death in April.

But, contrary to what was expec the tribunal passed the sentence of imprisonment on Salan. As to why leniency on this arch-criminal, the fr world is at a loss to conjecture.

Salan was once the most decorated sol in France, though his record has b tarnished beyond redemption by the w planned mass-slaughter of unarmed ci ians, inclusive of women and children the singular unwillingness of his ruth killers to show fight when faced w armed opposition. It is said that the milit Tribunal, set-up to try the rebel offic have admitted the appeal of Jouhaud agai the death sentence pronounced on although there is neither any precedent any legal authorization for such a proce and then they have let Salan get-away w his life. General de Gaulle has dismiss the Tribunal publicly as a measure censure against these lapses on their p which seem to indicate their unwilling

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to mete out just and condign punishment on these criminals.

There is nothing heroic about the O.A.S., they are just a large band of criminals who are committing by stealth and secret manouvres particularly heinous crimes that offend against all accepted tenets of humane relations. They are efficient killers having had the requisite training in the handling of weapons and uptil recently they have had the open and brazen support of hundreds of thousands of European settlers who were equally lost to all sense of human dignity and freedom. These settlers—the pied-noir of the French—are now flying back to their homeland in Continental France by the tens of thousand, and by their behaviour are arousing the intense disgust and resentment of the French, who had not realized how depraved these **colons** could be, prior to actual contact with them. The O.A.S. is trying to prevent their supporters from leaving the country in panic-stricken flight after the French conscript soldiers started retaliating with sustained violence against the O.A.S., whose open resistance crumpled up in a matter of days before the assault of the regulars.

The days of trial of the Moslems is by no means over, but so far they have borne their heavy burden with dignity and fortitude.

The other disturbed area, in last month's picture is in that part of Asia that was formerly known as French Indo-China. Here too the French waged a long and ruthless campaign of denial of liberties to subjects of French Colonialism, which in this area had a false facade of benevolent indirect suzereignty maintained by puppet regimes. When the peoples of these areas rebelled, the mask of benevolence came off. But unfortunately for France, Red China took a hand in the wars and World opinion also became outraged by the conduct of the French campaign by professional militarists. France had to pull out after a series of disasters and out of the wreckage of the French Colonial empire in that area four small states emerged, namely North Viet-nam, South Viet-nam, Laos and Cambodia. The war cost France 5,000 million dollars of which 2,000 millions were misused U.S. aid money.

The advent of Red China in the campaigns of liberation has left a tangled mass of complications stemming from the Chinese bid for expansion South-wards to the China Sea, gulf of Siam and, eventually, the Indian Ocean. The most complicated situation is in Laos where the Communist led Pathet Lao forces have again become active, pushing back the Royalist forces—almost in a rout—almost to the Thailand border. Thailand had called on her SEATO allies for aid when it seemed that the Pathet Lao forces had occupied the bank of the river Mekong, which forms the Laos-Thailand boundary line in that area on the Laos side. U.S. Marines were landed and squadrons of British and U.S. fighter planes and mechanized artillery were flown with the marines to the Thailand border.

The situation in these areas is complicated beyond measure by the attitude of the Rightist leaders, particularly by the intransigence of the Premier of Laos. Prince Boun Oum and his Defence Minister General Phoumi Nasavan—whose soldiers will not fight—and by the inflexible authoritarian attitude of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dien Diem. The **New York Times** of May 13, summed up the situation after the rout of the Royalist troops at Nam Tha and the approach of the Pathet Lao forces to the Thailand border by taking the strategic port of Hovei Sai on the Laos side of the Mekong river, in the following editorial:

"At the White House yesterday, President Kennedy conferred with his top military and diplomatic advisers. The agenda—South-east Asia. Grave problems are now posed there for the West.

The stakes are huge. The South-east Asia area is the last Western foothold on the great land mass of east Asia. The loss of one or more of the South-east Asian countries might produce what has been called the "falling domino" effect. The result would be a grave threat to the security of India and to the United States' allies and strongholds in the Western Pacific.

Last week attention was focused on the two South-east Asian countries under critical Communist pressure—Laos and South Vietnam.

As for Laos, the United States moved fleet

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units towards the area in the hope of discouraging Communist military pressures. But there was evidence that the United States might be preparing to write off the country. Washington seemed to believe that the rightist forces it had been supporting neither could stem the Communist tide, nor would accept a workable compromise.

As for South Vietnam, the picture was brighter. A U.S. advisory force has been helping the government troops wage a more effective campaign against Communist guerrillas. But a disturbing question hangs over Vietnam: Will the U.S. intervention possibly produce stepped-up Chinese Communist and Soviet intervention?

The outlook in Laos appeared precarious from the U.S. point of view. The chances seemed to have narrowed for achieving the genuinely neutralist, buffer regime that Washington, with the supposed support of Moscow, had been hoping to establish. One of the consequences might be a serious blow to the South-east Asia Treaty Organization—mainstay of the Western defenses in the area. In South Vietnam, even with the improved picture, the outlook was for a long, hard struggle.

A Buddhist mountain kingdom of three million inhabitants, Laos was thrust into the maelstrom of the cold war because of its strategic geographic position. It is landlocked, has common borders with Communist China, North and South Vietnam, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia, and is thus a corridor for the Communist push into South-east Asia. Its fall would endanger Western defenses throughout the region.

The scene of confused struggle between rightist, pro-Communist and neutralist forces since the end of French rule in 1949, Laos was under intense Communist pressure when President Kennedy entered the White House. Given the unfavorable military situation prevailing in Laos, the President decided to try for political compromise.

The groundwork for a compromise in Laos was laid by President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev at their meeting in Vienna in June, 1961. The two leaders agreed to establish "a neutral and independent Laos" as a buffer zone between the Communist and Western power blocs. Out of that basic agreement there evolved, in negotiations in Geneva, a plan for a coalition government in Laos that would unite the rightist U.S.-backed regime of Prince Boun Oum, the pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces of Prince Souphanouvong, and a neutralist faction headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma.

The Boun Oum government, however, has refused to enter into a coalition unless it is given the ministries of the Interior (police) and defence (army), which under the Geneva plan were to go, along with the Premiership, to Prince Souvanna Phouma. Negotiations between the three Princes have broken down, and the cease-fire reached in May, 1961, has become increasingly shaky.

Fears of a resumption of civil war were heightened recently when the rightists began strengthening Nam Tha, a besieged outpost twenty miles from the Chinese border, despite U.S. warnings that the build-up was putting a dangerous strain on the cease-fire. The U.S. has provided the Boun Oum Government with substantial military assistance and has military advisers in Laos but no troops. Last February the U.S. suspended its aid of $3,000,000 per month to Boun Oum because of his resistance to negotiating a compromise.

Last Monday the Pathet Lao struck at Nam Tha and the Government forces withdrew, putting up little if any resistance. The Communists drove on to capture two more outpost towns the next day. Whether or not the attack had been provoked by the Nam Tha build-up, it was a clear violation of the cease-fire, and the U.S. and Britain at once requested Moscow to prevail upon the Pathet Lao forces to pull back to their original positions. The same request was reported to have been sent to Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Lao leader, by Prince Souvanna Phouma in Paris for medical treatment."

The latest reports indicate that the Pathet Lao forces are not in evidence at the Mekong river outpost. It is as yet uncertain, however, whether the three Princes will come to any accord.

Conflicting ideas were being held on the method of resolving the complexities caused by Communist attempts at takeover over this part of South-East Asia. Reporting by particularly biased newspaper and agency personnel who were totally ignorant about the attitude of the peoples of the areas further led to blunders by the Wes-

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India and Her Neighbours

We have been living with the "enemy at our doors" cry ringing in our ears for some years now. Pakistan came into existence with the avowal that it was no friend of India nor kith or kin with the Indian peoples, and despite all occasional aberrations on the part of our great men, it has continued to be an implacable foe of India, though occasionally a mask of friendship has been put on in order to fool those in authority here.

Red China came into close touch with us in the garb of a friend. And in the guise of a friendly neighbour she committed acts of treachery and despite all protests from us has continued with her aggressive moves in a truly brazen fashion. It is evident to all the world, inclusive of even Pandit Nehru, that China can be stopped only if her aggressive forces are met with force. We have been promised and assured that the preparations for the final show-down—which is bound to come despite fond hopes of Mr. Krishna Menon—are proceeding apace, but so far we find only "Protest Notes" and "Strong Protest Notes", while the Chinese carry on with their aggression.

The latest notes were placed on the table of the Lok Sabha by Mrs. Lakshmi Menon on the 29th of May, in reply to questions put by some members. They contained the following bits of information:

The Government of India in its note described the Chinese allegations as "totally unjustified and baseless" and lodged an emphatic protest with the Government of China "for continuing their aggressive activities and establishing fresh posts on Indian territory and accusing the Government of India of sending troops to intrude into what is indisputably Indian territory".

The Indian note said that the setting up of the new Chinese military post about 8|10 miles south-east of Spanggur constituted a further serious violation of Indian territory and an act of grave provocation.

The Chinese note of May 11 alleged that on May 2, twenty Indian troops intruded into a place about four kilometres from a new Chinese military post set up at Jechitung; that intruding Indian troops had set up a military outpost in the area; and that on May 5, two Indian soldiers advanced 600 metres deeper into the area and fired three rounds at a Chinese post.

Repudiating these allegations the Indian note said that Indian troops did not enter the area on May 2, and 5, as alleged in the Chinese note, nor had they established any fresh post. On the contrary, Chinese troops moved down south from their post at Spanggur and established a new post at approximately 8|10 miles south-east of Spanggur on Indian territory. This had been fortuitously admitted in the Chinese note.

"Furthermore", the Indian note said, "as the Government of China are aware, Chinese troops are digging in at this new post and are constructing fortifications.

As to the allegation that intruding Indian troops resorted to firing on Chinese troops on May 5, this again in untrue. A similar allegation about firing by Indian troops made in the Chinese note of August 12, 1961, was categorically repudiated in the Government of India's reply dated October 31, 1961".

The Indian note said that in the face of the aggressive activities being systematically pursued by Chinese forces on Indian territory, it was incongruous for the Government of China to bring up charges against India of "aggravating tension' and 'creating incidents of bloodshed'.

"There can be no doubt in any quarter", the note said, "that the Government of China are resorting to these allegations as they had done in the past in order to cover up their fresh sets of aggression on Indian territory."

The note added, "As the Government of China are aware, the international boundary in this sector of the border cuts across the eastern part of Spanggur Lake and follows the northern and eastern water-shed of the Indus. The setting up of the new Chinese military post about 8|10 miles south-east of Spanggur constitutes a further serious violation of Indian territory and an act of grave provocation.

"The Government of India lodged an emphatic protest with the Government of China for thus continuing their aggressive activities and establishing fresh posts on Indian territory and accusing the Government of India of sending troops to intrude into what is indisputably Indian territory. If the Government of China are at all interested in maintaining the *status quo* and the peace on the border, they would be well-advised to restrain

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their forces and desist from constantly pushing forward and setting up new military posts on Indian territory. If any breach of the peace results from the unabated pursuit of aggressive ends by China, the responsibility rests solely with the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China. Allegations against the Government of India, totally devoid of any substance whatever, only add to the mischief of aggression, which China conduct continually."

The situation has been further complicated by the moves of these two inimical neighbours to join hands and to proceed against India on a preconceived plan, masked under the pretence of settlement of boundaries. The U. S. Government further complicated matters by presenting Pakistan with two squadrons of supersonic jet fighter planes, which India is now obliged to match with equal or better planes, purchased by cash since she has not pledged her fealty, either to the West or to the Soviets, who in their turn are willing to supply India with suitable fighter planes at prices much more reasonable than asked for elsewhere. The deal is as yet not closed.

King Mahendra of Nepal in his wisdom has opened his northern gates to the Chinese. Of course, he is fully at liberty to do so. But we wonder whether the consequences of such friendly overtures by the Chinese have been fully considered by His Majesty. In any case, we have to be prepared for eventualities ensuing out of such a reckless act.

The position is not quite clear as yet to persons outside the charmed circle surrounding the Ministries of External Affairs and of Defence, and we can only hope that the powers-that-be are now viewing affairs with more vigilant and wide-open eyes and that their perceptions are no longer as inhibited as it has been in that last few years.

Calcutta and India

There has been an idea in the minds of the people of West Bengal that the Central Cabinet gets strangely inhibited when affairs of their home state come up for discussion or action before that august, omnipotent (where internal affairs of India are concerned) and intensely parochially bent body. The Hooghly river, through which flows the life-blood of West Bengal—and of North-east India—has been dying over a period of four or five decades. Things went from bad to worse during the last stages of British rule, when incompetence and prejudice held high office at New Delhi. The experts who were called in casually to examine the fast-deteriorating navigable channels and to suggest and devise means for prevention and regeneration, put forward various schemes which were pigeon-holed as soon as they were received. The river went on dying slowly.

After freedom, the State Government took up the matter with the powers that be at the centre. The usual long-drawn process of battledore and shuttlecock with files and memos followed and finally it was decided that an expert body be asked to examine the conditions and also the proposed remedies, the main attention to be centred on the port of Calcutta and long-term remedies, such as the Ganga Barrage at Farakka being put off for consideration in the Five-Year Plans which were then in the offing.

No remedial measures followed. Only a few half-hearted steps were taken to prevent the total collapse of the Port of Calcutta through the complete silting up of the channels, a few dredgers being pitted against the forces of the sand and silt bearing waters of the Ganga and of the mighty tidal bores. The First Five-Year Plan practically skiffed the question of the Hooghly river and the Calcutta Port. But then the people were told that Food and Agriculture were being stressed upon and our finances being strictly limited little else could be done beyond the dot-and-carry-one procedure being adopted for other problems. This seemed reasonable particularly as assurances were given that an expert committee would soon be commissioned to go into the matter fully.

The Second Plan was formulated—and there was virtually nothing in there for the problem of the Hooghly river and the Port of Calcutta. Experts came, examined the situation and the Farakka Barrage proposal from different angles, gave their considered opinion on the subjects—and departed. The people of West Bengal began to get agitated as it became evident that the wh-

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question was being shelved by the wise-acres of New Delhi, who were even oblivious of the fact that about 50% of the foreign-exchange earning exports of the Indian Union and all the imported foodstuffs that were essential for meeting the food shortages in North-east India, came through this main artery of shipping traffic. New Delhi cast a bilious-eyed glance at the files and questions and the matter was put on the table for the Third Five-Year Plan. Meanwhile the Hooghly went on dying.

The Third Five-Year Plan was made public after a lot of usual "hot air" exchanges. The Hooghly and the Port of Calcutta found mention in it and it was seen that at last the Farakka Barrage Scheme was being taken in hand—but only with the lesser three fingers of the left hand, if one is to judge by the importance attached to the problem. The scheme was spread over the Third and the Fourth Five-Year Plans, and judging by the speed and progress of the work, it will spread over to the umpteenth Plan, if it is not shelved before that. Meanwhile the Hooghly is slowly dying.

The situation is bad enough as it is and the navigable channels of the river leading up to the Port of Calcutta are so tortuous and treacherous that it needs the highest degree of skill and attention on the part of the pilots to bring in and take out ocean-going ships at the best of times. The famed Hooghly "bore" is becoming more frequent and more and more powerful; as a result the sands and shallows are being shifted all over the main-stream. And to aggravate matters still further came the news on May 2 that forty of the forty-six Hooghly pilots had decided to implement their resignations as from the midnight of May 1, that is, the night between the 1st and the 2nd of May.

What followed was not only confusing but in many respects deplorable. On the one side we had a group of highly trained and responsible technical men who evidently felt that not only had their grievances been brushed aside but their honour was impugned in addition. And further they took the ordinance, issued to deter them from stopping work, as being an unjustifiable and coercive measure—it was ill-considered in any case—promulgated in order to deny them justice. On the other hand, we had the ministry trotting out statements which were bewildering even to the more discriminating and balanced sections of the public. Further, the ministry took recourse to "emergency" measures, in order to relieve the congestion of shipping in the port and in order to bring in ships with essential cargoes, which did not work to any appreciable extent. But what the minister did not do was to come down to Calcutta and to study and discuss matters with the aggrieved body of technical men.

It is no use now, going into the merits of the case, from either of the differing view-points. But there is no doubt that this stoppage of work by the pilots has caused considerable loss to the country and that the responsibility for the losses cannot be solely ascribed to the action of the pilots. The Ministry has not, to our judgement, displayed either the aptitude to tackle problems of the magnitude posed by this port traffic jam or the spirit of negotiation that one expects from a minister when dealing with a group of technical men who were undoubtedly suffering under a sense of denial of justice, whatever be the other aspects of the case. The Minister-in-Charge has not shone in this affair, and but for Mr. Jagjivan Ram intervenig the impasse may have continued for some time more. To many who have followed the affair closely, it appears that the impasse could have been resolved at least a fortnight earlier on the same lines if the ministry had displayed a less inflexible and more tactful attitude. However, the trouble is over for the time being.

We shall conclude this note with a quotation from **The Statesman** of May 29th which carried the following piece of news:

The Union Commerce Ministry is understood to have agreed to allow Calcutta Corporation to import 18 electrical pumping machinery to increase the city's water supply and improve the drainage system under a long-delayed project. Altogether the Corporation requires 22 such pumps, 13 for water supply and nine for drain-

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age—entailing foreign exchange expenditure of about Rs. 43,00,000.

The Centre had so far refused to sanction import of these machinery because of the foreign restrictions and had asked the municipality to secure the pumps from indigenous sources. The schemes have already been delayed by about five years.

The present sanction is the result of a representation made to the Union Government by the Corporation. The municipality's officiating Chief Engineer, Mr. S. Mitra, went to Delhi a few days ago and finalized the sanction with an official of the Commerce Ministry. The 18 pumps to be imported will cost a little over Rs. 36,00,000. It has been agreed that efforts should be made to secure the other four pumps, all for drainage, from indigenous sources. If this is not possible the Government should be approached again.

The necessary release of foreign exchange for the 18 pumps, it is understood, its expected to be made directly by the Union Finance Ministry as an "ad hoc" allotment and not from the quota of any other Ministry. While in Delhi, Mr. Mitra also appealed to Dr. Roy to get the foreign exchange released quickly through his good offices, it is learnt.

The five million peoples living in the greatest city in the Union have been suffering from the shortages in water supply and drainage facilities for many years now. So far the blame has been placed—with full justification be it said—on the "City Fathers" of Calcutta. Now it comes out that the Central Minisrty has aided and abetted in this criminal neglect. We would not have used such a strong term if we thought that the Centre had wasted less than 43 crores of public funds within the same five years!

THE EDITOR

Gold Smugglers

There has been quite a lot of sensation over the death of an Indian diplomat in Vienna, who, it is now found out and officially confirmed by Shri Morarji Desai, had something to do with the Government of India's efforts at putting a stop to the tremendous racket of smuggling gold into India. Shri Morarji Desai quite unnecessarily tried to give the case a plain and common colouring. For those who kn the diplomat personally have not believe the story of taking an overdose of sleep tablets. No one, for example, undresses his bedroom and takes an overdose sleeping tablets in his drawing roo sitting on a sofa. Also the diplomat mentioned to one of his friends that he expecting a visit from some troublesom persons the same evening. The diplom moreover was not the type, at all to tak an overdose of sleeping tablets. The that a Delhi newspaper reporter in Vie began sending colourful reports about diplomat's death, made it quite clear there were people who wanted a particul version of the incident to be broade widely in order to establish a reason for death. Why there should be such eager to prove that he had taken an overdose sleeping tablets is something that requi investigation. Also, who were the peo who stimulated the newspaper reporter Vienna to send his specially prepare reports. Also, were there any relations any highly placed person in Delhi involv in the gold racket? For the deceased been to India only a few weeks before went back to Vienna and he gave some valuable infromation to the Government India about gold smuggling. He was a you man, very happily married and attached his wife and children, who had a awake and extremely courageous na He could face any situation boldly and not the type to seek a cowardly way o anything. It is, therefore, not believed his friends and relations that he took overdose of sleeping tablets. Rather accepted by all who knew him that he finding out too much about the great who made their millions by having smuggled into India. And that ce international crooks were employed persons at the Indian end to put a stop his enquiries by any means, fair or fo

There are quite a number of extr rich people in India whose immense-w cannot be accounted for. Tax evasion, market and profiteering also cannot ac for the great wealth they have am That several hundred crores worth of

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has been smuggled into India is very well-known. Also other gems and valuable articles like watches, fountain pens and other precious metals. These yield a profit which is very large even after writing off all detections by the Customs people. In the circumstances, the smugglers are the spearheads of a great bunch of financiers and organisers, who would stop at nothing to carry on their illicit activities. The youngman who gave his life for stopping the exploitation of his motherland by low crooks, surely deserves honour and protection (of his good name) from the Government of India. If instead of doing their duty to their loyal and trusted workers the Government of India try to protect the crooks, it would be a very condemnable act indeed. We hope Pandit Nehru will personally look into this case and see that justice is done. There are limits even to corruption and we have very nearly reached the extreme end of managing the affairs of the State without reference to ethics. Let Pandit Nehru take some action now and make his speeches afterwards.

A. C.

Supply of War Material

There is some difference of opinion and strong feelings about the supply of war material that India requires. It is reported that India has been negotiating with Russia for the supply of two squadrons of M I G Jet planes. But America has feelings about this negotiation. They think that Russia will stop supply of spares in case of India's war with China. We think that America may stop supplies in case India had to fight Pakistan, so that it remains equally safe or unsafe for India to buy Jet planes from Russia or the U.S.A. We still remember vaguely what happened to the Egyptian air force when it fought Israel some 10-12 years ago. The planes were supplied to Egypt by Britain. The best thing always is to build one's own planes. And one may expect that India, having spent thousands of crores of rupees, obtained by terribly heavy taxation, and borrowings, should be in a position to get all her war material from internal sources. If the public sector has failed to achieve that degree of efficiency, foreign firms may be allowed to do the job in collaboration with Indians who may belong to either sector. We think this should be quite easy to do as there are many big foreign firms who may wish to collaborate. Then there are Japanese and West German technicians who are competent to carry out the plans.

A. C.

Education and Progress

Education is commensurate with human existence. The earliest man must have received education from his mother and thus managed to live in spite of the Presence of Mammoths, Sabre tooth Tigers and other wild creatures. He also learnt various other things from older men and women and built up his store of knowledge in order to be stronger, craftier and more capable. The progress of humanity depended much on education and, slowly, as communities developed and organised themselves in larger and more complex shapes, education began to be institutionalised. The ancient *ashramas, gurus* and the great temples of Egypt with their priests and trainees and the great philosophers of the Greeks are all examples of man's effort to educate the young. The modern universities, colleges, schools and training centres are more specialised and have clear cut purposes of a thousand kinds which have a definite significance in the management of human affairs. These affairs, however, are not *always* clearly defined. There are some problems which are vague and half-known. Some difficulties that are felt, but cannot be stated in precise terms. Progress requires exploration, experiments, probes into the dark and obscure regions of knowledge and plunges into the unknown in search of light. The development of the ability to know and to discover is something that is a fundamental for progress and growth. Modern education, however, does not develop this ability to the extent that ancient education achieved this objective. Our boys and girls go to school and then to colleges and universities ; but they do not learn to think and to investigate. They master the arts and the crafts and build up stockpiles of knowledge ; but their minds do not develop that quality which enables one to cut through the darkness of ignorance by independent thinking and free enquiry. Our education produces mechanical thinking and application of

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knowledge through known channels of approach. The main reason for this intellectual short-coming is neglect of the classics in our educational programme. Classical languages, philosophy and history were the steps by which great thinkers of the past climbed the heights that they reached. The great books of the past which people studied in order to attune their mental outlook with that of the *rishis* and great philosophers of history, are no longer studied by the modern aspirants to knowledge. They are guided into the precincts of learning by persons who have their programme charted out by committees and ministries which have no intellectual outlook worth talking about. The result is dead adherence to curricula and the production of minds which can carry out orders but not think.

A. C.

The Olympic Ideal

The Olympic ideal has no politics in it. There are no secret plans in it to win over the youth of all nations to the cause of the Russian or Chinese variety of liberty, equality and fraternity; nor to the ideal of prosperity through mutual exploitation, known as the American type of democracy. The Olympic ideal is one of physical fitness and of friendly competition in games, sports and atheletics. All nations of the world join the Olympic Games in order to display the prowess of their men and women in the playground, the sports arena, the gymnasium, the boxing ring, the wrestling mat and the swimming pool. This meeting of the best of all nations naturally stimulates the spirit of physical improvement and we believe the present-day tendency among the youth of all nations to be strong, well built, graceful and healthy is largely due to the propagation of the Olympic ideal. The joy of existence is intensified by being healthy and strong and there is no doubt that men and women work better, live better and feel better, if they adopted an open air life of physical activities. And they learn to respect others and to live in a friendly and amicable manner. Peaceful Co-existence becomes a living reality if the peoples of the world lived a life of joy born of good health. Jealousies and the mean reactions which cause disputes and wars are largely the products of physical-mental ill health and a diseased outlook which have their roots in the vicious soil of the so-called places of amusement like drinking booths, night clubs and other dungeons of pleasure. If people learned to live in the open and had an occasional glimpse of the green fields, the blue sky, the shining lakes and the flowing rivers they would learn to revise their outlook. The liverish and bilious way of looking at other people will yield place to a healthier vision and the desire to live happily will take a priority over greed, the desire to deprive others and similar predatory emotions.

The Olympic ideal, therefore, is an international stimulus for the improvement of human outlook. It has no propaganda of an insidious kind hidden in it's apparent appeal for cleaner and healthier living. It helps all nations equally to improve their standards of health and physical fitness. This, naturally, helps to make the world a better place to live in and, also, improves the economy of all nations in many a direct and indirect manner. For example, the medical bills of the nations become smaller by reason of better health and all attendance in schools, colleges, offices, workshops, etc., improve for the same reason. Productivity and the work quanta increase on account of better attendance and greater ability to put in work. We very often talk about the larger number of men and women that we have to employ in India, compared to what happens in other countries. This is largely a matter of tradition, ability and organisation; but not a little it is caused by the ill health of workers. If the Olympic ideal were spread in all cities, towns and villages of India, we should surely be able to get our work done by about 20 to 30 per cent less number of persons. This will mean a great national gain and the individuals concerned will be able to earn about double of what they earn now in our offices and workshops. A nation's ability to defend itself also depends on the health and strength of its nationals. The spread of the Olympic ideal will greatly increase our manpower without increasing our population. Lesser number of better men and women should be a national objective and the spread of games and sports would help us to achieve this without much delay.

The Indian Olympic Association is a national body which organises those games and sports in India which have a place in the Olympic

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pic meet. But this body has not yet tried to open out new clubs and playgrounds everywhere in India. There are also the States Olympic Associations. They take their cue from the Central body and do not engage in any programme of expansion. It is, however, desirable that India should have about half-a-million more playgrounds and clubs which will enable our boys and girls to be stronger and healthier. No attempts have as yet been made to achieve this. The Government of India and the States consider physical culture as a decorative item in the social structure of the Nation. That it is a thing of vital importance has not been realised by most of our V.I.P.s in their public or private life. They have a weak outlook (with some honourable exceptions) which is the direct product of their physical unfitness. It would not be a bad thing if all candidates for the elections as well as for jobs had to qualify physically too in a clear cut and significant manner. It is high time that our leaders talked a little less and did a few things to make us a healthy and strong nation. That would automatically solve our bread problem and the various other problems too which make us a C-3 nation.

A. C.

Priorities For Power

Inability of the existing installed power capacity in the country to meet the minimal requirements of the progressively expanding demand in this behalf over the past several years, especially during the last two/three years, appears to have brought in its wake a realization of the wrong priorities that must have been given precedence by the framers of national development plans while formulating the priorities and physical targets of both the First and the Second Five Year Plans. The position as it has been gradually emerging would appear to be quite dismal and may conceivably slow down, apart from all other causes, the programme of burgeoning industrialization which is claimed to be one of the especial features of the Third Five Year Plan which is now on.

In fact, looking at the matter chronologically from the very outset of the launching of our five Year Plan programmes, it would seem that no proper investigation could presumably have preceded the framing of priorities so far as the power potentials of the Plan were concerned, nor was there, apparently, any very accurate assessment of the part that may be assigned to hydro-power in providing basic supplies which were, even before the First Plan was actually formulated, being organized as part of multi-purpose river valley projects. It would appear that a great deal of reliance was placed on these hydro projects which would undertake manufacture of high-tension power as a sort of a by-product of the flood-control and irrigation projects in such bulk as would deluge the whole country with abundant and cheap power and which would, it was claimed, provide the basic incentive necessary for the growth of a spate of medium and small industries. If one were to look back into the initial spate of very attractively produced literature by the D.V.C. Organization at its earlier stages of evolution, it would appear that as if the only hurdle which has been holding up the growth of industries in this country was the non-availability of cheap and abundant power in large bulk and which was being arranged to be provided by the D.V.C. under its hydro projects at Tilaiya, Maithon and Panchet. In fact, it would be apparent that the realization that dealing as the Organization was with a seasonal river, its grandiosely conceived hydro project could never undertake supplies to cover perennial basic loads but only provide for supplemental peak loads, came much later, when arrangements were made, at great cost, to add to the original power projects of the Organization by setting up thermal power projects. The anticipated growth of medium and small scale industries by the Corporation, however, did not materialize, nor was the power it was able to provide from its thermal plants cheap, with the result that at one stage, even when the power projects of the Corporation had a long way to reach its projected capacity, there was not enough demand for its offtake by existing industries in the Damodar Valley area. To enable, therefore, the Corporation to be able to sell the power it had arranged to produce it became necessary to undertake legislation preventing private corporations, including industries and supply companies to obtain licences for fresh generating units either for supplementing their existing power capacity or even for essential replacements of old and obsolete plant.

With the emphasis given to industrialization

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in the Second Plan, it was soon discovered that the D.V.C's installed capacity would fall far short of minimum anticipated demand, a realization which came only very slowly and gradually, so that the ban on power generation by others in the D.V.C. area had to be haltingly lifted. Looking at the whole thing from an all-India point of view, it would appear that the total installed capacity in the country at the end of 1956 was only 3.5 million kilowatts, and it was planned to raise this to 7 million kilowatts by 1961 and to 12 to 15 million kilowatts by the end of 1966. The actual installed capacity in the country by the end of 1961, however, rose to only 5.7 million kilowatts (1.3 million kilowatts less than was originally projected) and, in keeping with this lower actual capacity, the original Draft Third Five-Year Plan projected for a total capacity of 11.8 kilowatts, which was later enhanced to 13.4 million kilowatts by the end of 1966. It is still problematic as to whether even this capacity would be reached as it would have to absorb some ten to twenty per cent of the total industrial cost of the Plan and will, moreover, have to depend on a number of factors for its fulfilment, not the least of which would be adequate supplies of coal for the purpose. Of the 13.4 million kilowatts, only 5.43 million kW is allotted to hydro-power, 7.67 million kW being allocated to thermal power and an experimental 300,000 kW to nuclear power. The hydro projects in the country being of the storage type mostly, the generating capacity is generally determined by the maximum rate of discharge of water during the monsoon periods and experience demonstrates that the maximum storage is not usually adequate to work the plants at more than 60 to 80 per cent load factor throughout the year. The cost per kilo-unit (1000 kilowatt hours) of hydro-power at a 100 per cent load factor as worked out by Mr. M. K. Gopaliengar, Director, Power, Natural Resources Division of the Planning Commission, appears to be Rs. 403 per kilo-unit of power supplied per annum, which is not inconsiderable. Thermal power, therefore, would appear to be the only reliable source which could be depended upon to supply basic load requirement of power in the country at a reasonable cost.

A certain emphasis was, therefore, laid upon the production of coal in the Second Plan which was projected to be raised from 38 million tons to 61 million tons by 1960-61, the actual achievement being of the order of 54.6 million tons. In the Third Plan, the target for coal was originally placed at 97 million tons, but according to latest indications given by the Union Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel, this is to be likely to be further raised to 120 million tons, nearly double, in fact, of the target fixed for the Second Plan and actually 125 per cent of the achievements of the Second Plan in this behalf. Coal production, however, is dependent upon a many factors, not the least of which are, various additional capital formation in the industry, transport, necessary foreign exchange for machinery both for replacements as well as for new installations, etc., that the prospects of being able to achieve the projected targets in this behalf would seem to be comparatively remote. Apart from the actual consumption of coal directly by industries such as steel (the capacity in which behalf has been projected to be further raised very substantially during the Third Plan), foundries and a host of other industries, a great part of our total production of coal will have to be directed to thermal power plants which, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate, must remain for as long as one can foresee, the mainstay of power manufacture in the country in the future years. The success of the burgeoning programme of industrialization of the country as envisaged in the Third Plan will, however, have to depend very substantially upon the availability of abundant power for the purpose and although there has been a certain measure of rethinking on the matter during recent months, we doubt if ample realization of its importance has yet been fully borne in upon the authorities concerned and we are not quite sure yet, on that account, as to whether priorities have been reassessed in this behalf to give power manufacture the precedence that it would seem to overwhelmingly call for.

Indeed, the situation as regards power has been so dismal, in fact, over the last several years now, and there does not seem to be any very substantial early relief in sight, that a large number of industries in the industrial important Calcutta and Greater Calcutta areas have had to work at considerably lower pres-

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than capacity on account of the inadequacies of power supplies. In some other nationally vital industrial areas in the country also measures have had to be adopted by industry to stagger working hours mutually, to have weekly closing days and other means, to spread over the effects of the inadequacies of power supply. What may appear to be even worse is that in the Bengal and Bihar coalfields collieries have had, generally, to be obliged to have staggered and weekly closed days simply on account of shortage of power. Even in Western India, especially in the Maharashtra region, where power resources have been considerably larger than elsewhere in the country, according to surveys conducted by competent authority, it is disclosed that over the past years large numbers of industries were able to work at considerably reduced and, consequently, uneconomic capacity, and some had even to completely shut down on account of the inadequacies of power supply. How all this may equate with the projects and targets of the Third Plan may easily be conceived.

It appears to us that in the rush and hurry of planning for spectacular and, we are afraid, largely wishful results, the Plans had not taken care to adequately programme for developing servicing industries like coal, transport, power, etc., to the extent they would be called upon to meet take-off needs with the result that inevitable bottle-necks have appeared holding up the dynamics of planned development all along the line. The realization that development of adequate servicing resources in this behalf must be an essential condition-precedent to successful and economical development of the other more heavily boosted projects of the Plans appears to have been dawning only very slowly, not until, in fact, their inadequacies have been actually holding up progress and attention, therefore, has been pinpointing to this vital aspect of Planning only very recently. Even then development of servicing potentials to the requisitly adequate extent do not appear to have been rceiving the consideration they would seem to have deserved, at least not, apparently, to the requisite extent. Thus, it has been frankly stated that the development of transport resources projected for the Third Plan period would be bound to fall short of requirements. One of the obvious reasons must be the heavy foreign exchange commitments that would be required to be covered to raise these potentials to the extent necessary. Power is only one of the essential constituents of these servicing needs of development and the time has arrived, as we have already observed, to pay adequate attention to ways and means of developing resources in this behalf to the requisite extent.

Rethinking on power, it seems necesary, to arrive at definite lines of policy as regards its immediate future courses of development. As already analysed, hydro-power potentials in the country, based as they necessarily must be on storage, can be depended upon to suuply not basic loads but only supplemental peak-load requirements. Thermal power would, therefore, seem to be the inevitable answer and the potentials of energy resources for developing thermal power must, obviously, be based on coal. As regards alternative energy resources, natural gas is yet a more or less unexplored field. Oil might, conceivably, have been another answer but for the fact that indigenous resources in this behalf are yet far too inadequately developed. It has been estimated that the production of indigenous crude oil during the Second Plan has aggregated only some .4 million tons against aggregate demands of some 7 million tons. Estimating that the total demand for oil would be bound to rise to some 12 million tons by 1965-66, Indian crude oil, provided projected developments in this behalf can be fully achieved, could not provide more than about fifty per cent of requirements which, in itself, would be a phenomenal achievement on the background of the present position. Development of power even to a substantial extent on oil-based thermal power would, therefore, call for such heavy foreign exchange bills as the country would be totally unable to meet, even when considerations of supplemental refining capacity for processing the oil is left out of calculation. Another alternative power-resource may be the development of adequate nuclear-energy based thermal power. Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Establishment of the Government of India, has worked out the economics of nuclear power which goes to demonstrate that when all factors have been taken into account, nuclear power

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production may not be as heavily expensive as may be apprehended. Even then nuclear power to cover even a substantial bulk of the country's requirements is still largely in a speculative stage and not enough reliance can be placed upon its potentials at this stage.

Thermal power from coal would, therefore, seem to be, so far, the only possible answer for covering the country's power requirements in the immediate future. In the South arrangements have been going ahead for exploiting the large lignite deposits of the region for the purpose. But for the rest of the country coal must provide the thermal energy required for the purpose and, obviously, superior grades of coal which can be used for metallurgical purposes cannot be used on this account. It is only on comparatively lower grades of coal that our thermal power plants must be based, but when regard is had to the total cost of this coal delivered at plant site in various regions of the country, it would not seem to be very economical. If we recall rightly, the Government of India had formulated a scheme for the production of bulk power by low-temperature carbinization of our almost illimitable resources of the lowest grade coal abundantly present in the Bengal basin sometime around the year 1928 or thereabouts, coal which appatrently had no other industrial or even domestic use.

We do not know what may have happened to this scheme of long ago, but it would seem that it would be well worth a further thought and exploration of its industrial and economic possibilities should be undertaken without any loss of time. It is possible that this may already have been explored to the extent necessary and discarded as being economically and otherwise unworkable. If that is so, the people should be taken into the Planning Commission's confidence and frankly told why this particular field of our supposedly potential resource cannot be exploited. If, however, this old-time scheme may have been left alone on the shelves, it may, with profit, be given a further examination in the light of current conditions. In any case, the time would seem to have been long overdue when every line of possibility for developing the power resources of the country to the requisite extent should have been given a thorough and close examination and final lines of policy determination. Power is a basic need of a development economy without adequate supplies of which the very process of planning may peter out in horrible waste. We wish the Planning Commission would give just a little more attention to the problem of power in the comprehensive way required than they appear to have done so far.

K.N.

President In Retirement

After twelve years of filling the highest office in the country with dignity and purpose to which his people could call him, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has now retired to his old and restful haven at the Sadaquat Ashram in Patna. A Constitutional President, there was very little scope for the incumbent of this high office to exercise a great deal of influence upon the Policies and actions of his government. But there is one thing that can be said of Dr. Prasad without any fear of contradiction which is that even within the very severely circumscribed limits of personal discretion that this office left to him, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has always held the scales even and with rigid and unswerving impartiality between all parochial, communal and other interests in the country whenever they have been mutually in conflict with each other. Dr. Prasad's has, we feel, been the most outstandingly integrating force in an atmosphere of mounting parochial, communal and similar other disintegrating impacts which have been gathering accelerating momentum over the years since Independence and now that he is, once again, free from the limiting trammels of the office of the President, we feel we could look upto him to have his undoubted influence felt more widely and to even greater purpose in this behalf. A man of vision and irreproachable honesty Dr. Prasad will, we have no doubt, realise the very real dangers of national disintegration, and will do everything possible as only he can, to effectively combat the sinister forces with courage and determination.

K.N.

Our New President

The election of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the office of the President of India to succeed

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Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the end of the latter's term of office, has rightly been universally welcomed. An intellectual of the very highest order, in fact a savant of world-wide repute, Dr. Radhakrishnan's has always been a scintillating personality. His successful debut, some year ago, into the world of diplomacy as India's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Kremlin, so different and so far away from the academic atmosphere to which he had been inured from early youth, demonstrated how easily he could adapt and fit himself into this otherwise alien climate. His subsequent election to the office of the Vice-President of India which he filled with such conspicuous ability for two successive terms made him the obvious choice for the office of the President when Dr. Rajendra Prasad retired. We have no doubt that Dr. Radhakrishnan will successfully fill this highest office in the gift of his people with as conspicuous dignity and success.

Never having had any previous association with active politics in his life, Dr. Radhakrishnan's election to the Presidential office has advantages. He has no party strings to beware of, nor past political affiliations to take heed. It were better so since this will enable him to be held truly up as the representative of all of his people, not just of particular political or other groups or parties. His outstanding personality, his universally acknowledged integrity and his scintillating intellect will all combine to make him, we have no doubt, an outstanding President of India.

K. N.

Aid-India Debacle

The Aid-India Club which was reported to have been meeting at the end of last month under the Chairmanship of Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, had adjourned without being able to arrive at any final decision regarding the extent of assistance it would be able to provide to India in the second year of her Third Five-Year Plan. The non-American members of the Club, otherwise known as the Consortium, were reported to have found themselves short by $ 220 million required to match the U.S.A.'s $ 500 million in this behalf.

The news, disconcerting as it must be —for the very success of India's Third Plan would seem to vitally depend upon this aid —does not seem to have seriously disturbed the Union officials responsible for finding the foreign exchange resources of the Plan for, as reported in the daily press, they are looking forward to a number of other countries joining this Aid-India Consortium and, therefore, ultimately being able to provide the funds necessary in this behalf.

Nevertheless, this must be taken as having created a situation which, to say the least, would appear to be extremely unfortunate. The carry-over of the Second Plan has left India with much depleted reserves, a fairly large foreign debt and a continuing, even progressively widening deficit not merely on developmental account, but even on maintenance. The deficit, conceivably, would be bound to considerably further widen in the immediate future with the much larger foreign exchange contents of the Third Plan's outlays. Sterling balances have remained at the depressing level of hardly more than Rs. 108 crores and the scope for earning much more through exports, despite heroic official efforts, would seem to be dismally remote. Altogether the news would seem to be most depressing although what adequate reason there may have been for continued official optimism or, rather its refusal to be depressed, is unknown.

It would appear that foreign exchange, as estimated, would be bound to be regarded as fundamental to the Third Plan. The principal aims of the Third Plan are reflected in its projects for machine-building, heavy industry and mining, a process which would be bound to be severely circumscribed without corresponding resources in transport and power, for all of which the foreign exchange bill, situated in this country as we are so far, would be bound to be extremely heavy. The Third Plan had taken account of this although, perhaps, not to the fully adequate extent as would be necessary for building up our corresponding power and transport potentials. How fundamental the foreign exchange contents of the Third Plan is would appear obvious from the fact that while it

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constituted only about 6% of total estimates in the public sector in the First Plan and as much as 13% of the Second (which, then, was considered heavier than available estimated resources, requiring the outlays of the Plan to be somewhat slashed), it constitutes as much as a fourth of the total investment in the current Plan. Almost the whole of these estimates were predicated upon the availability of foreign aid to the requisite extent which, in turn, it was hoped, would also help to stimulate indigenous capital formation for the Third Plan in both the public and the private sectors, and would be likely to provide resources for financing other potentially profitable enterprises beyond the immediate blue-prints of the Plan.

In a way this inability of the Consortium to arrive at an immediate final decision is also rather enigmatic. Viewed on the background of the communique issued by the Club during the middle of last year that it intended to provide India with the assistance necessary to "launch a Third Five-Year Plan of economic development with confidence in the ultimate achievement of its objectives," this indecision at this late stage would, indeed, seem to be strange. One could understand reasons for initial hesitancy on the part of the aiding countries in this what, at that stage might have been largely regarded as a somewhat speculative adventure in development economics. With the experiences gained during the last ten years in the use of development funds, such hesitancy at this stage would seem to be somewhat peculiar. Tightening of economic conditions in the consortium countries themselves may have been a conceivable excuse, but as far as is known there does not seem to have been any visible deterioration of economic conditions in these countries in the meanwhile. It is possible that the slashes made in her aid-programme by the U.S.A. by her Senate Foreign Relations Committee while considering the aid-appropriations to India, may have influenced decisions by the consortium countries to an extent. Even in the U.S.A., the action of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been regarded as regrettable by more progressive opinion and, as a national newspaper observed, the decisions of the Committee were based upon considerations involved which disclosed an impatience with policies "that really have little to do with the declared purpose of the aid-programme."

Whatever the reason for the postponement of a decision by the aid-consortium, the act itself must be regarded as extremely unfortunate. There may, however, be some reason for continued Indian official optimism in this regard or, as we have said, rather in its refusal to be depressed or deterred. Obviously the aid-India programme must have been catching the imagination of the more developed Western countries. There have been two recent additions,—Austria and Netherlands—to the membership of the Club and there is every prospect that Sweden and Belgium will also participate in the immediate future. With these additional backings to the consortium pool, it is possible that aid-offers by member countries would soon rise to the level where they can fully match the U.S. $[illegible] million. But it had better be sooner than later or current projects of the Third Plan may be likely to be severely affected. Not merely that. But as a part of the expected aid is estimated to cover India's obligations on current account, delay in the arrival of the aid appropriations might even compel the country, with her dismally depleted foreign exchange reserves, to seek a moratorium which would not be in her best interests.

It is necessary, in this context to remind India herself that she, on her part, would need to ensure that funds allotted are used not merely to the best advantage, but also in time. There have been spill-overs from Plan to Plan in the past which have visibly considerably cluttered up progress. Have funds been always used to the best advantage. If all the publicly voiced accusations may have even the least substance, it is quite conceivable that funds may have been diverted to comparatively wasteful channels in the past. It would be best if careful investigation were made and the actual facts in this behalf were ascertained so that necessary measures may be devised in advance to prevent repetition of wasteful diversions if any at all.

K. N.

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A SURVEY OF SOUTH INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By M. BALASUBRAMANIAM, M.A., B.Sc.,
Lecturer in Economics, Annamalai University.

The purpose of this article is not to make any exhaustive survey of the Industries in the South but only to bring together within the smallest possible campass the salient features in the economic development of certain important industries in the south which dominate the scene and to provide a basis for further studies in the field of 'Industry' so very important in a growing democracy under years of planning.

Textile Industry

The textile industry in South India is decentralised in its set up, since the spinning units have to feed the requirements of the handlooms, the foremost cottage industry in India. Following the starting of a spinning mill in 1829 under the name and style of "Blin and Delbuck" at Nellitope, a village in Pondicherry, shortly put as the "Savana Mills," Messrs. Andrew Harvey and Frank Harvey founded the first spinning mill in South India in 1885 under the name of Tinnevelly Mills Company, Ambasamudram. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras and the Bangalore Woollen Cotton and Silk Mills Ltd., at Bangalore, were started more or less about the same time. Later many mills have been established in different centres in South India, but a concentrated development has taken place in Coimbatore due to the favourable climatic conditions and its close proximity to cotton growing tracts. The first mill in Coimbatore, *viz.*, the Coimbatore Spinning and Weaving Company Limited, was established in 1888. This was followed by the Kaleeswar Mills in 1907 and by Sri Ranga Vilas Ginning, Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., and the Radhakrishna Mills Ltd., in 1922 and 1923, respectively. The advent of hydro-electric power supply in 1933 at cheap rates had a further impetus for the starting of more and more mills. From the statistics available, it is noticed that a substantial growth of the spinning industry has taken place in the post-war period, *viz.*, from 1947 to 1958 when the spinning units rose from 92 to 175 and the composite mills from 278 to 295. At present there are 133 spinning units in South India which account for 76 per cent of the spinning units in South India, whereas the composite mills which are 48 in number, account for 16.2 per cent of the composite mills in the whole of India. Roughly two-thirds of the yarn produced by the textile industry go to feed the handlooms and powerlooms.

The prosperity of the spinning industry is to a great extent determined by the performance of the handloom industry. On a conservative estimate, the handloom industry provides direct employment for 62.5 lakhs of people on a full-time basis. The indirect and ancillary employment provided by the handloom industry on dyeing, bleaching, finishing, marketing, production of looms healds, seeds, etc., may be estimated at a minimum of 20 per cent of the full-time employment, *i.e.*, 62.5 lakhs. Therefore the industry is capable of providing full-time employment to about 75 lakhs of people. From the latest statistics available, it is found that the 28 organised industries listed in the 9th Census of Indian Manufactures put together give employment to 17.14 lakhs of people. At present 9.05 lakhs of workers are employed in the cotton textile mill industry of which only about 2.75 lakhs are engaged in weaving.

While the handloom industry has undoubtedly an enviable record, it is an acknowledged fact that it is inherently weak in the matter of large-scale production vis-a-vis the mechanised sector. In view of its employment potentials, the Government have instituted various measures to preserve this industry—restrictions imposed on the export of cotton yarn to pervent, "Yarn famine" in India is an instance in point. India has lost its traditional markets due to these restrictions as will be seen from the figures given below since foreign countries which traditionally

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imported yarn from India installed their own textile units :

Year	Yarn exported (Bales of 400 lbs)
1950	2,18,465
1951	40,385
1952	21,962
1953	39,268
1954	11,859
1955	53,034
1956	32,255
1957	44,000
1958	85,023

The regular performance of the spinning industry and its consumers, namely the powerlooms and handlooms is also beset with many other difficulties. There is at present a shortage in the production of India cotton with the result that prices are soaring high, raising the cost of production of yarn. Also with the change in the consumers' preference for better varieties, the present pattern of production of the industry demands a larger supply of long staple cotton, which is not freely available due to restrictions on Indian imports. In the present adverse conditions, it has become imperative that the productivity of labour in the spinning industry and the handloom industry are to be geared up so that they may be raised to the standards of advanced countries. Simultaneously, in the wake of industrialisation of our country, a progressive shift of the handloom weavers to other industries should necessarily be organised for the advancement of the textile industry for standing up to competition in the internal and external markets. This will mean that more powerlooms have to replace the present obsolete type of looms used by the weavers and more and more modern methods have to be adopted by the weavers.

The starting of gassing and mercerising plants in this region is essential for refining cloth and yarn produced here to cater to the changed requirements for finer cloth. Processes of bleaching and dyeing are also to be introduced under expert care. With the potentialities available in this region, in the textile field, a good number of bleaching and dyeing factories can be started.

With a view to promoting exports of the handloom industry, Government have decided to set up a Handloom Exports Organisation as a subsidiary to the State Trading Corporation. It will be, in the best interest of the industry, besides promoting the sales of these products, this organisation will also take steps to supervise and co-ordinate the manufacture of the products so that export business may progress in an efficient manner.

Chemical Industry

Compared to progress in other parts in India there is considerable scope for development of the chemical industry in South India. There are two plants in South India, engaged in the production of caustic soda, one at Mettur Dam and the other at Alwaye. The plant at Alwaye produces rayon grade quality caustic soda. The capacity of these two plants together with the addition of a plant in Tirunelveli, adds up to about 120 tons per day of caustic soda, against a total installed capacity of nearly 350 tons per day in the country. The development of caustic soda manufacture is satisfactory in the south primarily because the State has a well-developed power generation potential and is offering power at a reasonably satisfactory rate to industrial consumers.

Caustic soda factories produce co-product chlorine. The industry is able to utilise only 70 to 80 per cent of its chlorine output. With plans of increased production of caustic soda, the problem will be more acute and the industry will have to develop newer uses of chlorine like organic solvents, plastics and other chemicals in the pattern of chlorine utilisation in Europe and the U.S.A.

In this connection, the South may take reasonable pride in having set up the plant in the country to produce stable bleaching powder which is able to meet to a large extent the requirements of bleaching powder in the country and thus save valuable foreign exchange.

Turning to acids, there are factories for manufacture of Sulphuric Acid in Madras, Ranipet, Aravangadu, Mysore and Alwaye, having a capacity of nearly 250 to 300 tons of acid per day. This is nearly 40 per cent of the total Indian capacity. With increasing demand for both nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers, there is further scope for expansion of acid production.

Among industrial chemicals of importance

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may be mentioned, calcium carbide, potassium chlorate, bichromates, etc. There is a factory in Tirunelveli producing a small quantity of carbide. It has plans to expand its production. There is a small plant producing potassium chlorate at Kundara. Besides, there is also a plant at Mettur Dam, for manufacture of chlorate. Bichromate is produced by a factory in Madras.

Production of basic chemicals in the country has been fairly satisfactory in the Second Plan period but we have to do much to reach self-sufficiency. In the development of production of basic chemicals, the south sould also play an active role. The most important is development at Nieveli. Besides mining of lignite and briquetting of the same, Nieveli is to have a very big thermal plant and a big fertiliser plant. The scheme must be vigorously pursued and implemented so that Nieveli would be the nucleus for future development of an integrated chemical industry in the South.

As the demand for soda ash is continually increasing, steps should be taken to set up a soda ash unit of at least 200 tons per day capacity in South India. Madras or any other coastal town like Cuddalore,—where the main raw materials for manufacture of soda ash (salt and limestone) are available in abundance.

The salt factories in the South are not properly organised to produce salt of good quality and also, at the same time, recover other valuable by-products like gypsum, magnesium chloride, potassium chloride, etc. For every 1,000 tons of brine salt, it would be possible to produce 25 tons of gypsum, more than 250 tons of magnesium chloride and 25 tons of potassium chloride. The value of the by-products is much more than the value of the salt produced and yet unfortunately, due to the unorganised nature of the working of the salt-pans, proper steps have not so far been taken to recover these valuable by-products.

Another possible field of development is production and use of power and industrial alcohol. There is a fairly rapid expansion of the sugar industry and this will result in a considerable increase in the production of both power and industrial alcohol from the waste product of the industry; *viz.*, molasses.

Thus with the arrangement for (i) setting up a soda ash plant of 200 tons per day capacity minimum (ii) recovery of marine by-products like gypsum, magnesia, magnesium chloride, potassium chloride, etc., (iii) development of use of power and industrial alcohol and (iv) development of newer organic chlorine products from co-product chlorine in caustic soda plants and (v) the production of synthetic fertilisers like urea at Nieveli and ammonium phosphate at Alwaye, there will be a balanced and integrated chemical industry in the South.

Fertilizer Industry

Production of synthetic ammonia and its conversion to ammonium sulphate was first started in South India in 1938, at Belagula in Mysore State and an ammonium sulphate plant with a production capacity of 6,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per annum at Alwaye. The Sindri plant with a capacity of 350,000 tons per annum started production in 1951. The Sindri plant is one of the largest nitrogen fixation plants in the world and has a capacity of 1,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per day. Sindri's capacity will ultimately be increased from 70,000 tons of nitrogen (3.5 lakhs of tons of ammonium sulphate) to 1,17,000 tons of nitrogen. The additional quantity of 47,000 tons of nitrogen is to be converted into 24,000 tons of urea and 1,48,000 tons of ammonium sulphate-nitrate.

The Kerala factory has an installed capacity of 150 tons of ammonium sulphate per day. Its capacity will be ultimately increased to 225 tons of ammonium sulphate per day. The present capacity of ammonia in the Kerala factory is 40 tons per day which will be doubled after expansion is complete.

New factory is also coming up for the production of nitrogenous fertilisers at Nieveli in Madras. About 4,00,000 tons of lignite will be used in the production of 70,000 tons of nitrogen. This nitrogen will be converted into urea which is a highly concentrated nitrogenous fertiliser containing 45 per cent nitrogen, as against 20 per cent nitrogen in ammonium sulphate, 30 per cent nitrogen in ammonium nitrate and 26 per cent in ammonium sulphate-nitrate.

The present production of ammonium sulphate and super phosphate in the country are 4 lakhs of tons and 2.5 lakhs of tons respectively.

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Of the above consumption in South India consisting of States of Madras, Mysore, Andhra and Kerala, is over 50 per cent and the demand is increasing by leaps and bounds. The present demand in these states can be taken as follows : It should be kept in mind that this requirement is substantially increasing year by year.

State	Ammonium Sulphate	Super Phosphate
	Tons	Tons
Kerala	50,000	15,000
Madras	200,000	100,000
Andhra	100,000	70,000
Mysore	50,000	15,000
Total	400,000	200,000

The present production capacity in South India is as follows :—

Ammonium Sulphate :

	Tons
Mysore Unit	6,500
Kerala Unit	45,000

Super Phosphate :

Kerala Unit	50,000
Mysore Unit	6,000
Madras (2 units)	80,000

So, there is necessity to instal additional units in India and, of course, to meet the needs of South India itself.

There is scope for expansion of the Kerala factory by four to five times the present capacity so that it becomes a unit like Sindri. A unit capable of producing 80,000 tons of nitrogen for conversion to suitable nitrogenous fertilisers like ammonium nitrate or nitro-phosphate can be a feasible proposition for Andhra. The Mysore factory can be expanded by making available the necessary power. This is over and above the Nieveli Project.

At present there are 16 factories in India for the manufacture of super phosphate. There is scope for over a dozen factories in India and at least 6 units in South India having an annual capacity of 30,000 tons each. Super phosphate units can come up at centres like Coimbatore, Mysore and Tuticorin and two or three units in Andhra at Vizag, Bezwada, etc. It is also worth while considering manufacture of triple super in some of the units and ammoniation of products in two or three units. The ammonia required can be got from factories like F.A.C.T. Ltd., Nieveli, etc.

Another important industry in South India is manufacture of mixed fertiliser and there are at present 20 well-established mixed fertiliser manufacturing firms and there is scope for many more. In U.S.A., more than 80 per cent of the fertiliser is sold as mixed fertiliser and mixed fertiliser has many advantages over straight fertilizer. The mixed units should be mechanised and they should have a capacity of at least 10 tons per day.

The fertiliser industry has very vast scope in South India. For fertilising our fields with a fair dosage of plant food our country requires about 75 lakhs of tons of ammonium sulphate and 40 lakhs of tons of phosphatic fertiliser which only show the enormous scope for the fertiliser industry in India. Of the above tonnage more than 50 per cent are required in South India.

Plantation Industry

The relative importance of this industry from the point of view of employment can be judged from the fact that it employs nearly [illegible] million workers whereas even the textile industry which is one of the biggest well-established industries of India, employs only about 7,000,000. Neither mining industry nor the jute or other industries employ as many as this industry. It makes a sizeable contribution to our public revenue. Approximately 27½ per cent of income derived from tea is devoted to Central, State and Local Government revenues. The Industry's Wage Bill in South India alone exceeds Rs. 21 crores per annum. It pays approximately Rs. 5 crores by way of export and excise duties and an estimated 10 crores of rupees as Central Income Tax to the Indian Government and agricultural Income Tax, Sales Tax and other levies to the States. The industry distributes another Rs. [illegible] crores by way of purchase of stores and supplies for the maintenance and upkeep of the estates

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Taking all the plantation crops, the share of export earnings in 1957 was nearly 30 per cent of the total. Tea alone, by way of exports, has earned about Rs. 125 crores per annum during the past few years. It spends very little by way of imports.

By the term "plantation crop", tea, coffee, rubber, pepper, cardamom, cashewnut and other minor spices are usually meant, but here I propose to discuss only tea and coffee which are the main and important crops which dominate the scene.

India contributed in 1958, 709 million lbs. of tea as against the world's production of 1,341 million lbs. Below is given the statistics of world tea production from which India's importance can be estimated.

World Tea Production
(In million Lbs.)

Country	1958	1957	1956
India	709	679	670
Ceylon	413	397	375
Indonesia	102	101	102
Pakistan	54	45	54
Africa	63	54	54
Total	1,341	1,277	1,355

A major portion of tea is grown in Northern India which accounts for 80 per cent of the cultivated area. An idea of the acreage in India can be gathered from the following statistics to show the various producing centres.

Tea Acreage in India
(As on 31st March, 1958)

			Acres
Assam	..	..	393,417
Bengal	..	..	201,612
Tripura	..	..	12,452
Other North Indian States	..		18,342
Mysore	..	..	4,467
Madras	..	..	76,401
Kerala	..	..	97,082
Total	..	..	793,773

The crop produced in 1958 was about 550 million lbs. The Southern States produced a crop of nearly 160,000 lbs. The South Indian Tea production is given below :—

South India Tea Production
(Figures in '000 Lbs.)

State	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952
Kerala	79,922	76,694	66,862	67,486	68,190	64,397	61,225
Madras	68,086	64,466	56,907	58,499	58,457	54,176	48,791
Mysore	3,660	3,531	3,175	2,963	2,480	2,291	2,239
Estimated production for estates without Factories	6,064	5,788	4,200	3,375	2,905	2,800	2,159
Total	157,732	150,480	131,144	132,323	132,032	123,664	114,414

Of South India's production of nearly about 160 million lbs., export is in the region of 100 million lbs. It is also reported that some States in South India raised an all-time record of 2,000 lbs. per acre as against an average of 900 lbs. for a South Indian acre of tea. Cochin has become a big marketing centre of tea and it is now nearly handling more than 100 million tons.

Coffee is exclusively confined to the South of India. The area under coffee is about 2½% of

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the world's area but the production is very low namely 1 per cent of the world's production. The planted acreage of coffee is 250,000 acres in which is produced about 40,000 tons. The domestic consumption is about 24,000 tons and the balance of 16,000 tons alone can be exported. When production is stepped up, we can export more. The surprising thing about coffee is that the yield per acre is now yearly 2,000 lbs., compared to 400 lbs., some time ago. It is even expected that with advanced scientific cultivation, we could raise more than a ton per acre. The production of coffee for the last 8 years may be gauged from the following figures.

Year	Coffee picked.	Released for Export.	Value
	In tons.	In tons.	Rs.
1950-51	18,893	305	21,05,715
1951-52	21,576	2,235	2,71,66,033
1952-53	23,943	3,048	1,24,32,748
1953-54	30,029	9,767	6,10,59,212
1954-55	25,427	3,592	1,73,64,970
1955-56	35,028	8,082	5,53,21,541
1956-57	42,674	15,472	8,41,08,867
1957-58	44,400	14,281	6,24,05,668

This will show that the production is increasing from 18,000 to 44,000 and is going to increase further in the next few years. Therefore we must prepare ground for its being absorbed both internally and externally.

Tobacco Industry

Tobacco is the second largest excise revenue earning commodity in India. The excise revenue collected on tobacco during 1958-59 amounted to Rs. 50 crores. It is the ninth important item in India's export trade as it earned about Rs. 16 crores of foreign exchange in 1958.

As a world producer of tobacco, India is next only to the U.S.A. and China. India holds the fifth position in the matter of tobacco exports, the first four being the U.S.A. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Turkey and Greece respectively.

The Southern region comprising the States of Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and Ker whose total geographical area amounting only one-fifth of the total area of the country is, ever, the important region in respect of to cultivation and exports. About 61 per cent of types of tobacco produced in India, is from region only. The entire Virginia cigarette tob production in the country is concentrated Andhra Pradesh and Mysore in South India. than 90 per cent of the total exports from country is also directed from this region.

Andhra Pradesh is by far the most impor tobacco producing State in India contrib about 40 per cent of the country's total product The production of tobacco in Andhra Pra is about 70 per cent of the production in S India. A table showing the acreage and pr duction of tobacco in Andhra Pradesh dur 1956 to 1958 is given below:

Season	Acreage	Producti
	000 acres	Million l
1956	395	393
1957	390	289
1958	362	244

The famous Guntur area comprising districts of Guntur, Krishna, East and W Godavari is by far the most important tob producing centre in the State. More than 95 cent of the Indian Virginia tobacco used cigarettes is produced in the State only.

The State of Madras is the third lar State in India in the matter of tobacco produc and holds the second Place in South India. following table gives the acreage and produc of tobacco in the State during 1956-59 seas

Season	Acreage	Producti
	000 acres	Million l
1956	67	80.6
1957	48	60.5
1958	49	60.5

Chewing tobacco is the most important grown in the State of Madras. About 85 per of total tobacco crop in the State is utilised chewing purpose only. Next in importance cigar and cheroot varieties. Snuff occupies third position. Coimbatore, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Tanjore, South Arcot and N

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Arcot are the important districts for tobacco cultivation in the State. Coimbatore district alone accounts for more than 75 per cent of the State's total production.

Mysore State ranks fourth in India in the matter of tobacco yield contributing about 7 per cent of the country's total production. A statement on tobacco acreage and production in Mysore during 1956-58 is given below :

Season	Acreage 000 acres	Production Million Lbs.
1956	108	38.1
1957	135	47.0
1958	103	40.3

Bidi tobacco is the most important type grown in the State. Virginia tobacco is also grown here. Mysore, Bangalore, Belgaum, Tumkur, Mandya, Chitalrug, Kolar and Gulbarga are the important districts for tobacco.

Excepting in Cannanore district, tobacco is not grown to any appreciable extent in Kerala State. The total area under cultivation at present in the State is about 2,000 acres.

Four important tobacco marketing centres in the country, *viz.*, Guntur, Nipani, Coimbatore and Palghat are situated in South India only.

Tobacco produced in South India is consumed in various forms such as cigarettes, cigars, cheroots, hookah, chewing, snuff, etc. With the exception of cigarette manufacture which is mechanised, all other tobacco products are manufactured as cottage industries.

Out of the sixteen cigarette factories in India, four cigarette factories are located in South India—3 in Andhra Pradesh and one in Mysore. In the Southern region, cigar and cheroot industries are confined mainly to the States of Andhra Pradesh and Madras. Bidi is, however, manufactured in all the States mentioned above. Snuff is manufactured mostly in Madras and Andhra Pradesh, whereas chewing tobacco is manufactured in Madras, Mysore and Kerala.

Tobacco grown in South India is exported to about 60 countries and it accounts for about 90 per cent of the total exports from India.

The flue cured virgina tobacco grown in Andhra Pradesh forms about 82 per cent of the total Indian exports of tobacco. During the year 1958 about 90 million lbs. of flue cured virginia tobacco valued at Rs. 13.5 crores were exported to foreign countries as against 66 million lbs. worth Rs. 10.7 crores in 1957.

Flue cured virgina tobacco grown in Andhra Pradesh is exported to different countries. The United Kingdom is the largest buyer of top grades of flue cured virginia. She purchased about 14.3 million lbs. of tobacco valued at Rs. 10.4 crores in 1958. The second largest buyer is China whose off-take during 1958 was 21 million lbs.

Of late the U.S.S.R. is showing a greater interest in Indian Virgina tobacco. During 1958, she purchased about 7 million lbs. of virginia tobacco as against 6.4 million lbs. in 1957.

The continental countries which purchase flue cured virginia tobacco are Belgium, Sweden, the Nethrlands, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal and Denmark. Their imports consist mostly of the low and medium grades of flue cured virginia tobacco even though there is occasional demand for top grades also. In Asia, Aden of late is envincing an interest in low-grade flue cured virginia tobacco also. Ceylon also consumes flue cured virginia tobacco apart from bidi tobacco, chewing tobacco and bidis. Low grades of flue cured virginia tobacco find a market in Hong-Kong, Indo-China, and Japan.

Some varieties of high-class cigars manufactured in Madras State are exported to French Somaliland, the Maldives, Bahrein Islands, etc. A small quantity of bidi tobacco and bidi is also exported.

Imports of tobacco into these States are negligible. The Kerala State, however, imports annually a special type of the chewing tobacco from Ceylon known as "*Jaffna tobacco.*"

Jute Industry

In South India, Jute is grown only in the Visakhapatnam district. The four jute mills situated in South India are (i) the Chittivalsa Jute Mills, Chittivalsa in Visakhapatnam District, (ii) the Nellimarla Jute Mills, Nellimarla in Visakhapatnam District, (iii) The Krishna Jute Mills Ltd., Ellore in West Godavari District, and (iv) Shree Bajrang Jute Mills Ltd., Guntur, all in Andhra Pradesh. All these mills were established almost at the beginning of this century and are trying to cater to the needs of the markets in South India. These four mills amongst them-

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selves, employ about 8,000 labourers per day and process about 25,000 tons of jute goods per year. The first two Mills Chittivalsa and Nellimarla being members of the Indian Jute Mills Association and also belonging to a group of Industries established in West Bengal—The Mcleod Group —are in an advantageous position as against other Mills in South India. They have an added advantage in being near Visakhapatnam port.

The two Jute Mills, one at Ellore and the other at Guntur, have been carrying on production facing rather heavy odds over many years. Both these mills have to import 90 per cent of their raw material, Jute, from West Bengal and Orissa. These two Mills are small in size (loom capacity 120 each) and manufacture sacking only, required by the South Indian Markets.

The Jute industry in South India has a vital role to play today. In a vast country like India with long distances to be covered from one end to the other, it will not only be advantageous but also essential to have the vital basic industries like the Jute Industry spread over the whole country. South India, which is the most important food growing area, offers good demand for gunny bags to pack foodgrains. The tobacco industry producing calcium carbide and the re[illegible] also requires gunny cloth and Jute twine in la[illegible] quantities. The textile industry in South I[illegible] requires (Jute) Hessian cloth. The ever-gro[illegible] cement industry requires jute bags. These [illegible] tries cannot look with advantage to the mi[illegible] Calcutta for their supplies. The Jute Mills in [illegible] South can cater for them better. There is e[illegible] need for the existing plants to expand and in[illegible] productivity so as to be able to play [illegible] allotted role in increasing national wealth [illegible] income.

Ferro-Manganese Industry

Ferro-Manganese, as its name implies, is [illegible] alloy of iron and manganese, its chief use bei[illegible] the manufacture of special steels of desired p[illegible] perties. In South India, noteworthy de[illegible] associated with the Kodurites occur in [illegible] Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, and [illegible] Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa. Late[illegible] deposits occur in Keonjhar and Bolangir Dist[illegible] of Orissa and North Kanara, Bellary (San[illegible] Chitaldrug, Tumkur districts of Mysore. [illegible] production in the various State is given be[illegible]

	1953		1954		1955		195[illegible]
	Tons.	Value in lakhs of Rupees.	Tons.	Value in lakhs of Rupees.	Tons.	Value in lakhs of Rupees.	Tons
Andhra Pradesh	219,024	339	58,484	81	112,338	130	221,[illegible]
Mysore	117,563	183	87,225	111	122,839	143	220,[illegible]
Orissa	431,678	669	346,874	482	401,295	466	433,[illegible]

The Ferro Alloys Corporation Ltd., Tumsar, has its works at Shreeramnagar, Koduru (near Garividi), Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh. The Mysore Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., at Bhadravati, produces a small quantity of about 2,000 tons of Ferro-Manganese per year. Closely related to the production of Ferro-Manganese is that of Ferro-Chrome and of Ferro-Silicon by the same kinds of electrical furnances, for which licences have been issued by the Government of India. The Mysore Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., at Bhadravati in Mysore, which manufactures a small quantity of Ferro-Manganese is engaged in producing Ferro-Silicon in sufficient quantities to be exported. The same furnaces are also used for plants have been erected at various places [illegible] India, one being located at Talaiyuthu[illegible] Tinnevelly district (Industrial Chemicals L[illegible] The K.C.P., Ltd., has made arrangements [illegible] foreign firms for the fabrication of e[illegible] furnaces in their workshops at Tiruvo[illegible] Madras.

The production of standard ferro-man[illegible] from the raw materials available in India p[illegible] special problems, as they differ widely from [illegible] of other producing countries. The main d[illegible] ties arise from: (i) The manganese/iron [illegible] of most of the Indian manganese ores [illegible]

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compared with the other major manganese ore-producing countries as given below :

	Manganese/Iron ratio.
(i) U.S.S.R.	25 to 55
(ii) Gold Coast (Africa)	12 to 25
(iii) India	5.5 to 7.5

(ii) The phosphorus content, both of our ores as well as of the cokes which are charged into the furnaces is high compared with other countries.

India is, therefore, not advantageously placed with regard to the manufacture of ferro-manganese, and it will not be easy for her to compete with other countries, particularly the U.S.S.R. and Ghana.

Automobile Industry

South India's contribution to the general progress of the industry has been considerable and one notable feature is the growth of ancillary industries to serve the main industry. An important ancillary industry that was established outside Madras is the Motor Industries Co., of Bangalore, to manufacture, in collaboration with Messrs. Robert Bosch, West Germany, the famous Bosch spark plugs under the name "Mico" plug. One addition to the ancillary automobile industry in Madras, is the Dunlop Rubber Factory for the manufacture of tyres set up at Ambattur, 16 miles from the city.

There is no doubt that Madras has acquired a considerable stature in the automobile world and in the years to come there would not only be a tremendous progress in stepping up production of automobiles in South India but also in raising the indigenous proportion of components, thanks to the growth of ancillary industries.

Bicycle Industry

Though a major portion of the Bicycle Industry is concentrated in different areas of North India including Bengal, Bombay and the Punjab, T.I. Cycles of India, one of the four major manufacturing units, is situated at Ambattur, near Madras. Here I cannot do better than quote from a review of the Financial Editor of the "Manchester Guardian," after his visit to T.I. Cycles Factory:

"This is better laid out and equipped than any cycle factory in Britain.....I should not be surprised to hear that it was the most modern cycle factory in the world. . . . . The old idea that Indian businessmen are chiefly merchants and speculators is rapidly becoming obsolete."

The object of the First and Second Five-Year Plans is not only to achieve a rapid industrialisation of the country by starting as many heavy industries as possible but also in order to effect a balance of economy to start at all suitable urban and semi-urban centres in India, a number of small-scale industries capable of turning out consumer goods with the help of machine, power and modern technical methods and appliances. With this end in view, the Government have of late sanctioned licences to various small-scale industrial units engaged in turning out consumer goods. Among these are given below some of the small-scale bicycle assembing units which have already either come into existence or which expect to function in due course :

(i) *Madras State* :—Five Units at Poonamallee, Guindy, Sivakasi, Tanjore and Vellore, each with a turnover capacity of 5,000 Bicycle units per annum.

(ii) *Andhra Pradesh* :—Two in Hyderabad and one each at Vijayawada, Secunderabad and Rajahmundry with a total capacity of 17,500 units per annum.

(iii) *Kerala* :—Four units for manufacturing 5,000 cycles a year per unit. Out of these three are allotted to the private sector.

(iv) *Mysore State* :—Two units with a capacity of 5,000 cycles each per annum.

Thus the total capacity of the South Indian small-scale units is roughly 72,000 bicycles. By the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period, one can confidently expect that both T.I. Cycles and the smaller assembly units of South India, will be capable of turning out more than four lakhs of bicycles per year, (*i.e.*, one-fifth of the anticipated, All-India output of two million cycles) by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The Indian bicycle industry today occupies an important position in the national economy. The total block capital investment in large and small-scale units as also the ancillary industries may be estimated at about ten crores of rupees. The entire industry gives employment to roughly 25,000 people. The Indian bicycle industry has thus fully played its part in the industrial progress of Independent India. This is, indeed, a

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source of inspiration and encouragement for the private sector.

Fruit and Vegetable Preservation Industry

In the southern zone, there are more than 300 factories manufacturing fruit products. Majority of them are organised on a cottage scale. These include syrups, pickles, etc. Actually manufacture of jams, jellies, marmalades, canned fruits and vegetables, squashes, cordials, chutneys, pickles, etc., is done by a few large units. Bangalore leads the rest of South India with a production of about Rs. 15 lakhs worth of fruit products. In Trichur in Kerala, is centred the Indian pineapple canning industry, for which there is ever increasing scope. In Madras is centred a good-sized industry of pickles and curry powder which is exported in large quantities.

South Indian pickles, *e.g.*, mango thokku, avakkai, are very delicious and find good scope at home and in foreign countries. There is good scope for increasing the export of these pickles to eastern countries, *e.g.*, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc., and U.K. There is about 10 lakhs worth of production of these pickles, and for poorer classes, the pickles are packed in banana fibre packets. These packets are sold for half an anna each at small beedawala shops all over South India. One factory at Bodinayakanur manufactures these packets for more than one lakh of rupees, and does it on modern hygienic lines.

Mango Tundra

Mango Tundra (Ampa-papad, or mango leather) is the industry of dried mango pulp. This industry is mostly centred around East Godavari and West Godavari Districts of Andhra. The product is sold by the producer to the wholesaler at less than Re. 1 per lb. Thus, there is about Rs. 8 lakhs worth of production.

There are several tracts in South India where mangoes are grown in plenty. These are Ar and Salem Districts of Madras State, East Godavari, Chittoor, Cuddappah, Krishna and Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam Districts of Andhra Pradesh, Kolar and Bangalore Districts of Mysore State; Malabar and Kottayam Districts of Kerala. These tracts offer excellent scope for the development of this industry.

Banana is grown in abundance particularly in East and West Godavari Districts of Andhra, North and South Kanara in Mysore State, and Malabar in Kerala State; and in Tiruchirapalli, Tanjore, Tirunelveli and Madurai Districts of Madras State. These tracts offer excellent scope for the development of this industry.

Sugar Industry

In the Southern region comprising of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala, the *per capita* consumption of gur and sugar combined cannot be placed at more than 23 lbs. against the All-India figure of nearly 29 lbs. In the whole of India, consumption of factory sugar per head is around 11.5 lbs., while in the southern region it is not much more than 6.5 lbs. The figures relating to the number of factories and actual output in 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59 are given below :—

States	No. of Factories working. 1957-58	1956-57	Total sugar produced (000 tons) 1957-58	1956-57	1958-59
Andhra Pradesh	12*	10	1,52	1,42	1,20
Madras	5	4	68	65	60
Mysore	6	4	73	42	84
Kerala	1	1	8	12	11
Total	24	19	3,01	2,61	2,75

*Nizam sugar I and II Plants taken as one unit.

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On the basis of the present level of consumption, the southern region as a whole may be regarded as more or less self-sufficient. But there is yet a great need for pursuing a more vigorous policy of expansion in this region, to meet the rising trend in consumption which may in the course of the next few years exceed the All-India level. Therefore, there is a need for making determined effort for increasing the average recovery percentage of sugar. Madras has been able to achieve a recovery of only 9.77 per cent, Andhra Pradesh 9.42 per cent, Mysore 9.37 per cent and Kerala 9.46 per cent against the average for All-India of 10.01 per cent and the much higher figure of 11.18 per cent recorded in Bombay. With the attainment of the All-India average by the sugar mills in the south, there should be an increase in output by 20,000 tons, if not more, for the same quantity of cane now crushed. Some of the new factories have been able to achieve a recovery of only under 9 per cent. With a better working of the new machinery and the availability of better qualities of cane, there can be higher recovery in the future.

The *per capita* consumption which is very much lower in this zone, when compared with the All-India average, is now showing signs of a steady rise. Though the output of sugar is recording a gradual rise, this region taken as a whole, is likely to remain a deficit one for sometime to come, owing to the supply not keeping up with the demand, generated by rising standards of living. It is, therefore, necessary that the development of this industry in this region should receive much greater attention from one and all than before, not only to cope with the rising trend of consumption, but also in view of the definite advantages that the south zone enjoys in the shape of a tropical climate, higher production of cane, better recovery, and incidental advantages such as the saving on rail freight from distant producing centres. Further, the setting up of sugar machinery manufacturing plants in the South could contribute to the promotion of this industry in rural areas. There will be also a regular, larger markets for fertilisers if the sugar industry grows as anticipated.

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MAN-POWER INFORMATION FOR MANAGERIAL DECISIONS

Some Implications of Relocation Problems

By NARENDRA KUMAR SETHI

Introduction

Of all the assets available to management in its successful operation of the enterprise, the most valuable is its man-power organization. Management, in all is facets and perspectives, remains, after all, the management of the people. The growth of the business is directly to be equated with the growth in its man-power potential. In this way, then, it is only by a thorough examination of one's man-power needs, objectives, goals and requirements that an organization can develop fully.

An organization itself is an integrated concept emphasizing most on its man-power development. In other words, one can envisage an enterprise running with less attachment to materials, markets or money (though each of them is needed in the final analysis) but one can never visualize anything without its man-constituents. Man-power, therefore, remains the nucleus around which the outer growth takes place. It furnishes the currents of operation; the values of growth and the motivation for development.

A complete study of man-power assets requires a dynamic approach because of the obviously volatile nature of human power. It needs constant adjustments, revisions, structural changes and fresh view-points. A static method geared towards the material-management cannot provide the real

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key to man-power analysis and human information. In this framework of analysis, we can indicate the following areas to be of utmost importance :

1. The complete run-down on organization.
2. The present incumbents there and future needs.
3. Long-range planning of goals of the individual as well as the company.
4. The employee structure.
5. The psychological factors namely, the needs, desires and attitudes of the people.
6. The historical factors namely, the development of the company personnel.
7. The socio-economic factors namely, the labour role, the availability, the wages and regulations.
8. The cultural factors namely, the community relations and the inter-action between the people.

These significant "critical areas" denote a new perspective on man-power attitudes. A study based on this framework can reveal the true picture both in its present standing as well as in its future drawbacks or short-comings. It gives us an integral analysis of the man-power situation in all its components. We shall have occasions to utilise this conceptual framework later on in the present study.

Since our analysis here is geared more to the need arising from relocating decisions, we can at this initial stage study some of the major areas of this phase. Relocation is indeed a problem of great magnitude. It directly involves human relations and adjustment. It brings into focus the public relations and community relations of the company, the past area, the future locale and so on. It poses severe problems of staffing, recruiting and employee morale. It initiates doubts and distrust and may also in some cases prove disastrous to the company's growth. In short, the problem of relocation is a multi-dimensional problem. It can be approached in a variety of measures namely, the purely geographical, the purely sociological, the purely personnel-centered or the purely labour-economics view. But, a full vision must take all these factors under one concept. Therefore, our study will try to integrate these various areas.

This section of our analysis has shown man-power is central to managerial success; man-power information is a thing of great significance in the decision-making process; and relocation problems require a conceptual framework to really understand its deep-seated and forces.

Man-power Information

A scientific decision about relocating depends on complete man-power information. We have already explained the concept of relocation earlier. Here, we shall point out the specific areas where information is needed to execute a decision about relocating.

1. The organization chart showing all personnel.
2. The Executives and their role.
3. The people who are willing to relocate.
4. The people who will not relocate.
5. The methods of informing personnel about the problem.
6. The grievance procedure.
7. The company policy to compensate people who suffer on account of the relocation.
8. Employee morale on account of the policy.
9. How well does the union accept the situation?
10. Are there any arrangements with the previous union?
11. What about the future place and the union there?
12. Any new changes or substantial alterations in hiring?
13. Where will the new labour force come from?
14. Its productivity and the difference between the previous and the future growth, if any?
15. What about the new community?
16. The place, its people, the situation of the locale.
17. Policies for promotion to new places.
18. The move. The moving expenses of the people.
19. Policy for transfer.
20. Policy for seniority.
21. New recruitment and selection procedure.
22. The new competition in the future locale.

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and the personnel policies adopted by other companies there.

23. What about the training in the new place? Will the company have to train people again from the start? Does it incur any additional expenses?
24. Policies for employee evaluation and also for executive evaluation.
25. Policies for merit-rating, promotions, etc.
26. Information about labour mobility in the area.
27. Information about labour organizations and allied administrative areas.
28. The changing shape of industrial relations in the area of relocation.
29. How well does the company's man-power planning policy suit its long range growth plans?
30. Policies for management development.
31. Specific problems like social security, compensation, employee-pension plans, unemployment insurance plans, fringe benefits, incentives and other areas which may have an impact on the displaced or laid off person on account of the relocation.

These major policy areas require concentrated research and objective thinking on the part of management. Relocation is a situation which may generate both internal as well as external forces or problems. As such, it should be fully studied in the suggested framework of man-power information. The concept of relocation introduces a change in all the sectors of the company administration. Economically, it may affect the wage and salary earners; psychologically, it may affect the industrial equilibrium of the plant; historically, it may sever the community ties of the personnel and sociologically, it may disrupt the smooth flow of communication, organizational relationships and so on. Therefore, an understanding, both wide and comprehensive, based on the suggested conceptual framework, will help in minimising the adverse effects of such decisions of the top management regarding change of locale and relocation.

This section of our analysis has shown the major information areas which should be fully explored before a decision to relocate is implemented.

Sources of this Information

As we explained in an earlier section of this study, the implications raised by relocation are of both internal and the external nature. As such, the sources for gathering managerial intelligence on this score must, by necessity, be both internal and external. By internal, we mean the information generating inside the organization. Everything else is considered here as being of external origin.

Following are the main sources for internal information on man-power:

1. The Organizational Chart of the company.
2. The Manning charts prepared by the personnel.
3. Employee files containing full information.
4. Employee test scores, merit-rating details, etc.
5. Interview results.
6. Job-evalution reports.
7. Position descriptions.
8. Man-power and executive development plans.
9. Employee surveys, figures on morale, absenteism; etc.
10. Supervisory reports.
11. Policy descriptions, employee handbooks and company directories.
12. Records developed by company magazines and House organs.
13. Training manuals.
14. Employee grievances records.
15. Long range acts prepared by the company.

Some other possible sources for the external information can be enumerated here as follows:

1. Union records, union and management contracts.
2. Labour mobility and allied figures of the area.
3. Statistics on occupational breakdown, etc.
4. Community wage surveys.
5. Community findings on attitudes, climate, etc.
6. Other companies' operations there and their statistics.

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7. Going wage rates and other executive compensations.
8. Availability scores for possible trainee employees.
9. Facilities to attract qualified personnel.
10. Regional newspapers, magazines and other media.
11. County, district, township and state statistics on employment figures and man-power.

We have presented the major sources which should be tapped in developing proper information about man-power needed in relocation situations. Since relocation is a process requiring transition and re-orientation, these sources can be of great use in the initial stages. Later on, the success of the man-power evaluation plans and man-power development, etc., will depend on how well the goals and objectives of the company suit those of the employees. But, it cannot be denied that these sources have proven validity in starting the re-location process at least in its administrative and man-power personnel phase.

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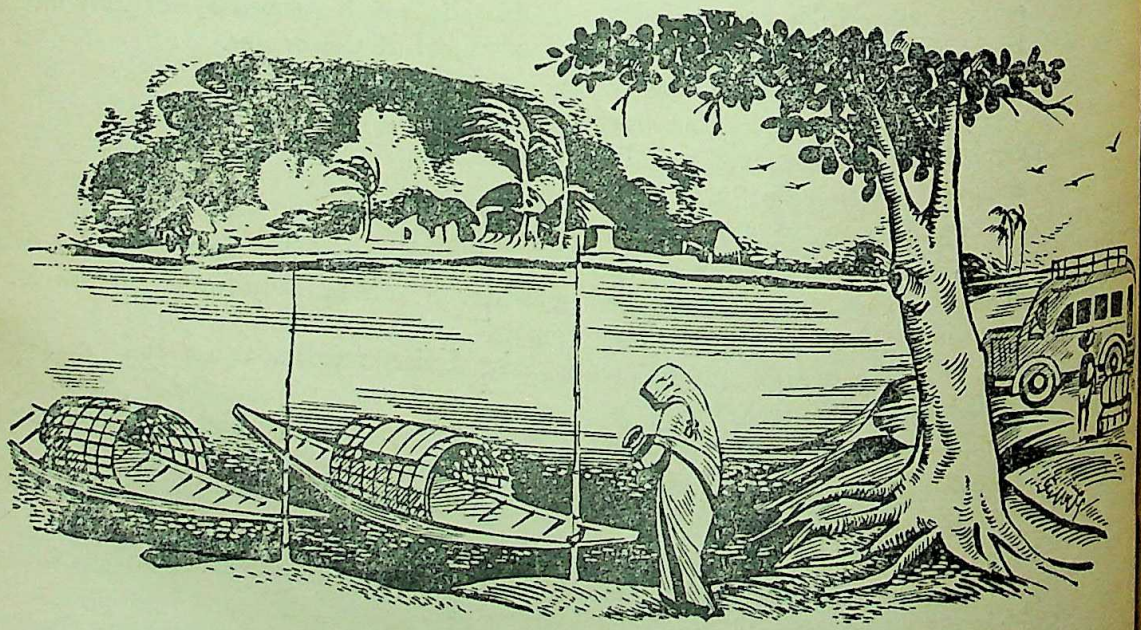

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TAGORE'S SURVEY AND STUDY OF RURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY, AND ITS BACKGROUND

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY

The social responses of a man depends on the sub-culture in which he is brought up. If he is a man of genius, by which term, I understand a person with a very sensitive brain, which is less easily conditioned by stereotyped responses made by those surrounding him, the response made is more original, *i.e.*, deviant from the stereotype, not within limits of ordinary variance, but in a qualitative fashion. It is also likely to have a stronger emotional tinge, either explicit, or implicit in the feeling of the individual. It is, therefore, necessary to get a clear idea of the sub-culture in which Tagore was brought up, to obtain a correct assessment of his response to the rural surroundings that he met in adult life. I have used the phrase "adult life" deliberately, as Tagore was a member of a family, which like my own, had been in Calcutta, for a number of generations. On the rare occasions on which the Poet had gone to rural areas outside Bengal with his father, he had lived too sheltered a life to have contact with villagers. Further, his father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, to judge from the Poet's account of early years, had rarely spoken to him, if at all about rural life. Devendranath was very much interested in social and religious reform among the educated people of Calcutta and does not seem to have paid such attention to the life of the poor peasants of his zamindari. Unlike Rammohan Roy from whom he drew his inspiration in these matters, Devendranath's probings into life did not extend also to the political and economic field. But the feeling of oneness with the Divine that he seems to have experienced on occasions, led him to emphasise this ancient attitude to life in his youngest son whom he often took with him on his journeys in search of peace and contentment. As the Poet grew up, he was sent like other older brothers to look after his father's zamindari. The Poet has stated how he felt uncertain of his ability to manage the vast landed property. But he wanted to know the actual conditions, and refused to be bound by the trammels of the age-old practices that prevailed with the Naibs and Gomastas of the cutchery. His avid mind sought to absorb the nuances of life of the peasantry and he tried, successfully, to some extent, to introduce changes. But he met with serious disappointments and setbacks in his attempts to ameliorate the lot of these rural folk. He has noted some examples in his addresses. He did not realise at this stage that social conditioning had imprinted deeply in the mind of the peasantry the distinction between the *bhadralog* and the common folk. They resented being called *chotolok*, but had grown accustomed to it. The resentment cumbered in their unconscious and made them look askance at any thing, even a beneficial act that a *bradralog*, especially a zamindar asked. In addition, the sense of seggregation that had grown up earlier with the caste system among Hindus, had found expression in lack of unity even in rural areas in certain respects. In Silaidah Pargana where Muslims were a majority community, there was additional ground for a feeling of separateness in the villages. In actual practice, the Muslim hamlet was at a noticeable distance from that of the Hindus, near the cutchery house of the Tagore's.

Tagore was not alone in carrying out such experiments in Bengal. Also, elsewhere, especially in Midnapore, things were not so bad as at Silaidah at that early period. There was some kind of village unity in celebrating religious festivals. But economic unity was absent. Political authority had rested earlier with the zamindar and in the village with the headman and his council. But it was merely a relic of bygone authority; only social matters were discussed and settled by them. Economic and social integration was lacking. There was economic give and take, as in the grain payment by peasants to the village servants and artisans like the potter, the oil presser, the blacksmith, the weaver (for a group of villages) and the washerman, drummer and scavenger.

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Tagore has stated that he asked, in the early days of management the local villagers to dig a well where it was needed promising to supply burnt earth circular pottery frames to keep the interior from collapsing. He met with refusal. I can give an example of similar treatment in the eighties of the last century from elsewhere. My mother's father, Pandit Narayan Chandra Vidyaratna, son of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, sought to build a kutcha road from the small market town of Kharar to Birsingha. Only a narrow strip of land was needed from the people whose fields lay between Kristopur on the outskirts of Kharar, and Birsingha a mile and half away. There was a school for boys and a school for girls organised by Vidyasagar in Birsingha, and the road way if built, would have helped in rainy season the children coming from Udayganj and other areas to these schools. But people demurred saying, "It is their affair; why should we give up any land". At the end, Narayan Babu purchased these strips of land and made a kutcha road. But due to illness of his father, he was away for a decade in Calcutta. On his return, he found that the original owners had pared away these strips, so much that only wide ridges were left, and nothing of the road. In 1903, I went as a small boy to Birsingha with my parents, and my mother's father. It was raining and the ridges were slippery. No cart could reach from Kharar to Bidyasagarbati at Birsingha, and no palanquin was available. My grandfather then fifty-five years of age, carried me on his shoulder the whole of that mile and half along ridges. I have a vivid memory of the journey, riding uncomfortably on high while my parents waded through the mud of the rice fields as the ridges proved too slippery to move along them. Grandfather told me about the vanished road way next day as I asked him why there was no road. But he spoke of one successful endeavour of his earlier attempt. The poor peasants united under his leadership against undue exactions of zamindars and against wrongful occupation of good land by rich jotedars. Although the peasants with much land could not work for roads and the poorer folk among them did not bother about road for school children, they could realise the value of united work for standing up against what directly touched them. The memory of such work persisted and became apparent in the days of non-cooperation. On the religious side, Swami Vivekananda spread the message of selfless work for the neglected masses through missionary work, as a symptom of the general feeling in this respect among our people of genius.

Tagore has stated in his article on Sarada that what poor people in our rural areas needed was self-confidence to work together to attain their objective of enough means to live. Each of them he noted, went his little way, scratching his tiny plot of land. But if they had cooperated and had in this way a large plot of land, and pooled their resources of cattle and labour properly they would have had to spend less and gain a larger surplus from the harvest produced. In the early days of the national movement for freedom the Tagore family had been drawn into it. Tagore himself at the time of Curzon's partition of Bengal had suggested Rakhibandhan as a symbol of our unity. But after being in the movement for sometime he felt that it was a movement of the educated upper classes of the urban areas. From his talk with leaders he felt that most of them did not think about betterment of the rural peasantry and common folk of the country side. With the deep-seated idea of the ancient thinkers imprinted in him early in life by his father and fostered by his own genius that the divine finds expression in all beings, and that true Sadhana of any kind should be to look at all with an equal eye, behave to them in such fashion and make them one with you in your active life, Tagore sought for a different way of approach to the problem. Dissatisfied with the earlier poor response in his zamindari area, he broke new ground later in Birbhum, close to Shantiniketan although he did not abandon his earlier work. In the area around the ancestral house of the Sinha landlords that he had purchased, he started a welfare centre for rural work. He had with him a band of devoted workers here and later secured the active participation of an Englishman, Mr. Elmhirst, who had trained himself for this type of work and who contributed also financially to such work in Sriniketan. Tagore had much earlier sent abroad, in 1906, Sri Santosh Majumdar and also his son Rathindranath for training in this kind of agriculture-*cum*-rural welfare. On their return

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he sent his son for rural welfare work in his zamindari area. In the meantime, things had changed a good deal. The vigorous agitation for national freedom carried out by the Extremists as the Congress wing of Arabinda Ghosh, Bipin Pal and others were called, and the slow spreading out of the leaven of rural welfare by Aswini Dutta among Congress stalwarts and by others who were not so important in politics, as in the instance noted earlier, had made it clear that attention had to be paid to rural welfare and rural economics. All these movements had affected the men of our own generation for regeneration of our country. In a note which I prepared in 1921, and made over to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das through my friend Subhas Chandra Bose, I discussed how work should be taken up in rural areas through welfare by villagers by stimulating their mind and suggested the formation of a camp to train workers from among men devoted to welfare of the nation. Prior to it, I read out the note in London before the Bengali students there and pointed out how the non-cooperation movement would be helpful in giving courage to rural folk but would fail to bring independence unless the villagers were made to think about problems and were properly organised on a militant basis. Further, I suggested lines of such work in the note. When I came back to India early in 1923, Tagore asked me to take charge of the institution in Shantiniketan and to help in other work. I expressed my willingness to do so, and drew up a scheme with estimates of cost for laboratory, hostels and library to run Viswa-bharati as a residential University. I had by this time acquired a reputation as a very determined person and I am afraid this stood in the way of approval of Tagore's suggestion by the Karmi Parishad of those days. However, I went to Shantiniketan and saw something of the work at Sriniketan that had just then been well begun. Some twelve years later I went there again, as an Acharya to preside over the annual function at Sriniketan and saw its later developments. On that occasion Tagore himself spoke as the supreme head and inspirer of the institution. His health was then frail and he mentioned that he might not meet them many years more, perhaps, even the next year. The line of work followed here as I understood it, has been two-fold, (a) to encourage cooperation among villagers and (b) to furnish technical knowledge and training to villagers, to improve the economic condition of the participants in such work through development of cottage industry. Each craft in turn has been thus sought to be so improved. Tagore realised the value of education and literacy for village folk and emphasised its spread in the area adjoining Sriniketan. The spoken word cannot be repeated too often. Written words can be reread. He laid emphasis also on genuine mixing of his workers with villagers, to remove the barriers about which he had complained earlier.

I have mentioned in an earlier part of the talk that Tagore felt that villagers had no confidence in their ability to get things done. They felt disunited in economic matters. He mentions elsewhere how he found the Chinese immigrants in Malay, who worked there helping each other, all thereby attaining a prosperous condition. But our Indian labourers had failed to work together and remained poor men there.

There is a reference to Denmark in one of Tagore's speeches about co-operative activity there. It is in Tagore's article on "The Speciality of co-operation in India" from an address delivered in 1927. I may note here the actual steps that led to co-operative work in Denmark as it has a bearing on Tagore's experience in doing welfare work. In that country, attempts were made early in the nineteenth century to improve the mode of agriculture among the peasantry, who lived almost the life of a serf and were steeped in ignorance. But these attempts by the Government of Denmark failed; the peasants did not realise the import of the improvements suggested. But primary education was extended at the same time and spread rapidly. It was, however, felt by the leaders of thought in that country, that something else was lacking. What was needed was a stimulus, to make the peasants think, to churn up their mind and to look at their age-old practices from a fresh point of view. The institutions for this were started mainly through the efforts of Bishop Grundtvig and were known as Folk High Schools. The amount of information absorbed in them was not much; but it stimulated the adult students there to think anew on their problems. A generation later, the peasants had a share in the Government of the country. Also as American wheat made it difficult to make a profit from the grain

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they grew, they changed over to co-operative dairy work and pigbreeding and curing. This was done smoothly by the new type of peasants who had his mind alret. The change-over took place without economic loss and brought more money to Denmark. Also the peasants and dairy workers now came to power as the major ruling party. In 1934, I went to Denmark and visited apart from schools and co-operative centres the Folk High School at Elsinore, under Dr. Peter Manniche. I found there a large framed photo of Tagore and learnt that he had been there for a few days as a guest.

I have mentioned earlier about the need I felt for a camp of workers to promote welfare work in villages and who were to live in villages as one with the rural folk. 1926, such an arrangement was made and I organised a camp. Scouting with commands and signals in Bengali, and also details of work for rural welfare were taught to a score of enthusiastic workers. But the prime mover of it, Deshbandhu died a few weeks later. Others who led the Bengal congress in his absence did not like that rural peasants should be so stimulated and organised. Some work was done on their own by the individuals trained in the camp. Others felt frustrated at the lack of support from the political organisation of which we were all members and drifted into the path of revolutionary activity. This failure of other leaders to help in followup of the work of the camp was due to a lag of the earlier indifference of the congress leaders to welfare of rural folk about which Tagore had complained in his different addresses. The idea of uplift work in rural economics and co-operation by villagers was, however, gaining ground. In Silaidah itself, which I visited early in 1926 with my father-in-law Sri Surendranath Tagore who had inherited this part of the Tagore zamindari from his father, I learnt of wells dug by village labour with the zamindar furnishing the binding material to keep it intact. The village welfare units and village board of health were also active. In Birsingha, about this time, a storm blew down the room for a post office, built by my grandfather for the village thirty years earlier. He was then dead and my cousin Sri Profulla Ghoshal who owned Vidyasagar's house in Birsingha had no money to build the room on his own. But at his request the poor villagers gave free labour to erect the walls and to thatch it, while he p[illegible] for the cost of materials. I may add that tha[illegible] his contribution, and later of mine we had [illegible] tube-well fitted in the poorer quarter of [illegible] village, on the same basis. Still later, w[illegible] engaged in rehabilitation work after the terr[illegible] man-made famine (of black marketeers) of 19[illegible] I found embankments built by local people [illegible] Nadia in co-operation to prevent undue flood[illegible] of crop land, saw dykes repaired by co-operat[illegible] labour in the Sunderban area of Khulna [illegible] learnt of a silted canal re-excavated [illegible] Mymensing and in Bankura to irrigate land, [illegible] money needed to feed poor workers who gave [illegible] labour went from the Relief Committee of whi[illegible] was treasurer. What is unfortunate, is that such [illegible] operation of villagers has not been looked [illegible] with favour by those in authority before as w[illegible] as to some extent also after Independence. [illegible] may add that in 1926 when I was Educ[illegible] Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, I appointe[illegible] graduate of the fisherman community as [illegible] Inspector in my Department. He had work[illegible] earlier for six months in another Depart[illegible] with great ability. I learnt, however, that he w[illegible] believed to have helped to organise the Fish[illegible] men in a part of the Padma river so that t[illegible] might withstand undue exactions about wh[illegible] Tagore has written in his address at Pabna [illegible] 1908 and elsewhere. I was asked to dismiss [illegible] as the zamindar of that area was very pow[illegible] in the Bengal Congress, and believed him to [illegible] responsible for loss in his jalkar. I was the [illegible] member of the Congress Executive and I [illegible] refused to carry out this order, as the young[illegible] did his work exceptionally well. There w[illegible] other examples of congressmen professing to [illegible] for freedom but repressing the downtro[illegible] I had drawn up a scheme for training co[illegible] in Calcutta and settled preliminaries for [illegible] cutting uppers with modern tools, and for tea[illegible] carpenters to use modern brace and bits. [illegible] this was rejected as unnecessary.

I have pointed out in an article based [illegible] data of people at different levels of c[illegible] entitled "Social Co-operation, Freedom [illegible] Progress" how these triads together can [illegible] lead men forward to better understanding of [illegible] other and to general happiness. It is in line [illegible] what our older culture preaches. It is this [illegible] to see all men with an equal eye that led Ta[illegible]

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to instil in his educated countrymen the massage of goodwill and welfare work for the rural folk in a series of speeches and to back it up by actual implementation of this feeling of oneness with them in practice. The work that he did at first at Silaidah and Patisar, and later on in Sriniketan serve as examples of it showing how attempts might be made, even though on a limited scale, to implement these plans the blue print of which was made by the force of logic based on the facts of the economy of rural areas.

On the occasion of his Centenary, men from all lands, referred to variously as Democratic or as Capitalist, as Communist or Totalitarian have come forward to pay their homage to this great man who held aloft the beacon light of true humanism, and showed how the noble message of our ancient thinkers can be implemented in a modern age using modern technology and educational methods as the proper tools of the time. The different major political parties in our country have also in their own way, made genuine contributions to organise the poverty-stricken folk of our rural and industrial areas and to improve their lot. May we hope that the people in power in our country and those opposed to them will co-operate in the interest of our own poverty-stricken people? Such co-operation is essential if the dream about which the Kavi, the Seer, dreamt and of which he spoke in his inimitable verse and prose and for implementing which he acted as a pathfinder, is to come true and help us to find thereby the happiness of our people.

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*Talk given at a Seminar of Viswabharati University, "On Human factor in the growth of Rural Economy", on 11th March, 1962, as part of Rabindranath Tagore Birthday Centenary Celebrations.

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SHAHJAHAN'S JUSTICE AND PUNISHMENTS

Some Interesting Anecdotes

By Professor A. SEN

Emperor Shahjahan was always anxious to govern his Empire most perfectly. With a view to doing this he acted on the maxim of his father, Emperor Jehangir, that true justice must be enforced rewarding the meritorious, and punishing the guilty. All the Moghul Emperors from Babar down to Aurangazeb meted out impartial and even-handed justice to all except in those cases in which their own interests were concerned.

Shahjahans Strict and Stern Justice

Shahjahan kept a strict eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they did not administer justice properly. This was the reason why he kept at his Court an official with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence the snakes should be made to bite any official who had not administered justice impartially, leaving the guilty official lying in his presence until he died. This terrible punishment frightened his officials, and made them render proper and impartial justice.

The Emperor punished the Kotwal, Muhammad Said, who did not decide uprightly and took bribes by ordering that he should be bitten in one hand by a Cobra in his presence, and he remained seated until the Kotwal expired. Others who had deserved death were ordered to be thrown to mad elephants, who tore them to pieces.

These punishments, though barbarous and frightful according to modern standards; but were not deemed so during the age of Shahjahan, had salutary effect on officials who had to try cases.

Fear of this kind of terrible punishment made a Quazi to whom a young man had made a complaint that his relation was not returning to him

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the wealth entrusted to him by his father at the time of his death during his infancy, report to the Emperor that the other party to the suit (the relation of the plaintiff) had paid him thirty thousand rupees to give an unjust decree. The Emperor ordered the relation to pay the whole sum claimed by the young man, and the Quazi to put the Bribe money into the Royal Treasury.

Shahjahan severely punished high officials like Governors, Generals, and others, if they did not discharge their duties properly and conscientiously. If a Commander fled from battle or did not do his duty the Emperor not only severely punished him, but disgraced his wives and daughters by directing rats to be placed in their trousers. This was done as a warning to other officials to do their duty with care.

Anecdotes

The Governor of Gujarat, Nasir Khan, predecessor of Prince Murad, oppressed the people, and treated them very rudely, and used to collect extraordinary contributions from them. As the merchants of Gujarat, who were the worst sufferers, could not have access to the Emperor's audience to make their complaints against him, they bribed some Court actors to represent their grievances in the form of a play before the Emperor. They told him that some strange actors had come, who wished to enact a play of a novel kind. Amongst the actors were mingled also some of the merchants, who had come to represent their grievances. Shahjahan, who was a lover of such amusements, permitted them entry and the enacting of their play. They then played a piece, which showed the misgovernment existing in the Province of Gujarat. The Emperor was surprised and shocked at the wrong represented. The actors then told him that they were the aggrieved persons, and that they had adopted that method to lay their grievances before him, because they failed to achieve their objective by trying other means. The Emperor made enquiries, and finding that everything was true, ordered the arrest of the Governor Nasir Khan, and his imprisonment in the State Prison of Rohtasgarh to end his life on insufficient food. All the goods and property of the Governor were confiscated. This shows how stern were his justice and punishment from which even high ranking persons were spared when found guilty, and also his determination to remove the grievances of his people.

Shahjahan severely punished forgers and perjurers. In 1656, he inflicted a terrible punishment on two forgers. A young man wanted to marry a certain woman, and on her refusal brought a complaint against her before the judge. His case was that after she had promised to marry him, and he had spent all his money on her, she refused to keep her word. The judge ordered an enquiry to be made from the woman. She said that the whole story was false, and had neither promised to marry him nor was willing to do so. The judge asked the complainant if he had any witnesses to testify to her promise. He described the marks the woman bore on her body, and requested the judge to verify them. The young man got this information from an old woman, who used to braid her hair, and bathe her body. Eunuchs and women were sent to examine her body, and they reported that the detailed description of the marks on the body of the woman was accurate. The Judge ordered her to marry the young man. But she asked for some time before doing so, which was granted. Shortly afterwards the woman accompanied by two of her slave girls went to the house of the young man who was on his sick bed, and forcibly seized him and took him to the Judge, and complained to him that on the night before when sleeping with her he had stolen a valuable bracelet like that she had on her arm. The young man denied the charge saying that he had never known the woman, and demanded justice for the false accusation. The woman appeared before the Emperor and asked for justice to be done to her in regard to the false statement made by the young man. A time ago before the judge that she had promised to marry him, and that he had lived with him for a long time which enabled him to describe the marks on her body. The eunuchs and women who had examined the marks on her body were sent for. They said that she was the woman whose marks on her body they had examined. The young man on being asked how could he know the marks told the name of the old woman who had given him the information. The Emperor praised the cleverness of the complainant and gave orders for the old woman and the

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be buried in the ground upto the waist after which they were shot to death by arrows.

Shahjahan severely punished cheats and deceitful persons. The following interesting case will prove this. There was a rich woman named Darya Khatoon, who lived in the City of Kabul. She had slave women who requested the travelling merchants to marry their mistress. Seeing that the woman was very rich, and had much goods they agreed to marry her. In this way she married nineteen persons one after another. Sometime after their marriage she would take her new husband to her village to collect rents, and then sell him to her acquaintances. Thus, she sold all her nineteen husbands as slaves. The Muscles near their heel were severed, so that they might not run away, and then the woman returned to the City. When they reported the matter to the Governor of Kabul, Mahabat Khan, the woman was arrested. On hearing the facts of the case the Governor, considering it to be an extraordinary case, submitted it to the Emperor for decision. He ordered the woman to be torn to pieces by savage and blood-thirsty dogs.

To make still more clear how Shahjahan was anxious that justice should be properly administered in his realm, there are some interesting cases. The first is that of a soldier who took wrongfully the slave girl of a Hindu clerk. The soldier said that the girl was his, and she also said that she belonged to him, as she wanted to live with him. The case was transferred to the Emperor. He ordered the slave-girl to put some water into his ink vessel. She did it very neatly and dexterously. This convinced him that the slave girl belonged to the Hindu clerk, and not to the soldier. The Emperor ordered her to be sent back to the scribe from whom she had learnt how to pour water neatly and skilfully into an inkpot. The soldier was dismissed from service, and banished from the country.

Another interesting case occurred in Delhi. There were four merchants at Delhi, who owned equal shares in the goods kept in a shop. The agreement was that each of them should be in charge for one day in turn, and should provide the lamp kept in the shop with oil, and a cat with food, which also should be kept in it, on the day of his duty, and also buy a cat, if it happened to die. One day the cat broke its leg. The man in charge of the goods that day spent some money for curing the cat, and asked his partners to pay their share of the cost incurred by him for curing it. They refused on the ground that it was on his day that the cat had broken its leg. While the cat was still under treatment with a piece of cloth tied round its broken leg, it scratched itself near the lighted lamp which caught fire. The cat in fear took shelter beneath the goods, which led to the burning and destruction of the total contents of the shop. The three other merchants threw the blame on the man who was doctoring the cat, and asked him to pay them for the whole of the losses sustained by them. On his refusal to do so, the three other partners brought the case before a judge. His decision was that the man who was responsible for the cure of the cat must pay for the losses of the others. The dispute was brought to the notice of the Emperor. He reversed the decree of the Judge, deciding that the three merchants should pay him who was responsible for the cure of the cat. The Emperor said that the broken leg could not walk and that the three legs of the cat belonging to the other three traders were those that caused the fire, which destroyed all the goods in the shop, and, therefore, they must pay the partner, who was in charge of the cat. This shows how impartial and thorough Shahjahan's justice was even in small matters. His eagerness to do justice to all, irrespective of their rank or status, earned him the affection, and esteem of his subjects.

Not only did the Emperor do justice against those guilty of great crimes, he also dealt with the nobles severely to put an end to the wrongs done by them to their subordinates and dependants. The following incident will bear this out. One day when the Emperor was out ahunting, a servant came before him with a complaint that his master had not paid him for months, and so he was in great distress. The Emperor ordered his master, who was in the hunting party, to be brought before him, and he admitted the truth of the complaint. He ordered him (the man's master) to dismount, and the servant to get upon his master's horse. He also ordered him to keep running in front, in the servant's place, where the Emperor could see him. After running for sometime the master fell to the ground unable to run any longer. The Emperor then said to him "I do not fail to pay you because you serve me, it is equally just that you

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should pay those who serve you". This anecdote bespeaks the Emperor's high sense of justice, and his anxiety to remove the grievances of all, great or small.

Severe Treatment of a Guilty Favourite

The Emperor did not spare even his favourites, and inflicted terrifying punishments upon them whenever he found them going wrong, and guilty of dishonesty.

The Emperor had a favourite slave, named Saadat Khan, whom he had made very rich and important. He had given him the command over two thousand horses. He was placed in charge of the betel consumed by the Emperor. Shahjahan saw several times that Saadat Khan gave away his betel to the nobles at Court. He had enjoined him not to give his betel to anyone, and to remember the order. Saadat Khan paying no heed to the order, and relying on the love the Emperor bore him distributed the betel secretly. One day Shahjahan saw him giving betel to a noble in the Court. At the end of the darbar he went to the garden, and Saadat Khan brought before him, and ordered him to be beaten to death in his own presence. This frightful punishment was meted out to Saadat Khan to serve as a lesson to the nobles, and to intimidate them into obeying and serving the Emperor honestly and loyally. Shahjahan handed over the whole of Saadat Khan's wealth to his wife in spite of the rule made by Emperor Akbar that the Emperor should take possession of the riches and property left by anyone in his service. He departed from this practice in order to prevent people, specially the nobles, from saying that he had killed Saadat Khan to get possession of his wealth.

Punishment of Thieves and Robbers

Shahjahan dealt with thieves and robbers in a very severe and rigorous manner in order to enable his subjects to live in secure possession of their belongings, and never pardoned them. Thefts and robberies were punished with death. If the offence was a small one, the thief was banished from the realm. But if it was great, the thief was sentenced to death. If it chanced that the thieves could not be caught, he forced the officials to pay for the losses sustained by the persons in whose houses thefts had been committed. This order of the Emperor made the officials try their utmost to prevent thefts, and catch the thieves when any thefts occurred. In 1645, thieves robbed the Dutch factory at Surat at night. They complained to the Governor. As he paid no heed to their complaint, the Dutch demanded from the Governor a heavy sum of money as compensation for having allowed them to be robbed within his jurisdiction. When Shahjahan got information of the affair, he issued an order to the Governor that the Dutch should be indemnified from his own treasury. Thus, the Emperor did justice to the Dutch, who had been robbed by thieves, and punished the Governor for taking no action on their complaint, by making him pay for the loss sustained by them.

Forms of Punishment

Shahjahan always inflicted deterrent punishments, which were mostly capital, to reduce the number of crimes, to make people law-abiding, and to maintain law and order in the Country. There were diversities in capital punishments, *viz.*, Hanging, Beheading, Impaling, Tearing to pieces by wild and ferocious dogs, killing by elephants, shooting to death by arrows, snake bites, and burying alive. Other forms of punishments were banishment, public disgrace and humiliation, heavy fines, confiscation of property lowering of ranks, imprisonment, and selling into slavery. There were no laws to regulate justice but what were written in the breasts of the Emperor and his Viceroys. Generally speaking the Emperor and his Viceroys adjudicated all cases of life and death. But the Emperor heard and decided all cases that were referred to him by the Judges or Governors, and those that could be brought to his notice, which was a difficult thing, by the aggrieved party. Shahjahan's justice was quick, stern, and impartial, and his decisions satisfied his people.

These anecdotes are not only interesting, but they throw a flood of light on Shahjahan's solicitude for doing justice to all alike, irrespective of their rank or position, and the manner in which he administered it.

Thus, on account of his impartial, upright and speedy decisions he won the goodwill, affection, and esteem of his subjects. He was a popular ruler.

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In view of his good and beneficent administration there was no internal trouble, and peace and tranquility prevailed throughout his reign until the year 1657, when the war of succession broke out among his sons due to Shahjahan's sudden and serious illness, which ultimately led to his dethronement, and imprisonment by his son, Aurangazeb.

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ARYABHATTA, BRAHMAGUPTA, BHASKARA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

By ASHIM CHAUDHURI

To see in the past the pattern of the future, we should remember those ancient Indians who showed the world the way in mathematics and astronomy. We know still very little about them—but antiquarian researches have yielded sufficient material, which may help us in drawing brief sketches of their lives and works.

The period of renaissance of Indian Mathematics extending from the beginning till the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Cristian era saw a galaxy of intellectual giants in the realms of mathematics and astronomy. If we arrange them in the chronological order, they were ; Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta, Varahamihira, Mahavira, Sridhara and Bhaskaracarya. Among them the most prominent were : Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara.

Aryabhatta has carved a niche in the history of Indian science. But unfortunately very little is known about him except from occasional references to his works in later mathematical treatises. Orientalists like Colebrooke, Dr. H. Karn and Dr. Bhau Daji made attempts to sketch the profile of this great mathematician and astronomer from numerous fragments of his writings quoted in later works, namely, in Bhatta Utpala's commentary on Varahamihira's Varahi Samhita. Aryabhatta's date has been more or less definitely fixed by the early orientalists. Colebrooke whose views on this point have been favoured by the learned observed—"We shall, however, take the fifth (century) of Christ, as the latest period to which Aryabhatta can, on most moderate assumption, be referred." (Colebrook's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II, p. 477). In a way, Aryabhatta laid Indian mathematics and astronomy on twin pillars of rigour and elegance. Apart from astronomy—the source of delight of the Indian mathematicians—he made significant contributions to arithmetic and algebra. To refer to Prof. Lassen's observation—"Of Aryabhatta's writings we have the following. He has written a short outline of his system in ten strophes, which composition he, therefore, called Dasagitaka. It is still extant. A more extensive work is the Aryashtasata, which as the title informs us, contains eight hundred Distiches, but has not yet been rediscovered. The mean between these works is held by the Aryabhattiya, which consists of four chapters, in which the author treats of mathematics in one hundred and twenty three strophes. In it he teaches the method of designating numbers by means of letters.... Besides he has left a commentary on Suryasiddhanta, which has been elucidated by a much later astronomer and is probably the work Tantra by Al-biruni"—(Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. II, p. 1136. Doji quoted by Dr. Bhau Daji in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society N.S.I, p. 394).

A host of scholars believed that Aryabhatta had the knowledge of the place-value system. This conclusion is based on Aryabhatta's system of expressing numbers—that is the alphabetical notation. Aryabhatta used the vowels to signify denomination and the pure consonants the numerals. Rodet adduced evidence in favour of the fact that Aryabhatta's method of extracting the square root, implied a knowledge of the

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place-value notation (mentioned by S. R. Das in Indian Historical Quarterly, iii, 1927, p. 105). J. F. Fleet who made a study of Aryabhatta's system of expressing numerous, illustrations of which are found copiously in Dasagitaka Sutra, believed that this system postulates the use of some form of abacus and if not the abacus, the Cipher (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1911, Pp. 109-126).

Dr. Bhau Daji's eulogy runs thus—"Aryabhatta calls himself a native of Kusumpur or Pataliputra....His work is written with great attention and conciseness. His system of notation is quite original....In the invention of the new system of notation, the Indian Aryabhatta may be compared to the Grecian Archimedes. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference, was given by Archimedes in his book: 'De dimensione circuli,' as seven to twenty-two, while that of Aryabhatta is one to 3.1416" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S.I., p. 406). Aryabhatta also made a proper use of this ratio (written II). Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta observed—"Aryabhatta has utilised his important discovery about the value of II in putting the table of Sines in a rational and scientific form and show he was followed in this respect by the Sidhanta writers excepting Brahmagupta. We have also learned that Aryabhatta applied this value of II in valulating the dimensions of the earth and its atmosphere. ...." (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S.XXII, 1926, p. 39).

The striking correctness of the value of II has been ascribed to Greek influence by many Western authors. But Dr. Bibhutibhusan Dutta has been able to show that such allegations are unsound and baseless (**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,** N.S. xxii, pp. 25-42). Aryabhatta showed excellence in Algebra. Colebrooke wrote: "The earliest author known to have treated of Algebra among the Hindus and likely to be, if not the inventor, the improver of that analysis, by whom too, it was pushed nearly to the whole degree of excellence, which it is found to have attained among them." (**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,** xx, *1863, p. 371,* quoted by Dr. H. Kern). He was the first to tackle the indeterminate problems of the first order, called Kuttaka. He also derived the sum of the Series of Cubes, which was never known to the Greeks (mentioned by Dr. B. B. Datta in **Indian Historical Quarterly,** V, 1929, p. 504).

Aryabhatta's astronomical writings are more numerous than his other mathematical writings. As an astronomer he conceived many original ideas which made a far-reaching impact on Hindu astronomy. Aryabhatta had the knowledge that the earth is round. His explanation of the apparent flatness of the earth to men on earth is clear and pointed. Aryabhatta said: "As the earth is a large body, and a man is exceedingly small, the whole visible portion of the earth consequently appears to a man on its surface to be perfectly plane"—(quoted by Sukumar Ranjan Das in **Indian Historical Quarterly,** IV, 1928, p. 72). In those days when knowledge was circumscribed superstition, such clarity of thought strikes one with wonder. Aryabhatta was the first among the Hindu astronomers who believed in the diurnal motion of the earth round its axis. His idea ran thus: "The Starry Sphere is stationary and the earth making a revolution produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets"—(quoted by S. R. Das in **Indian Historical Quarterly,** IV, p. 71).

The idea of heliacal rising and setting of stars and planets was promulgated by Aryabhatta in the 6th century A.D. while it was first fully developed in Europe in the 15th century by Copernicus, though Pythagoras had some rudimentary knowledge in the 5th century B.C. Aryabhatta was inclined to give an elliptical form to the epicycle by which the motion of a planet was represented. P. C. Sengupta aptly described him as the father of Indian epicyclic astronomy. (**Journal of the Department of Letters,** Calcutta University).

Dr. H. Kern in particular made an attempt to draw a profile of Aryabhatta as an astronomer from numerous fragments of his writings compiled mainly from the commentary of Bhatta Utpala on the Varahamihira Samhita. We quote here some fragments translated by Dr. H. Kern:

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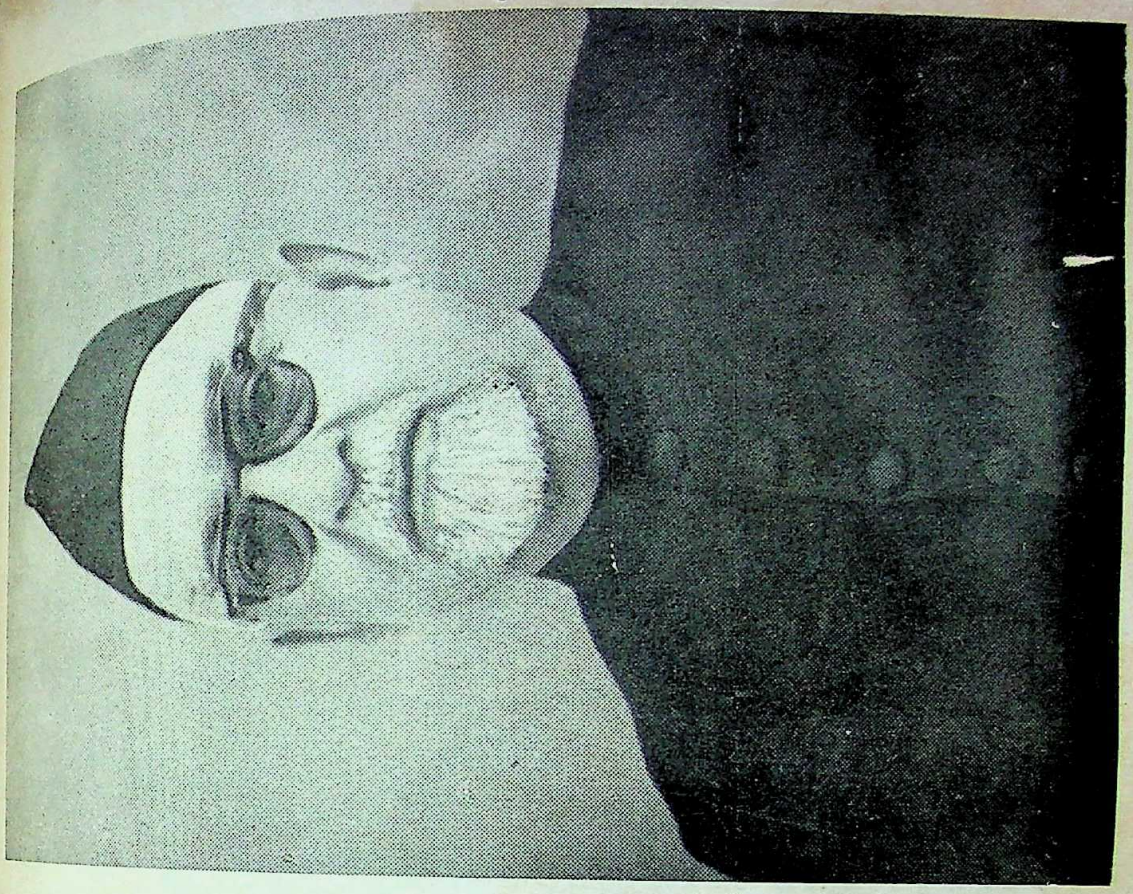

Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Vice-President of India

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the President of India

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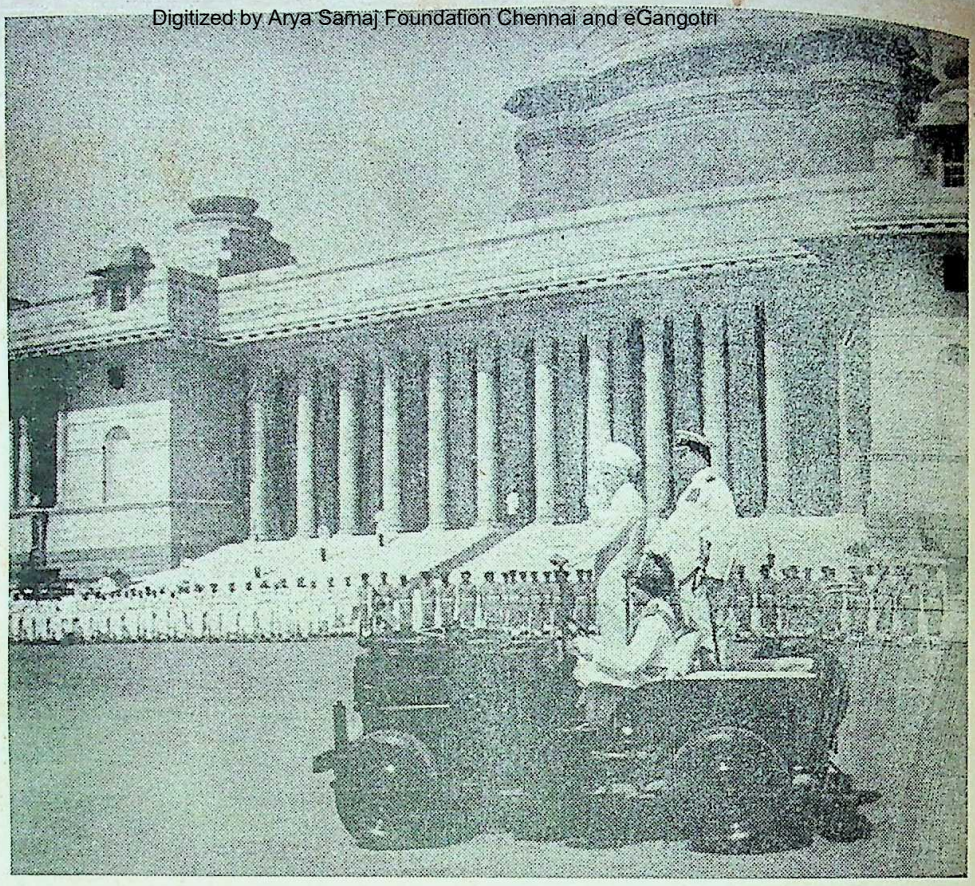
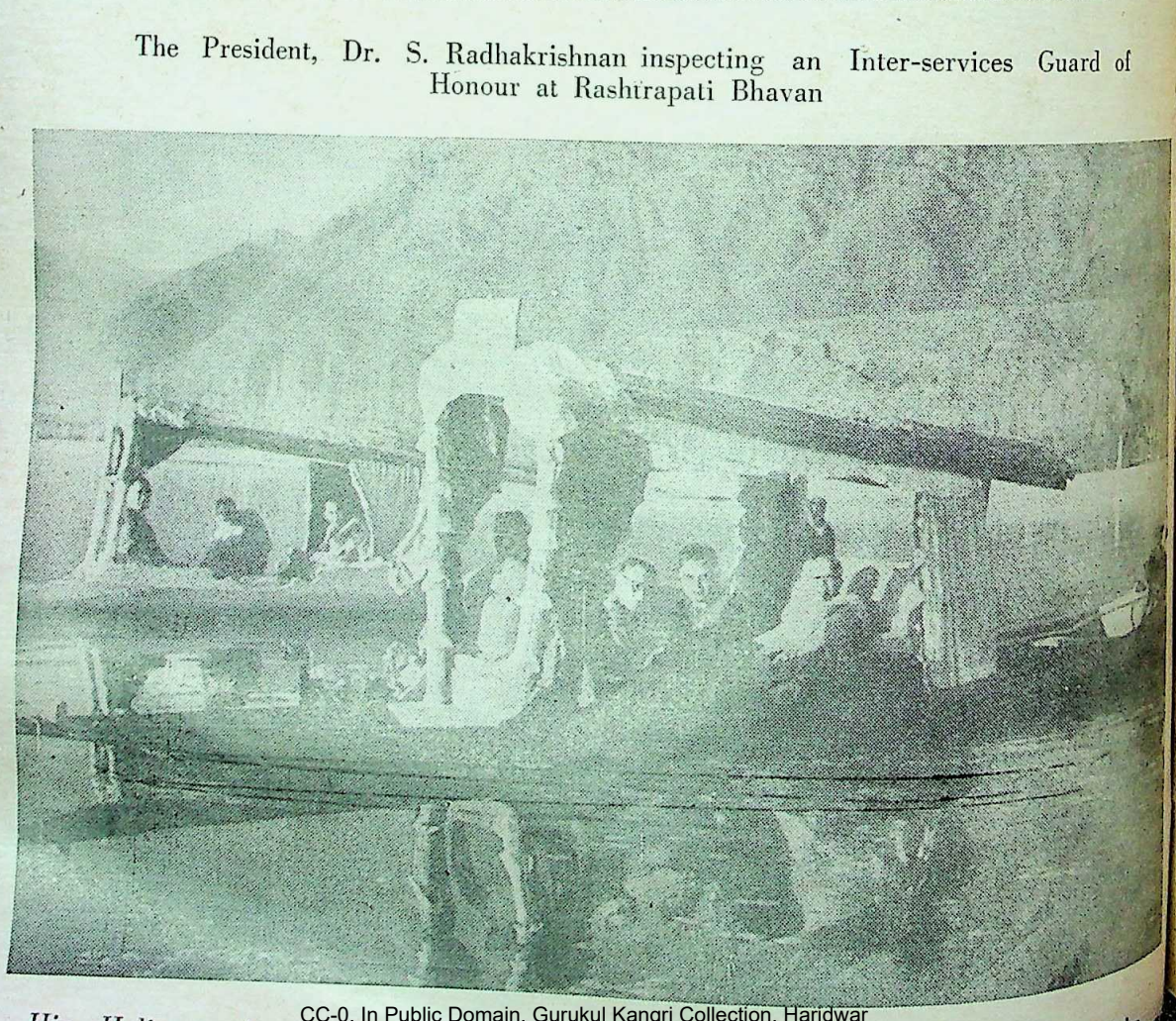


The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan inspecting an Inter-services Guard of Honour at Rashtrapati Bhavan



His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand is seen boating on the Dal Lake.

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On the relative distance of the planets, including the Sun and Moon, from the earth, the supposed centre of the celestial sphere and dimensions of the planetary orbits, Aryabhatta says: "Below the fixed stars are successively Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, the Venus, Mercury and the Moon; below all those is the earth being in the midst of other." Again, on the relative dimension of the planetary orbits, he says: "The Moon being undermost completes a small circle in a short time, and the Saturn being uppermost, a large circle in a long time. For upon a small circle the signs are small, whereas they are great upon a large circle, so too the degrees and minutes are divided proportionally to the respective orbits." (**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society**, XX, pp. 371-387).

These fragments are quite sufficient to show that though Aryabhatta lived in the age of naked-eye astronomy, his observations were marked by accuracy and conciseness. The two conditions for the success of the naked-eye astronomy, that is, freedom from prejudice, and accurate perception were fulfiled in his case. He had done what can by done by a genius under enervating circumstances.

Aryabhatta was followed by a host of mathematicians and astronomers. The most prominent among them were Brahmagupta and Bhaskara. They were great not only as astronomers, but also as excellent mathematicians who laid "Algebra" on a firm foundation.

Brahmagupta is said to have flourished in the 6th century A.D. His magnum opus —The Brahmasphuta Siddhanta' is an astronomical treatise. In those days arithmetic and algebra formed an appendage to astronomical works. So 'Brahmasphuta Siddhanta' contained chapters on: Arithmetic and Geometry (Pati-Ganita) and Indeterminate problems (Kuttaka)—a special problem in Algebra.

As an astronomer he showed considerable originality. His following observations bring out his excellence as an astronomer—he observed, "The earth stands firm by its own power without any other support in space. If there be a material support to the earth and another upholder of that and another again of this and so on without any limit and if finally self-support must be assumed, why not assume it in the first instance? Why not recognise it in this multiform earth? The earth possessing an attractive force draws towards itself any heavy substance situated in the surrounding atmosphere, and that substance appears as if it fell (like a stone). But wither can the earth fall in the ethereal space which is equal and alike on every side?.....If the earth were falling an arrow shot into space would not return to it, when the projectile force was expended, since both would descend, nor can it be said that the earth moves slower and is overtaken by the arrow, for heaviest bodies fall quickest, and the earth is the heaviest." (quoted by S. K. Das, **Indian Historical Quarterly**, IV, 1938, p. 72).

Brahmagupta made notable contributions to the solution of indeterminate problems. Bhaskaracharya about whom I shall speak later on also made fruitful contributions to the solution of this problem. Professor Playfair who was all admiration for the genius of the Hindu Mathematicians and astronomers observed: "All these observation are exemplified in the Cuttaca, or as it is here translated the **Pulveriser**, a process which makes a great figure both in Algebra and Arithmetic of the Hindu Astronomers. It is a general rule for the solution of the inderterminate problems of the first degree, and by its universal application and the simple calculations to which it leads, very well merits all the eulogies which the Indian algebraists are inclined to bestow on it. It will be regarded as no small confirmation of the eulogies to observe that a method to the same extent and import was not known in Europe till it was published by **Bachet de Mebiriac** about the year 1624, and the process for resolving the problems given by Bhaskara and Brahmagupta are virtually the same." (Edinburgh Review, XXIX, Nov. 1817).

The solution of the indeterminate problems of the first order was a most engrossing pastime of Indian Mathematicians

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and Astronomers. Indeed as Prof. Playfair observed: "The method of solving indeterminate problems that constitute the highest merit of their analytical science, were known to Brahmagupta hardly less accurate than to Bhaskara, and they appear to have been understood even by Aryabhatta, the more ancient by several centuries, than either" (Edinburgh Review, XXIX, Nov. 1817, P. 153). The most remarkable fact in this connection is that the Indian mathematicians and astronomers made use of the method of indeterminate analysis to solve numerous astronomical problems, e.g., for finding cycles or periodic revolutions by which motions of heavenly bodies were represented. These Indian mathematicians had not only theoretical ability but also practical ingenuity. But the interest in the indeterminate problem was not restricted to the first degree alone, it was extended to the second-degree also. Prof. Playfair observed: "On the subject of Indeterminate problems we must remark that the Indian algebraists had gone further than this and had resolved those of the second degree or such as are properly called—'Diophantine,' the problem is to render a certain quantity rational, either in fractions or in integers." (**Edinburgh Review**, XXIX, Nov., 1817, p. 153).

In the same paper Prof. Playfair paid the following tribute to Indian mathematicians—"Now a solution that appears quite general is given in the most ancient of the Hindu treatises under consideration, that of Brahmagupta.....The solution then of a very difficult problem given by Indian algebraist more than 1200 hundred years ago is such as can vie with those of the two mathematicians (Lagrange, Euler), the most distinguished for genius and invention which Europe can boast of ever having seen at the end of 18th Century...." (Ibid p. 153).

Brahmagupta and Bhaskara also showed considerable skill and ingenuity in the arithmetic of surds. In the solution of quadratic equation of the second order, they showed skill in the completing of squares and extraction of square roots. They had also the idea that a square has two roots and that the square root of a negative quantity is imaginary. Thus it appe[illegible] from all accounts that Brahmagupta w[illegible] great not only as an astronomer but a[illegible] an algebraist. In fact the credit of mode[illegible]nising algebra must be ascribed to h[illegible] Brahmagupta also made his mark a[illegible] "Geometer" of remarkable talent. He a[illegible] attempted algebraic solutions of many ge[illegible]metrical questions. To Brahmagupta a[illegible] Bhaskara may be ascribed many well-known geometrical theorems.

(i) "Given the hypotenuse of a rig[illegible] angle triangle and the sum of t[illegible] sides, to determine the sides."

(ii) "The property of the triang[illegible] that the product of the sum a[illegible] difference of sides is equal to th[illegible] product of the sum and differe[illegible] of the segments into which th[illegible] base is divided by the perpendi[illegible]cular" (Lilavati).

(iii) The area of a triangle in terms [illegible] its sides has also been propose[illegible] by Brahmagupta: "From th[illegible] half of the sides of a triang[illegible] subtract each side several[illegible] multiply these remainders in[illegible] one another and into the hal[illegible] sum, extract the square root o[illegible] the product."

This proposition was also extended b[illegible] Brahmagupta to quadrilaterals."

(iv) "The product of the two sides o[illegible] a triangle, divided by twice th[illegible] perpendicular (on the thi[illegible] side), is equal to the radius o[illegible] the circule described about th[illegible] triangle." (Ibid, Pp. 158-159).

Many other theorems were known [illegible] Brahmagupta and Bhaskara. In this re[illegible]pect Brahmagupta's skill and talent can w[illegible] with those of his Greek counterparts.

Bhaskaracharya who followed Brahm[illegible]gupta was more commonly known a[illegible] 'Bhaskara'. In the words of Pandit Ba[illegible] Deva Sastri-"Bhaskara was born in 1036 [illegible] the Sal-vahana era—or in the year 11[illegible] A.D. Some writers mention that he was a[illegible] inhabitant of Bira a Maratha village, b[illegible]

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he himself states at the end of Goladhyaya that his native place was near the Sahyadri or Western Ghats and it appears to me that he was an inhabitant of Vijapura, the ancient metropolis of Karnatak . . . . His father Mahesvara, was a great Pandit and astronomer and a virtuous man. He had acquired the title Acharya (Doctor) in the assembly of Pandits" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII, Part I, 1893). Bhaskara was the author of Siddhanta Siromani, comprising two parts: Ganitadhyaya and Goladhyaya. This great work of his is preceded by two introductory works: Lilavati (a treatise on arithmatic) and Vijaganita (a treatise on Algebra).

Bhaskara's works are aglow with brilliant discoveries. He discovered that the earth has the inherent property of attracting things around it and that portion of the equation of time is due to the inclination of the ecliptic to the equinoctial. Pandit Bapu Deva Sastri adduced evidence from "Siddhanta Siromani" that Bhaskara had the knowledge of the Differential Calculus. Bhaskara derived the Tatkalika or instantaneous motion of a planet, that is, the motion which it would have in a day, had its velocity at any given instant of time remained uniform. From that it appears that Tatkalika motion can be no other than the differential of the longitude of a planet, as understood in modern astronomy. (**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal**, XXVII, 1858, Pp. 213-216).

Mr. Spottiswoode in a letter to Mr. Wilson agreed that Bhaskaracharya's penetrating method bore a strong analogy to that employed in modern mathematical astronomy (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVII, 1860, 221-222). Bhaskara also ascertained that when they are corresponding to a given Sine or Cosine is found from the table of Sines, this will not be far from its exact value; when it is not equal to 90° or 0° respectively. He also discovered the method of finding the attitude of the Sun, when its declination and azimuth and the latitude of the place are given—a problem of Spherical Trigonometry, solved by two rules in Ganitadhyaya. Bhaskara used the right Sine and Cosine of declination for finding the valana or variation of the ecliptic in place of the versed Sine and radius, wrongly used by Lalla, Spripati and others. He boldly refuted the statement in Suryasiddhanta that the end of the gnomonical shadow revolves in the circumference of a circle (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXII, 1893).

As has been mentioned earlier, the problem of indeterminate equations was developed a great deal by Bhaskara and Brahmagupta. Prof. Playfair observed in this connection: "Mr. Colebrooke observed that one of the solutions of this problem given by Bhaskara (Vija Ganita, 380,81) is exactly the same that Lord Brouncker devised to answer a question proposed as a kind of challenge by Fermat in 1657." (**Edinburgh Review**, XXIX, Nov. 1817, p. 153).

This simply confirms Mr. Edward Strachey's assertion that the solution of the indeterminate problems were originated by the Hindus themselves and not borrowed from the Greeks or the Arabians. The accusation that the rules for the indeterminate equations of the first degree were a copy of Bachet's method is untenable, for these rules were inserted in Bhaskara's Bija Ganita which was written four centuries before Bachet. The most striking fact in this connection is that the ancient Hindus instead of keeping their science within narrow bounds, devleoped it in different directions—namely, they applied algebra to astronomy. This in itself is a sound proof of the originality and antiquity of mathematical learning among the Hindus. (Bija Ganita or the Algebra of the Hindus,—Edward Strachey).

Another remarkable thing about Bhaskara is that he considered the general solution in rational integers of the "Pellian equation." Even G. R. Kaye who was not favourably inclined towards Indian Mathematics, had to say "Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the Classical Texts is their treatment of indeterminate equations of the first degree, while their greatest achievement is the full solution of the so-called Pellian equation" (G. R. Kaye:

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Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial series, Vol. XLIII, Parts I and II, p. 117).

The attempts made by Bhaskara, Brahmagupta and Aryabhatta resulted in the complete solution of the quadratic equation. The Hindu mathematicians never extended their probe beyond the quadratic equation—they did not consider cubic and higher equations. Only Bhaskara suggested a method for solving such problems. Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Datta observed in this connection :—"In those cases, Bhaskara suggested the same method as is available for the quadratic, that is, to reduce the cubic equation to simple equation by taking the cube root of the side containing the unknown after necessary manipulations and to reduce the bi-quadratic in the same manner to a quadratic. Bhaskara observes that if such a reduction is not possible, the solution must be obtained by calculator's own ingenuity." (B. B. Datta, Indian Historical Quarterly, V, 1929, p. 511. This observation has been based on Colebrooke's Hindu Algebra, p. 245).

The history of renaissance of the Hindu mathematics is the history of Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara who added lustre to Indian mathematics and astronomy. A host of Orientalists like J. Bentley, G. R. Kaye, Weber, Biot and others sought to demonstrate that the Hindu mathematics shone in the reflected glory of the Greek mathematics. But in their zeal to multiply arguments they have overlooked many revealing facts which have been put forward by Hoernle, Thibaut, Winternitz, Hermann Henkel Robins, Karpinski and others. These scholars believed in the indigenous origin of the Hindu mathematics. In this connection, we can mention what Hermann Henkel, a famous authority of the history of mathematics observed "Indeed if one understands by algebra the application of arithmetical operations to complex magnitudes of all sorts, whether rational or irrational numbers or space magnitudes, then the learned Brahmins of Hindusthan are the real inventors of Algebra." (This is quoted by Prof. Cayori in his **History of Mathematics**, p. 94).

This observation is not only true of algebra, but also of arithmetic and geometry. Only in the field of astronomy there was some interchange of ideas between India and Greece; but from that it does not follow that the Hindus borrowed from the Greeks. Indeed, Aryabhatta and other astronomers were much ahead of their Greek counterparts, Hipparchus and Ptolemy, in astronomical conception.

Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara did not base their astronomical findings only on the eye-observations. It is believed they even devised simple astronomical instruments to make their observations more accurate. These instruments were no doubt crude, but they only epitomize the innate urge among the ancient astronomers to improve the limitations of vision—to devise instruments. This merely showed that the dawn of a scientific outlook was so early in India. In his treatise on astronomy Aryabhatta mentioned "Gola" (sphere) and "Cakra" (the circle). Sukumar Ranjan Dey observed in this connection :—"Golayantra or Armilliary sphere is described at a considerable length by all the ancient astronomers beginning from Aryabhatta, Varhamihira, Lalla, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara paid much attention to this instrument." (Indian Historical Quarterly, IV, 1928, 265).

This is not a mere history of the golden days India once witnessed. It has something positive to impart, confidence, energy and devotion to live up to the exalted traditions. Let us hope to see the efflorescence of literature, philosophy and mathematics—that once formed the core of Indian genius.

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GORWALA ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : A CRITIQUE

By BISHWANATH PRASAD,* M.A., M.D.P.A.

वाचनालय, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

I

A. D. GORWALA[1] is well-known as a prolific writer and an independent columnist. He writes on a variety of subjects, commenting and reflecting on contemporary problems—political, administrative, social, and economic. To quote his own words, being 'disinterested and free can at least say what he thinks about some of the policies and actions of Government, make suggestions, give advice, urge warnings, point out wrongs, call for redress, help in a sense, though by no means fully or effectively, to perform a few of the functions of the Indian Republic's loyal opposition'.[2]

Gorwala writes with force, vigour, and often with sarcasm. On administrative matters he is specially entitled to speak with authority and be treated with respect. His criticism of the Government's action and the underlying policy is not necessarily destructive; constructive suggestions are invariably made, and it is these which make his words truly valuable. This is, however, not to say that one accepts all that Gorwala has to say; indeed, there is very little that is not controversial. He knows that he is putting questions which, though exceedingly interesting and important, do not admit of exact discussion. Nevertheless, for the sake of provoking speculation and inquiry he says something about them.

II

He presents in his writings an attempt to propound a philosophy of administration directed towards growth and institutional vitality. A philosophy is, in fact, an integrated body of concepts, values and principles for guiding human actions in all fields. Philosophy, though generally taken as a dry subject, leads to human development when applied to problems of practical life. A philosophy of administration, Gorwala feels, is essential today as administrators as a class largely determine the quality of human institutions upon which depends the kind of life our society is going to have. In other words, administration needs a rationale which should take into account all constituent elements of administration, institutional and functional. If this is what Gorwala tries to convey, his approach to modern administration seems to be correct.

The central theme of Gorwala's philosophy is that administration is susceptible to growth and decline. Its continual growth depends upon integrated and balanced developments, which is interdependent, both of individual administrators and administrative institutions, their relationship to the surrounding cultural settings, and enterprising and imaginative administrative leadership. Growth is viewed both as qualitative and quantitative. His is essentially an integral or organismic view of administration. Good organisation is important but even more essential is honest and competent personnel. The history of public administration is littered with the wreckage of well-planned organisation structures which failed because of inefficient or inadequately trained personnel. "No amount of progress in technique or machinery can be of much benefit if the moral standard of those in charge of government is deplorable or the people as a whole are dishonest and self-seeking."[3] This is how Gorwala enunciates the two basic essentials for good government.

One of the major problems of a democratic government is the proper adjustment between the 'political wing' and the 'civil service wing' of the administrative machinery. "The former provides the democratic element in administration, the latter the bureaucratic. Both are essential: one of them to make a government popular, the other to make it efficient and the test of a good government is its successful combination of these two qualities".[4] The relationship between the two

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*Lecturer in Political Science, University of Bihar, Muzaffarpur; at present, Senior Research Fellow, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

1. Mr. A. D. Gorwala resigned from the Indian Civil Service after serving for twenty-three years.

2. A. D. Gorwala, Not in Our Stars, (Bombay, 1958), p. 9.

3. A. D. Gorwala, *Of matters administrative* (Bombay, 1958), p. 1.

4. A. D. Gorwala, *Report on Public Administration* (New Delhi, 1951), p. 40.

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should be that of "colleagues working together in a team, co-operative partners seeking to advance the public interest and the efficiency of the Department. The Minister should not be an isolated autocrat, giving orders without hearing or considering arguments for alternative courses; nor, on the other hand, should the civil servants be able to treat him as a mere cipher."[5] The partnership should be alive and virile, rival ideas and opinions should be fairly considered, and the relationship of all should be one of mutual respect. In Prof. Robson's words, "mutual understanding, respect and confidence between a Minister and his officials should be based on a firm foundation of knowledge; and time occupied in ensuring this is well spent."[6] In India, however, there are a number of obstacles which hamper such a harmonious collaboration of the service and ministerial wings in the Government. These are found more in the states than in the centre. This is exemplified in the political instability in the states when compared to the political stability at the centre. Among the various factors, those of frequent changes in the top leadership of several states, although the same party is continuing to stay in power in most of them and the flight of senior and experienced personnel from the states to the centre for positions of greater importance, have hindered the growth of desirable relationship between the two organs of the State Governments. To quote Gorwala again, "while a great deal of the responsibility for this rests upon the Ministers, yet the general administrators too must bear their share of the blame."[7]

The main factors responsible for the lack of harmony between the two wings of the Government, in the opinion of Gorwala, are firstly, the lack of understanding, both on the part of the minister and the civil servants, of their respective roles causing friction and misunderstanding between them, secondly, a dictatorial attitude adopted by some ministers in their dealings with the civil servants, thirdly, the intellectual arrogance of some of the civil servants along with the habit to criticise the policies of government with which they happen to disagree and lastly, the unresponsiveness of some of the government servants. The point emphasized here is that the problem of maladjustment is one of misunderstanding rather than of any real difference of opinion as to aims and objectives. The two by coming closer together should spread *esprit de corps* among the staff and that desirable feeling of pride in working for the department. While the theoretical soundness of such a stand is undoubted, its implementation is uncertain in India where democracy is still having its teething trouble. Gorwala could be more convincing on this point if he had suggested some build in devices to improve relations between the two wings of the government.

III

Throughout his writings, Gorwala's main concern is efficiency and economy in administration and integrity of government officials. He expects the authorities to handle public money with the greatest caution. He is pained to find that "a great gulf clearly yawns between declaration and practice".[8] The age-old formula "For you that; but for me, ..." is the one in which administration seeks satisfaction. While the increasing cost of administration in India can be easily attributed to the qualitative and quantitative changes in the governmental activities, it cannot be denied that the changes are taking place without their being preceded or followed by adequate examination and study. Of late, students of public administration have felt the necessity of a code of simplicity for administrators. A code of efficiency should also be accepted by all at all levels of administration. The government must themselves realise the need for such a change. Gorwala voices the general demand when he pleads for an administration which is within the easy reach of the citizens at large.

In Gorwala's opinion, the present governmental machinery, being defective, requires many changes for efficiency in its working. He regrets the official delay in the despatch of business. Procrastination or delay, he holds, is the most obvious form of administrative inefficiency, and widely regarded as the archetype of

5. Herbert Morrison, Government and Parliament, (London, 1954), p. 311.

6. W. A. Robson, 'Bureaucracy and Democracy' in *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, (London, 1956), p. 9.

7. A. D. Gorwala, Role of the Administrator, Past, Present, and Future, (Poona, 1952), p. 38.

8. Of matters administrative, *op. cit.*, p. 8

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bureaucratic incompetence. There can be any number of reasons for delay in particular instances, namely, faulty organisation, unnecessary duplication, lack of delegation, error in distribution of work, insufficiently trained staff, etc. One of "the reasons for the passing up of files which should be dealt with at the lower stage is because of not knowing how to handle a matter."[9] Gorwala's counsel to senior officials to explain to their juniors how to handle problems is, indeed, valuable but he needs to be reminded that "delay in the settlement of 'policy issues' is due in many instances to the limited authority of the individual official who must refer certain matters to his superior. However, much this may be criticized by justly impatient outside interests, it is inevitable that such issues should occur from time to time."[10] Furthermore, Gorwala pleads for a total replacement of the present officials by persons who, perhaps, will possess the wisdom, capacity and zeal of Plato's 'Philosopher Kings'. What he says sounds very high but the real difficulty in this matter is the availability of such persons who could replace the existing ones. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction for all including Gorwala that the government is occupied with the problem of qualitative and quantitative changes in administration together with that of an increase in speed and efficiency. A system of intensive in-service-training for the officials and the adoption of devices like those of simplification, operation research, time and motion study, sampling, forms design, filing, office machines, etc., are definite pointers to a far more competent and better organised administration in our country.

One feels like asking Gorwala a few questions concerning administrative deficiencies. One is whether defects like delay in the transaction of business are not inherent in all bureaucracies. Is not Paul Appleby's "Big Democracy" an answer to the critics of modern bureaucracy? In Gorwala's own words, "While it is true that delay in the despatch of work can be reduced and it is desirable that the public service should work as expeditiously as possible, it must always be remembered that the fundamental cause of delay lies in the very nature of public administration, *i.e.*, in its responsibility to Parliament."[11] "What is criticized as 'red tape' or 'procrastination' may, therefore, simply be the legitimate time needed by the organization for doing its work."[12] The other question to be asked is: whether after independence the evils have become more serious? Gorwala's answer to the above question is unscientific and therefore unsatisfactory.

He errs in not making a distinction, to the extent to which it should have been made, between the two questions: first, the opinion that public administration in India has undergone deterioration and second, whether administration has actually undergone deterioration. He realises the need of this distinction but does not bear it in mind while commenting on administration in India. An impression is created that his finding is based on the mere assumption that there has definitely been administrative deterioration. He draws the attention of his critics towards the time-element which, according to him, was a great limiting factor. The report, submitted to the Planning Commission, had to be prepared within two months. Moreover, a comparative study of the post-independence and pre-independence periods could not be made as the latter was already long past. Yet another argument of Gorwala is that the non-availability of the confidential materials prevented him from making a foolproof estimate of the situation. It is felt that Gorwala did commit a mistake in not asking for some more time for preparing his report if it could help him to assert that his finding resulted from research and was not based merely on his personal experience.

Even assuming for a while that there has been a lowering of political morale and administrative efficiency in the post-independence period, no hasty conclusions can be drawn from this present deterioration. It is only reasonable to assume that there should be a difficult period of transition from a rule in which all ultimate authority and most of the top posts were in the hands of aliens and the taking over of power by nationals, inexperienced in political management at

9. Report on Public Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
10. E. Strauss, *The Ruling Servants*, (London, 1961), pp. 49-50.
11. Report on Public Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
12. Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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the level of decision and command. Nor could the inevitable basic change in political values and orientation be carried through without fumbling or loss of motion. Nor can it be ignored that in the eyes of the people, the lowering of standards and the loss in administrative efficiency may be far more than compensated for by the gain in national self-esteem and in the ability to determine the course the government should pursue. Like the usual critics, Gorwala does not remember this while comparing the present with the past. "Older people, among whom writers are mainly to be found, almost invariably suffer under the delusion that things spiritual and intellectual have declined since the days of their youth."[13] Edmund Burke, has also said that to complain of the age we live in, to murmur at the present possessors of powers, to lament the past, to conceive extravagant hopes of the future, are the common dispositions of the great part of mankind."[14]

Gorwala, while discussing the lapses of the present administration, fails to distinguish clearly between matters for which ministers are to be held responsible and matters for which civil servants are to be held accountable. Obviously, therefore, he has not made full use of such a distinction while analysing situations and proposing reform and reorganisation.

It is further pointed out that Gorwala is obsessed with the past whenever he talks about efficiency, honesty and economy of the administration. He does not clearly explain what exactly he means by the term 'efficiency'; whether it means economy (*i.e.*, reducing expenditures), or it is simply used as an epithet of approval. "In fact, the term 'efficiency' is one of the most-used, and almost certainly one of the most-abused, words in the dictionary of administration."[15] 'Efficiency' or 'inefficiency' is often said when agreement or disagreement with particular values is really meant. In Growala's writings on administration, the term 'efficiency' has acquired ethical connotations along with its use as a political symbol. The students of public administration have often felt that Gorwala should have been consistent in the use of the term 'efficiency' to denote "the maximization of the attainment of ends by the use of scarce, neutral means. It is this meaning of the term that has the greatest relevance to traditional administrative theory."[16]

Again, the method employed by Gorwala to prove the administrative deterioration in the past few years appears to be unscientific. It proceeds from another assumption—which has not been as yet really subjected to scientific examination—that public administration in the days of the Britishers was highly efficient, that members of public services too were immune from all vices and that they were known for the integrity of their character. It is held by many and not without justification, that corruption in some form or other did exist even during the British regime. In the absence of an accepted method of ascertaining facts, it is rather difficult to agree with Gorwala even when he is correct in his statements. His conclusions are hardly anything more than his own impressions. At best, they are suggestive hypotheses intuitively arrived at.

On corruption, nothing will express better than Gorwala's own words. It is thus: "The cost of corruption, however, cannot be counted merely in cash. In addition to that, it begets numberless injustices and frustrations. These accumulate over a period evolve such tremendous explosive power that neither government, nor societies, can resist it. There could, in fact, be no greater contribution to the cause of ordered progress in this country than a determined effort to reduce corruption considerably throughout the government apparatus and to eliminate it altogether in the higher political and official ranks."[17] While his suggestions to wipe out corruption deserve conscious attention, he may be charged with the non-adoption of objective tests of measuring corruption in administration. A comparative study of the income of a particular class of civil servants over a fixed period both in pre-independence and post-independence times could have

13. E. N. Gladden, *Civil Service Or Bureaucracy?* (London, 1956), p. 81.
14. Quoted in Robert Luce, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (*1770*) in 'Legislative Problems', p. 699, 1935.
15. Herbert A. Simon, Smithburg and Thompson, *Public Administration*, (New York, 1950), p. 490.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
17. Of matters administrative, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible]

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been a better method of knowing the extent of corruption in the services. Such a factual survey in terms of statistics must have put Gorwala on unassailable grounds.

Talking about the determination of priorities, he complains that first things have not been placed first and that this has resulted in widespread discontent. Here again, he does not clarify whether that has been the outcome of the ignorance or obstinacy of ministers or the want of judgement on the part of administrators. Thus, his writings manifest a great deal of exaggeration, *i.e.*, making a mountain out of the molehill. Is there any doubt about the priorities mentioned in the three successive plans of India? In fact, the priorities, mentioned therein, have served the purpose of the preamble to a Constitution. It remains to be admitted, however, that Gorwala highlighted the importance of priorities in the plans by making a specific mention of it in his Report to the Planning Commission.

IV

There is no use denying the fact that the absence of a clear policy of government has been responsible for making the administrators less effective and useful to the community. Policies must always be clearly spelled out to the administrators to make them know where they are and what is expected of them. From the point of view of greater responsiveness by the administration to the citizen's needs and desires, it is of utmost importance that wrong objectives are not laid down. Gorwala has pointed out that "there would scarcely be a better example of this particular fault than the combined objective of self-sufficiency within a stated period in foodgrains, cotton, and jute."[18] The point emphasized here is that an over-ambitious target leaves behind a feeling of grievance against and distrust in the administration in the people's mind with its evil consequences. Therefore, 'better a live dog than a dead lion'.

Among the various measures of reform that Gorwala suggests, one is for O & M Unit both at the Centre and the States. For this purpose, at the Centre, there should be a minister without portfolio and a secretary, without a department. "This Board of two", he says, "would generate the drive and direction needed for constant adaptation of Central and State Governments to such structural forms, administrative methods, etc., as have been designed for bringing about greater administrative efficiency. It would also ensure realistic correlation between personnel and policies".[19] At the State level, he suggests, a counterpart of the Board composed of Chief Minister and Chief Secretary. Mr. Paul Appleby, too, in his first report had favoured the establishment of a 'Public Administration Division.'[20] That Gorwala has done a singular service to the nation by this suggestion is apparent from the useful role of the O & M Units in the streamlining of our administrative set up.

V

According to Gorwala, the principles guiding administrative reform should be to delegate greater and greater authority to the lower units of administration, consistent with the necessity for centralisation in matters of broad policy, to associate the elected elements at every level of administration, to ensure coordination of the activities of officials at all levels, to improve the morale and social purposiveness of the services, to effect proper adjustment of relationship between officials and non-officials, and to provide, in general, for the canalisation of democratic spirit for constructive work. In his opinion, delegation of authority not only helps decentralisation of power at various levels but also increases the responsibility of those to whom authority is delegated. In his own words, "there are few better tests of political maturity for a government than the capacity to delegate. This involves not only willingness to part with a portion of power and ability to select the right people to trust with it, but also a continuing willingness to let the people to whom it is entrusted exercise it without interference."[21] Prof. Appleby also advocates the delegation of authority in his second

18. Report on Public Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Paul Appleby, Public Administration in India, Report of A Survey, (New Delhi, 1953), p. 63.

21. Of matters administrative, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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report on the Indian administration.[22] Everyone familiar with the principles of organisation and management will admit the acceptability of the suggestions mentioned above.

Gorwala stands for revolutionary changes but not by revolutionary methods. He favours democratisation of the organs of government at various levels for effective participation through local self-governing institutions or other representative bodies in the administration. Modernisation of Indian local self-government is considered by him to be the most important piece of unfinished business in the area of government reorganisation. In an article dealing with 'Local Self-Government', he has something very penetrating and worthwhile to say: "Sympathetic foreigners . . . . . often have one serious complaint. They find Indians by and large not at all interested in local government. . . . . How then can men really anxious for the democratic management of public affairs afford to neglect this sphere as completely as they find it neglected in India."[23] It appears as if Gorwala is hinting at Prof. W. A. Robson who often wonders how people in India become ministers without undergoing a training in local self-government. It is heartening to note, however, that the importance of local self-government has grown enormously during the past decade. The introduction of the three-tier scheme of local government in the name of 'democratic decentralisation' is the effective democratic antidote to the forces of regimentation that are seen around us. It is rightly hailed as one of the most vital and effective changes in the organisational pattern of local self-government. Minor tinkering with the local bodies would hardly be noticeable and hence a major change is calculated to provide that fresh start with tonic effect.

VI

Gorwala's views on State Enterprises can hardly be glossed over by any student of public administration. He says that "where the nature of work of an authority is substantially commercial a joint stock company is more suitable" than a public corporation and 'the company form is of course more flexible'.[25] The corporation, in his opinion, should be used only "where the undertaking is discharging what is in effect an extension of the functions of government, e.g. an irrigation and hydro-electric project,"[26] or a broadcasting or transportation service. In holding this view, he is reflecting what is usually the practice of the Indian Government. Many of the industrial enterprises owned and controlled by the government are, in fact, companies.

A thick fog of confusion seems to have settled down on India's debates about this issue and extensive field investigation would be necessary to discover the truth that it effectively conceals. There is, however, a point which seems hardly open to doubt. This is that Gorwala is mistaken when he ascribes 'flexibility' to the Indian state-owned company. It cannot be too often emphasised that this is not primarily a function of a particular form of public enterprise, but of the operating conventions which are established within it. Flexibility, whether of the companies or of the corporations in the public sector in this country is a matter of the attitude of the ministers and also of Parliament. If both are distrustful of the Managing Boards very little independence and flexibility is discerned in the conduct of the companies or corporations. It would be wrong therefore, to say that government companies are more flexible than public corporations. In point of fact, the Indian companies are, as the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha has said, "more or less extensions of departments—and are run almost on the same pattern, with minor changes here and there."[27] It would appear that apart from Gorwala, those who want greater flexibility favour the public corporation, while those who fear that public enterprises may take excessive liberties, prefer the company form of management. In fact, there is precious little evidence at present that the company is either con-

22. Paul Appleby, Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises, (Delhi, 1959), p. 5.

23. *Of matters administrative*, p. 69.

24. A. D. Gorwala, Report on The Efficient Conduct of State Enterprises, Planning Commission, 1951, p. 18.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

27. Estimates Committee: Ninth Report, 1953-54, Administrative, Financial, and other Reforms, Lok Sabha Sectt., New Delhi, p. 16.

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piciously better or conspicuously worse than the public corporation. "Both have certain theoretical advantages, which may or may not be realised in practice; and both suffer from certain diseases, which in underdeveloped countries often assume pathological proportions."[28] In the present state of our experience of the two devices, it is hardly justifiable to say more than that.

Gorwala's observation on the autonomy of state enterprises is again controversial. It is worthwhile to compare his views with those of Prof. J. K. Galbraith and Paul Appleby. Gorwala stands in between the two American authorities. He advocates restricted autonomy of state enterprises under parliamentary control. Prof. Galbraith has pushed the case for autonomy almost to the extreme and is generally against parliamentary control. Prof. Appleby differs both from Gorwala and Prof. Galbraith. "It should go without saying that true autonomy is out of the question and not seriously proposed by any informed person. . . . . ."[29] The Krishna Menon Committee on State Undertakings advocates greater restrictions on public corporations than what is advocated by Gorwala. 'Parliament' would desire its control to be 'real and gainful'.[30]

Gorwala has further put forth a proposal for the creation of an autonomous board consisting of eminent persons for the control of state enterprises. Such a board should not be subordinate to the control of either Parliament or any ministry but should be autonomous in all respects. This suggestion is, again, open to searching criticisms. The 'one big board' idea is not likely to be accepted for the numerous state enterprises of different dimensions and with diverse problems. Viewed in the context of the accountability of state enterprises, the constitution of a completely autonomous board does not appear to be a feasible proposition.

VII

The purity of administration is of supreme interest to Gorwala. Whenever he speaks of integrity and efficiency of administration, he speaks in terms of ethical integrity. "The problem of government is the ethical problem of the individual projected into the field of the State."[31] Is not Gorwala talking like a moralist? What force does his advocacy carry in a materialistic society where the principle of 'scarcity ethics' is the order of the day? In such circumstances, where 'self-interest' appears to be the enchanting goddess who backons many of us in her direction, it would be absurd to set too high expectations for representative government. Gorwala fails to appreciate the fast changing character of people's life. There is hardly any doubt that despite such awareness, he fails to assign due importance to the changing role of social and political factors in his analysis of the problems. To quote Gorwala, "I am sorry if part of what I said today sounded rather like a sermon."[32] Similarly his counsel to the political parties not to accept contributions from business houses is devoid of all reality so long as politics continues to be an expensive proposition in India. Of course, this does not mean that his writing is of no importance to us. A happy marriage between idealism and realism should have been the basis of Gorwala's observations on the issues of public adminitration in India.

While accepting that the guiding motive of sound administration must be the public interest, he poses a question: What is public interest in a democracy? He himself answers by saying that policies, democratically accepted, must be regarded as the public interest. In case there is a divergence of opinion as to what constitutes public interest, the "civil servant should be guided ultimately by dictates of his good conscience. The reward which a good conscience bestows upon its owner is unequalled. Edmund Burke termed it the sunshine of the soul and he thought no other distinction, no other reward could compare with it. This is the gift Reason bestows upon the administrator for it shows him what is right and leads him to do it."[33] Obviously, such an argument will be unconvincing unless there is some way of demonstrating what are the objec-

28. A. H. Hanson, Public Enterprises and Economic Development, London, 1959, p. 356.
29. Paul Appleby, Second Report, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
30. V. K. Krishna Menon (Chairman), Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings, Report of the Sub-Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament, (New Delhi, 1959), p. 39.

31. A. D. Gorwala, The Administrative Jungle, (Patna, 1957), p. 40.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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tive 'needs' of the community at a given time, and what are the policies "demanded" by economic, social, and other conditions. In a country like India where a real democratic tradition remains yet to develop, it is doubtful that Gorwala's counsel will be heeded to by the administrators for decision-making purposes.

A notable feature of Gorwal's writings is the large variety of subjects he deals with. It ranges from the dress for officials to the Republic Day Titles and Honours. There is hardly a problem which he has not tackled or tickled. Had he confined himself to an examination of the vital administrative matters, he would have been a very—very effective reviewer and analyst. "What purpose do these honours serve? None at all. They only arouse a kind of competition and a spirit of rivalry among those who are mean-minded."[34] Biased and unfair as the remark appears to be, it loses the force of legitimate criticism. It creates an impression that Gorwala, as a critic of governmental institutions, so often approaches them from the wrong side. All institutions, whatever they may be, should be approached with the presumption that there is a reason for them. An institution, like a man, is to be deemed innocent till proved guilty. Yet Gorwala approaches every institution as if it were necessarily bad, and always assumes that it needs to be scrapped and replaced by something much more rational, more reliable and more civilized.

One can safely remark that Gorwala has the unusual knack of being unnecessarily bitter even when he can afford to be otherwise without loss of effectiveness. One of his publications goes under the caption 'Lies of T.T.K.', when 'Lies' could be substituted by 'mistakes' or 'faults'. There is a passage which justifies quotation at some length: "But a Jungle ? That conveys the sense of mysterious tracks, hidden from the eye, of wild and unfamiliar beasts springing up suddenly. From these implications, I take the title of this first lecture which I call 'Impenetrable Lairs and Fierce Animals.' At one time I thought I would make it wild beasts, but many of the animals referred to are undoubtedly estimable and the term Beast carries, as you know, sometimes a certain undesirable connotation."[35] Again, "For at that moment was sworn in as Minister of Defence in the Indian Government, the gaunt, hating, Machiavellian, histrionic Krishna Menon."[36] This sort of contemptuous and explosive style is bound to offend many of his admirers, not to speak of his critics.

Gorwala's writings are full of strictures. They are mostly directed against the politicians as such, although at times, they are directed against none. He is described as an administrator turned a journalist or one who has adopted the style and manner of a politician. However, he is always frank and fearless in his opinions. His regard for public interest, perhaps, provides a justification for severest criticisms of the law-makers in India. This is a factor which merits much closer examination by his readers. "You cannot show greater reverence to a Philosopher," T.H. Green used to say, "than by pulling his system to pieces." This appears to be literally true in the case of Gorwala. What astonishes many of us is that Gorwala's views have not met the approval of those in position to apply them. Here again his egoism works the most harm.

Conclusion

Any assessment of Gorwala must conclude with the remark that he has succeeded in throwing some fresh light on the theory and practice of public administration in India. His reports, particularly, are valuable surveys of governmental machinery. Even those who disagree with his criticisms and suggestions, may find much useful information contained in them. Indeed, the present problems of public administration are, largely, moral in character. He is, therefore, justified in his emphasis on the personal integrity of the administrators. One may find gaps in Gorwala's logic, and can blame him for making bald assertions, but his subtle criticism, penetrating analysis and effective communication truly deserve appreciation. The shape of things to come may not be the same as envisaged by Gorwala, but if the effect is to stir others to correction and constructive action, he will not have sinned in vain.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 29, Shri Gorwala is referring to the Republic Day Titles.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

36. *Not In Our Stars, op. cit.*, p. 273.

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GOPAL K. GOKHALE—AT A GLANCE

By JOGES C. BOSE

One other great Indian who, like Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar,* besought the street lamp to help prepare his lessons for school is Gopal K. Gokhale. On the 9th May, 1866, he was born in the self-same district, Ratnagiri (Maharastra) which has given India Ranade and Tilak. He obtained a second class Mathematics in B.A. and started life as a teacher. Until now politics was no bother for him, but the living contact of men like Tilak, Apte and Agarkar, who had dedicated themselves to the service of India, made him give up his study of Law and join the Deccan Education Society. It functioned on the self-denial of its members, and he soon became a professor in the Ferguson College, which the Society had founded erelong, and served it on Rs. 75|- a month for twenty years.

Gokhale was steadily coming into the limelight by his contributions to the *Maharatta*, and came in touch with Justice Madhav Govind Ranade, the maker of modern Poona. Ranade accepted him as his assistant in matters of public work, and inspired him to devote himself to the study of Indian finance and economics and to probe deep into the Government Blue Books. Gokhale took up this theme, to the exclusion of all other interests. In fact, within a short time, Ranade openly eulogized Gokhale as a 'a worthy collaborator,' who could be relied upon to give his best.

At the age of twenty-five, Gokhale became the Secretary of the Deccan Education Society. At the age of twenty-nine, he was the Jt. Secretary of the Indian National Congress and a Fellow of the Bombay University. At the age of thirty-one he was deputed to tender evidence before the Royal Commission in England, appointed to examine the various financial aspects of the Administration of India. At the age of thirty-three, he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council; and, at the age of thirty-five, to the Supreme Legislative Council. To crown all these honours, at the age of thirty-nine, he was elected President of the Indian National Congress at Benaras, in 1905. No less glorious, as it was decisive, earlier that year he had founded The Servants of India Society, which took to training workers, pledged to the service of the Country with undivided attention and that at a pittance.

The political creed of Gokhale was, in a manner, finalised by Ranade. One day, during the initial period of his apprenticeship, Gokhale got restive and gave vent to his sense of chagrin that all the memorials they were so laboriously drawing up were almost invariably met with the curt official reply that the contents were being noted, and then nothing more was heard of them. For many a long year, Ranade assuaged the ruffled youth, they would have to continue like this, because they needed to bring home to the people what they were out for. Gokhale took heart and resolved that he was not to be deterred even by any amount of 'noes.' Chiplunkar, Tilak and others of their way of thinking challenged Ranade for his shibboleth that British rule was a 'divine dispensation.' They held that to indoctrinate people in the line would, in the remorseless psychology of the position, rob them of any urge and capacity to array themselves against the Government, at a time when the exigencies of the moment called for it. Gokhale, however, stood loyally by his Master with all the fervour of a religious faith. In fact, he proved a bastion of the political school it sponsored.

As the President of the 1905 Benaras Congress, he said, "For better or worse our destinies are linked with those of England, and the Congress fully recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire." Just a few months back, Bengal had launched the Swadeshi movement in answer to Lord Curzon dividing her on the basis of religion. The dramatic developments in Bengal posed the question that can best be summed up in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol that for

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her people it was no longer a matter whether she would remain two partitioned provinces under British rule, but how long was that rule to endure. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was all along warning Bengal never to seek to cut adrift from British moorings, struck a belligerent note. He said, as the President of the 1906 Calcutta Congress, "Instead of going into any further divisions, or details of our right, the whole matter may be comprised in one word, Swaraj. And, by Swaraj, he said, he explicity meant 'Self-Government as in the United Kingdom.' Gokhale was being eyed askance. He now made a statement that he set no limits to the aspirations of his countrymen, and that he as much wanted an Indian to be in India what an Englishman was in England. But then he did not forget to add the rider that it was realizable within the Empire. Loyalty to the Empire was, in fact, a credal enforcement for a member of the Servants of India Society.

Gokhale's first debut of arresting significance was his evidence before the Welby Commission. His main charges against the India Government or, rather, the policy England was pursuing in governing India were—

1. that the fundamental principle of public expenditure being solely in the interest of the taxpayers was violated more often than not :
2. that the Indian Exchequer was at the disposal of Britain in extending her dominion or influence in other parts of Asia :
3. that India maintained a standing British Army on a war-footing, even in times of peace, and thus was shifted to her shoulders a huge portion of Britain's expenditure in the military training of her lads :
4. that all the high offices in the Army and practically all the high offices in the civil services of India were filled by very costly Europeans.

Gokhale said pointblank, that it was obvious to the smallest intelligence that the military expenditure conducted in the manner would not ever make India strong; and he protested against the denial to her of the right of citizen-soldiership; and that, by reserving top appointments for the Europeans the entire people were stu[illegible] and demoralised. He also made out how the po[illegible] of Free Trade had strangulated indigenous in[illegible] try and led to a galloping ruralisation of In[illegible] economy.

While Gokhale was in England he rec[illegible] from Poona a good many letters alleging [illegible] harsh treatment of the people by the milit[illegible] engaged in plague operations. He was compl[illegible] upset when there were complaints that two wo[illegible] had been outraged and one of them comm[illegible] suicide to escape the resulting stigma. He sp[illegible] out to some members of the Parliament a[illegible] followed it up with a letter to *The Manche[illegible] Guardian*. The Bombay Government challe[illegible] the letter as a 'malevolent invention.' They a[illegible] strengthened their position by produc[illegible] 500 citizens, of some note and standing, who, [illegible] reply-paid telegrams, negatived the charge. It w[illegible] a very intriguing situation that Gokhale n[illegible] faced. At Aden, on his way back, he was ov[illegible] whelmed by letters from many of his corr[illegible] pondents imploring him not to disclose th[illegible] names. When he came back, he found it next [illegible] impossible to sustain the charge in the 'frighte[illegible] atmosphere,' as he called it, then prevail[illegible] There was, however, one man who was collecti[illegible] undismayed, materials in support, but he w[illegible] arrested under the charge of sedition and dea[illegible] bail just 3 days before Gokhale landed [illegible] Bombay—he was Tilak. Gokhale refused to g[illegible] out the names of his informants and tendered [illegible] unqualified apology.

There is such a thing as the Law of Re[illegible] tivity in human affairs. Even some of the p[illegible] sons who chose to conceal their indentity lest th[illegible] were called upon to substantiate their charge joi[illegible] the hue and cry against Gokhale. What re[illegible] like a sad reflection on the conduct of the C[illegible] gress leaders of the then Central Province is th[illegible] at the Amroti Congress, a few months later [illegible] December, 1897,—Gokhale was not entrusted w[illegible] either the moving or seconding of any resolu[illegible] which he had been doing with credit for [illegible] last eight years. Nay, there were even audi[illegible] whispers that he should not have been allow[illegible] a seat on the dais. The same Congress lea[illegible] ship, by the way, did not allow any portrait [illegible] Tilak in the pandal or any resolution on [illegible] imprisonment. Surendranath Banerjea, howe[illegible]

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d make some amends by his manly observation "Though I am here, my soul is attuned with ilak's in gaol." The whole audience rose in one ntaneous hallelujah, 'Tilak maharaj-ki-jai!'

Gokhale was cut to the quick. But he had t for nothing, learnt the lessons of patience, bearance and steadfast devotion in disgard of what others mights say. He made a tement, concluding with: "I have no doubt out the ultimate vardict on my conduct." In e ensuing General Election the verdict was re; he was elected to the Bombay legislative uncil and, two years after, to the Supreme gislative Council.

II

It was at the Supreme Legislative Council t Gokhale left an abiding name for constructive statesmanship. He concentrated his tention on:

1. High level taxation,
2. Army expenditure,
3. Salt duty,
4. Indianization of the public services, and
5. The Elementary Education Bill which he introduced.

assured the Government, all right, that he uld unhesitatingly vote for additional taxation after due economy, adequate money was not coming for all-round improvements in ucation, Sanitation and Agricultural Indebtedss.

There can be no sense of demur at the consus of opinion about Gokhale that he raised e level of the proceedings of the Indian Legis- e Council to a higher plane by a rare mas- y of economics and finance and such a climate reasonableness that the Government members not feel happy to have to say 'No' him. James Meston, (later on, Lord) Finance Minister, recalled Gladstone. Sir Guy ewood Wilson, another Finance Minister, as he visited The Servants of India ety, 'One Gokhale makes us shake in our es, what would be the position, when es of them are in the making!' Lord Minto, he first heard Gokhale delivering the budget ech, said that there were very few men in the front benches of the British Parliament who would equal him. Mr. Bodrick, the Secretary of State for India, suggested to the Governor-General-in-Council that they should better give effect, if it was not impossible, to the suggestions made by Gokhale in drawing up future budgets. To Lord Curzon, however, it was like water on a duck's back. He conceded that Gokhale was a man of high gifts, but he was 'repeating hypothetical figures and calculations that have been exposed until exposure has become tedious.' Gokhale was, to him, like 'an amiable eccentric who always put up his umbrella and insisted that it was raining even as the sun shone.'

Gokhale, as the President of the 1905 Congress, charged Curzon, who had resigned a short while previously, with having 'engaged himself in a Herculean effort to strengthen the Englishman's monopoly of power in India'; and that, 'having failed to amuse them (the people of India) by an empty show of taking them into confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them.' Six months after the Benaras Congress Gokhale wrote a letter to Lord Curzon, as he lay, in the words of his biographer Lord Ronaldshay —later on Marquis of Zetland, 'stricken with the pain of a great affliction,' calling him 'one of those rare spirits who live for lofty ends and make a religion of all their work.' As one reads this 'lofty ends' letter, he cannot help scanning Gokhale hard. Nobody would begrudge Curzon being credited with making a religion of all his work. What Indian, however, would speak of his 'lofty ends,' when he recalls in one breath that Curzon made no secret that 'One of his ambitions, while in India, is to assist the Congress to a peaceful demise'; that he whittled down Queen Victoria's Proclamation by an uncanny emphasis on such saving clauses as 'if', 'so far' etcetera; that he spoke of the Indians that they were 'by their heritage and upbringing unequal to the high offices under the Crown;' that he attacked the ethics of the East and said that 'the highest ideal of Truth is to a large extent a Western conception'! And yet, in exemplification of her fine ethical mould, India has, to a man, given Curzon the highest possible praise for his Famine Policy, The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the Imperial (now the National) Library of Calcutta, and for vindicating the

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honour of even humble Indian women by inflicting collective punishment on an entire British regiment in one case, and, on the other, by relieving high British military officers of their commands and banishing the regiment (also British) to Aden with leave and other indulgences suspended for two years. In fact, despite Curzon's blatant national arrogance, India has endorsed what he claimed that he 'loved righteousness and hated inequity, much above his fellows.'

Ronaldshay in commenting on Gokhale's aforesaid letter writes that nobody could have thought that, in view of the deep affronts Curzon had given to Nationalist India, there was any possibility of such an 'early reconciliation.' Years after, when Lord Curzon said in his *Place of India within the Empire*, "The contented incorporation of India within the Empire depends upon her feeling that she too profits by this bargain. Give her a sense of pride in Imperial partnership," one felt, as of instinct, that it was a triumph for Gokhale. It is no use wasting any breath on the question as to what extent such goodwill of the notables of the Ruling Race helped us to win our freedom; what, however, deserves to be considered, in its true perspective, is how the old-school leaders ungrudgingly and assiduously cultivated it. Things, however, do not assume a pleasant look when matters glide to a convivial excess.

"How would you like," Lord Hardinge once asked Gokhale, "if I were to tell you that all the British officials and troops would leave India within a month ?" Gokhale replied, "I would be very pleased to hear the news but, before you had all reached Aden, we would be telegraphing to you to come back." It was an insulting corroboration of what the die-hards used to trot out, in season and out of season, that if they left our shores, not a virgin, not a rupee would be safe. It is interesting to recall, by the way, what Dr. Rashbehari Ghose said, in almost an identical situation. During the appalling stresses of the First World War, an English Judge of the Calcutta High Court asked Dr. Ghose in open Court, "What would you do, Dr. Ghose, if the Germans were to land at Calcutta one of these days?" "My Lord," Dr. Ghose replied without a moment's pause, "I would hastily arrange a deputation to welcome them." "What!" stared the judge, visibly stiffened. "What else, my Lord, can do? This is the one thing you have to us to a logical perfection," said Dr. Ghose a disarming smile. In fact, in view of Gokhale told Hardinge, round about 1913, had no business to fret and fume at Sir S. P. Sinha (later on Lord) saying as the 1915 Congress President, "We are,not yet fit for self-government." Again, nobody takes exception to Gokhale condemning, to any extent, the attempt made Hardinge's life, but to assure Hardinge, as Gokhale did, that he would 'never' oppose any measure the Governor-General wished to have passed the Legislature is tantamount to a breach faith with the Country.

Gokhale genuinely felt that separate electorates for important minorities—and not the Muslems alone—would correct the 'inequalities and deficiencies' of general elections, in so far as they bore on them. He had the courage of his conviction but did not live to see the miserable caricature of his purpose. It is everybody's guess he would have felt as Montagu, when he came India in November, 1917, to discuss Reforms straightway wrote Lloyd George, the British Premier, to beware of any extension of the 'Separate Electorate', which had worked the ruin of democracy in India: how he would have as the Joint Report of Montagu and Chelmsford held, 'Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans, and not citizens; and it difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur'; as they not only maintained it, but eventually extended it to the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, such as to induce Josiah Wedgewood to say in the House of Commons, 'The very idea of India has vanished from the Bill, to be replaced by disunited communities of Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the English.' Gokhale did not either live to see what Lord Morley made public in his *Recollections* that had written to Lord Minto, while approving the Separate Electorate, "We are sowing dragon's teeth"—the reference being to Cadmus having sown in Boeotia (Greece) dragon's teeth out of the two rows of which soldiers sprang

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up and fought each other till the city was razed to the ground. During the Second Round Table Conference, when Lady Minto was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi at a social, she expressed the hope that India had not, possibly, forgotten them. Gandhi, harried and worried all the day over all conceivable differences between the Hindus and the Moslems, said that they would have to remember them too well, because it was for the Separate Electorate that the Hindus and Moslems were at loggerheads and failed to present a united front. Lady Minto was within her rights to put in a sharp rejoinder that it was their leader Gokhale, who proposed separate electorates. His Highness the Aga Khan was one of those who impressed Gokhale that only by special, supplementary treatment the political education of the Moslems could be speeded up, which was so urgently needed in order to effect the national solidarity of India. Thank God, Gokhale did not live to hear the Aga Khan saying in his *Memoirs* with reference to the hectic days when he waited upon Minto for separate electorate, that 'these were the critical years in that vast complex process, which brought about, in little more than forty years, the Partition of the Indian subcontinent into two separate states, Bharat and Pakistan'. History is devastatingly jealous and chimes in with Percival Spear's, 'Behind the shadow of democracy had come the shadow of Pakistan'—*India, A Modern History*.

Gokhale once said that public life in India had few rewards, and many trials and discouragements. Some of the trials were peculiarly his own. S. P. Sinha's appointment, as a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which was opposed, rather stoutly, by King Edward VII—Lord Ripon also opposed it—was hailed by Indian leaders as an earnest of greater things to come. It was their stock-in-trade to rally people to their hope and faith in British liberalism. When Sinha though of resigning, rather than move as Law Member the Press Bill, a repressive measure of great potency, Gokhale exerted himself to the utmost to dissuade him from such a course. On Gokhale consenting, at long last, not to oppose the Bill, Sinha dropped the idea of resignation. Things had gone so far that Minto kept Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee ready at hand to fill the probable gap. Gokhale ran the tremendous risk of incurring the massed anger of his countrymen, rather than administer the smallest jolt to Morley's scheme of things. Even Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta was against it.

Morley wrote to Minto, "I equally made no secret of my conviction (to Gokhale) that for many a long day to come, long beyond the short span of time that may be left to me, this idea (of India being on a footing of equality with the self-governing colonies) was a mere dream". The very following day Gokhale wrote to a friend of his in India seeking to justify publicity, in which he meticulously screened it, and wrote about Morley, "We never had so true a friend of our aspirations since Lord Ripon's day....He is the one friend, fighting night and day in our interest". What a strain!

Gokhale opposed some rules and regulations in connection with the operation of the Separate Electorate. Minto wrote Morley that Gokhale had disgusted him. . . . . "I hardly expected that he would play such a stupid game." "He won't be a level-headed adviser"—he again wrote Morley in connection with his possible appointment as a Member of the Secretary of State's Council. After the troubled years of Curzon, the first time Gokhale addressed Minto, he begged of him to initiate a rule 'foreign in personnel, but national in spirit.' It beats hollow the story of the legendary Greek boy who pressed Jupiter for sunshine and snow-flakes at the same time. But this is, how they plodded untiringly and fought the heavy odds zigzag—the hard-boned British interest on one side and on the other any unwary step that might have laid the Country open to a perilous set-back.

A weak constitution, relentlessly geared to the service of the Motherland, broke down rather prematurely—he was only fortyeight when he died on the 15th February, 1915. A saint and a soldier, he fully comprehended his trust, and honoured it to the last, unflinching in his high moral purpose. And this is precisely what makes Gopal K. Gokhale live as one of those immortal dead, who live in minds made better by their presence.

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THE MEMORABLE TUSSLE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP OF BENGAL

By BHASKAR DASGUPTA

Not long ago, there was, as many of the readers will probably remember, a tussle for the Mayorship of the Calcutta Corporation, when two rival gentlemen simultaneously tried to occupy the same throne chair. The public sense of amusement was considerably roused at this unusual situation. A similar episode occured in 1776 during the rule of the East India Company.

Governor's Council : Hasting' Adversaries

The Council of Governor[1] for the Presidency of Bengal, constituted just after the passing of the Regulating Act in 1774, consisted of four members, of which only Mr. Richard Barwell was on the side of the then Governor, Mr. Warren Hastings.

The attitude of the other three members, Sir John Clavering (the Commander-in-Chief of India), Hon'ble Colonel Monson, and (Sir) Phillip Francis,[2] was definetely hostile to Hastings, who obviously faced enormous difficuly in implementing his scheme for raising the efficiency of administration as also ensuring financial prosperity.

Hastings, who had a dictator's frame of mind, was very much cross at the frequent opposition from his Hon'ble colleagues, often felt humiliated and appealed to the Court of Directors for modification of the Council rules or else for a change in the membership, so that he might execute his plans, more conveniently.

Death of Monson : Subsequent Developments

Luckily for Hastings, one of the Council—Colonel Monson, suddenly died in September 1776, and so he was cheered at the prospect of a change to his advantage, but this pleasing expectation suffered a sudden setback, owing to the hasty act of Colonel Macleane, the official agent of Mr. Hastings in England. Macleane too precipitately gave in Hasting's resignation whereby Sir John Clavering was elected for his successor and Mr. Edward Wheeler (Wheler) to fill the vacancy in the Council.

The Court of Directors was submissive to the British Ministry for obliging which, they did not even care to be deprived of the services of so competent an administrator as Hastings. The Court remained indifferent. They neither canvassed for Sir John nor disputed the ligality of Colonel Macleane's act but accepted the tender unconditionally, without fixing a date by which the proposed change was to be given effect to.

Behaviour of General Clavering : Hasting's Reaction

Hastings was a proud man and under the circumstances would have been prepared to abdicate, had not the rude behaviour of Sir Clavering driven him to fury. Under similar circumstances some one else would have sent a "conciliatorry note, trusting all their differences might be buried in oblivion" and assuring his co-operation and protection to those for whom Mr. Hastings cherished love and esteem.

But Sir John, "Just finishing the perusal of his despatches, peremptorily and bulntly summoned Mr. Hastings to meet him at ten in the morning in Council and to deliver over to him the keys of

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1. The Government of Presidency of Bengal was vested in a Governor General and four members of the Council. The Governor General and Council were given superior authority over the other two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras in regard to making laws and concluding treatises, as might be necessary for the co-ordination of foreign policies.

2. (Sir Phillip Francis) : Francis later on became an inveterate enemy of Hastings and fought a duel with him (August 17, 1780) in which he himself was badly injured and this led him to make a premature retreat to England.

General Clavering and Mr. Barwell also met in a duel in April, 1775.

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the Treasury and of Fort William." I am here quoting from Mr. George Francis Grand[3] (the first husband of Catherine Neel Werlee, who became famous later on, as La Princesse de Tallyrand). Grand writes, "I was then living at a graden house, a short distance from the town, with my recently acquired consort[4] and being in the habit of calling at Mr. Hasting' before I repaired to my office, I met as I was going up the back stairs, my friend, Major William Palmer, then the Governor's Millitary Secretary. He seemed agitated and in haste only whispered to me that he was going in the Fort to secure the obedience of the garrison. I continued assending the steps, and entering the room found Mr. Hastings busily writing with Mr. Begle[5] Mr. Summer, and Captain Roberts, Sir John Claverling's Aides-de-Camp, who was the bearer of the summons. Palmer soon returned, with the assurance of Colonel James Mergan, then commanding in the Fort, that he neither acknowledged nor should acknowledge, until Mr. Hastings gave him proper notification, any other authority as Governor than Mr. Hastings. The same injunction had been immediately transmitted to the late Colonoel Granger Mure, who commanded at Barrackpore five battalions of Native Sepoys and from whom the same success of implicit submission was equally expected. This was realised and Mr. Hastings confiding in the justice of his cause, and military support and indignant at Sir John's harsh proceedings, determined to resist the attempt to oust him from the chair and accordingly directed the Revenue Secretary Mr. Sumner, to summon the General and Mr. Francis, to meet the Governor and Mr. Barwell at an ordinary Revenue Council day. With this answer Captain Roberts retired, and at twelve O'clock the divided Government were assembled, the latter in Mr. Summer's Office and the former two gentlemen in Mr. Auriol's who was then the Chief Secretary of the Government"

The incident took place on June 20, 1777.

Reference to the Bench

The company's officers were divided into two camps, each growing as strong as the other. Another Board (Board of Revenue), was set-up by Sir John and both the Boards began fuctioning simultaneously. The Governor's body-guard was doubled and a Civil upsurge was very much apprehended.

At this stage, after some messages having been exchanged between conferences held by the two Boards, it was finally decided that the matter should be referred to—His Majesty's Judges to examine the entire situation from a constitutional and legal stand point. The Judges were to decide whether the resignation by the Governor was acceptable and the subseqhent nomination valid.

Both parties, *viz.*, the Governor Hastings and Mr. Barwell on one side and Sir John and Mr. Francis on the other, pledged themselves authentically and solemnly in the presence of the Judges to abide by the decision of the Court.

Judges' Conference : Decision Taken

Sir Elijah Impey (an old school companion of Hastings) was then the Chief Justice. The

3. Grand was a civilian in the employ of the East India Company for nearly thirty years (he joined as a subaltern and subsequently became the Collector of a District) and then left India, disgraced. He ultimately became a servant of the Batavian Republic at the Cape of Good Hope, whereform he published his memoires in a book entitled "The narrative of the life of a gentleman long resident in India." The quotations here are all taken from that book.

4. Grand, Catherine, Francies : Soon after the wedding of Grand and Catherine which took place in Chandernagore (in July 10, 1777) Francis was involved a big scandal which created such a stir in those days among the European residents of Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Francis, attired in black, scaled the wall of Grand's compound by means of a ladder and got into the bedroom of Mrs. who was then a mere girl of sixteen, possessing exceptional beauty. This happened on the night of Derember 8, 1778. The tresspassers was secured by the Jamadar of Mr. Grand but with the aids of his friends ultimately managed to escape. That Francis had been an unsuccessful claimant to Mr. Grand's affections was borne out by lady Francis' statement. Francis' refusal to meet Grand in a duel also tends to corroborate this. The incident led to the famous Grand *Vs.* Francis case which was heard in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The guilt of tresspass was proved and Francis was accordingly condemned by the Bench of Judges in damages of 50000 sicca rupees with cost of suit.

5. Bogle—Tibetian explorer. His grave is in the South Park Street Cemetry.

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Judges were convened to meet at his house in the evening. Sir John D'oily and Major Palmer were present for the Governor Hastings, Mr. Addison for Sir John Clavering, Mr. Cater for Mr. Barwell while (Sir) George Shee represented Mr. Francis. Mr. Grand also happened to be present at the house of Sir Impey on that occasion. While the Judges were colseted, intent on conferring, resolving and having their opinion transcribed, Mr. Grand and other getnlemen present "partook of a gay, pleasant supper with Lady Impey, who retired not from the table, till two in the morning".

When the clock struck four the conference broke, the doors opened and two packets were handed over to the two leader represntatives of the two parties. In words of Mr. Grand: "I accompanied my friends downstairs and had it whispered in my ear that the judges had pronounced unanimously in Hasting's favour, I went home and resigned myself comfortably to that rest, which the state of previous anxiety I had endured so necessarily required. . . . . In the unanimity which prevailed amongst the Judges, it was clearly manifested that no partial bias had swayed their minds, for Sir Robert Chamber was decidedly a partisan of Sir John Clavering. The Court of Directors had been too hasty in their judgment and determination. An act of this nature demanded a formal deed, notararially signed and executed, with a complete delegated power, made specially to this effect, to the person in whom the trust was reposed and required equally as having been recognised as a fully empowered agent, by those to whom he had been deputed. Instead of which a paragraph of a letter, simply observing, if such conditions could not be obtained, so as to render the Governor's situation efficient, an abdication would be preferable to a state of nullity.....

The Judges wisely argued that a resignation must be positive and not conditional, the time fixed for its taking place specific and not left to an indefinite period, that an appointment of this magnitude decreed by the legislature under the absolute sanction of an Act of Parliament, could not be disposed of, nor parted with, in so slo[illegible] and indirect manner, etc., . . . etc., . . . etc. . .

Hasting's Retaliation

With the decree of the Judges in his fa[illegible] Hastings tried to get Clavering off the Co[illegible] and refused his entry in the Council house [illegible] when Sir John attempted to enter, a prohibi[illegible] notice was served upon him, through Hasti[illegible] Secretary. Hastings argued that the General [illegible] the assumption of Governor-Generalship, [illegible] vaccated his seat in the Council and had equ[illegible] vaccated his post as His Majesty's Comman[illegible] in-Chief. At this Sir John's co-adjutor, Mr. Fr[illegible] cis was greatly perturbed. He appealed to [illegible] Judges and to the solemn pledges of the parti[illegible] to conform implicity to their opinion and [illegible] patiently await the result of the appeal to Eng[illegible] land. The measure taken by Hastings was dep[illegible] cated by the Judges who abjured the parties [illegible] remain *status quo* until the result of the re[illegible] rence would be known. This was obeyed and [illegible] prescription was forthwith withdrawn by Has[illegible] tings.

Clavering's Death

Sir John's party-men held that the mock [illegible] isgnation by him was nothing but a *Ruse* [illegible] *Politique* while in order to gain time. Mr. Has[illegible] tings and his supporters pursued the policy [illegible] *Ruse de Guerre.*

The disappointment at the victory of Warr[illegible] Hastings of Sir John's party was great for [illegible] blasted their "expectation of fortune and pro[illegible] ment".

It was really a great blow to Sir John Clav[illegible] ing. The dejection of spirit and the tropical h[illegible] caused an inflamation of the liver, which "[illegible] ing in a putrid fever, carried the General off [illegible] stage in less than three months time."

Had luck not favoured Hastings the Hist[illegible] of British Rule in India would have taken a diff[illegible] rent course and India would have shared a diff[illegible] rent fate, left to diverse historical conjectures.

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STUDYING THE EARTH FROM SPACE

By V. SHEBALIN, M.SC., (Phys.-Math.),
Member of the Bureau of the Soviet Geophysical Committee

STUDYING Earth from Space, this may seem paradoxical: why penetrate into space in order to study the Earth? Is it not sufficient to carry out detailed research on solid ground? And yet the purpose of space flight is actually the solution of "terrestrial" problems.

Studies carried out by rockets and sputniks have revealed that our conventional ideas of the Earth were often inaccurate and even erroneous, that only observations from aside offer a key to the solution of the question of the Earth's structure and evolution. Before, for instance, in discussing the problem of manned flight into space, the scientists regarded collisions with small meteorites as "space hazard No. 1". It was thought that beyond the comparatively low terrestrial atmosphere there began a homogenous medium of interplantetary space with only meteoric streams lying in wait for future travellers.

It was discovered, however, that the Earth's magnetic field, which was thought to be of no greater purpose than to direct the compass needles of seamen, is a treacherous enemy outside the atmosphere. The huge magnetic lines of force arching between South and North Magnetic Poles are a giant trap for electrically charged particles. Captured by the magnetic field, these particles race around the Earth forming two belts of lethal radiation hundreds and thousands of kilometres above the surface.

Future space-pilots will have to take special care to protect themselves against this radiation or fly up into space from areas outside of reach of those belts.

Observations carried out by sputniks and space-rockets have forced geophysicists to revise their concept of the Earth as of a solid sphere surrounded by a film of water and air. They found that the concept "Earth" should also include a vast cloud of highly rarefied ionized matter extending several thousands of kilometres upwards. The volume of this cloud is hundreds of times greater than the volume of hard Earth.

VALUABLE INFORMATION

Besides altering our ideas of the structure of the immediate neighbourhood of our planet, sputniks also provided us with valuable information about the structure of the Earth proper. Irregularities in the shape of the globe and the distribution of heavy and light masses below its crust influence the trajectories of sputniks. Accurate observation of these trajectories have made it possible to determine with greater accuracy the shape of the Earth and the distribution of matter in it much faster and easier than would have been possible by explorations from the surface.

Magnetic measurements carried out by artificial satellites have established that a major fault in the Earth's magnetic field in Eastern Siberia (the so-called East-Siberia Anomaly) can be detected at an altitude of several hundred kilometres. This means that the cause of the anomaly lies far below the surface and is connected with the Earth's magnetic field as a whole. This result could be obtained only from "outside" by observations from outer space.

Many other geophysical discoveries were made with artificial satellites and rockets. Further flights will doubtless reveal new information, much of which cannot be even forecast.

The ultimate results of wide-scale explorations are often extremely vague. Major discoveries sometimes find practical application many years later.

Some of the prospects of space flight are apparent today. One of the distinguishing features of geophysics is that its successful development requires simultaneous observations over vast areas and even over the Earth as a whole. The International Geophysical Year, when many geophysical phenomena were studied simultaneously according to a uniform programme, was a graphic illustration of the requirements of science. Incidentally, the first artificial Earth satellites were actually launched in connection with the IGY.

WEATHER FORECASTING

Photographic observations from sputniks will make it possible to study the clouds blanketing the Earth over oceans and uninhabited areas. A study on the cloud movements will make it possible to study the general circulation of the atmosphere. Combined with other meteorological

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research this will make it possible to take a new and much more reliable approach to weather forecasting. A study of the interaction of all types of solar radiation with matter surrounding the Earth will enable us to determine the source of energy of all atmospheric processes. Another prospective subjects of exploration is the poorly studied reflecting capacity of calm and turbulent ocean surfaces, which will provide new data about the thermal balance of the Earth.

Further detailed observations of the flight of sputniks coupled with ground observations and deep drilling will offer a better idea of the laws governing the distribution of matter in the Earth's core and crust, making it possible to chart a new diagram of the structure of the upper layers of the globe underlying the continents and oceans. This, in turn, will provide an entirely new basis for prospecting for deep-lying minerals when all the reserves in the thin surface layer available to us are exhausted. Doubtlessly, the sphere of geophysical exploration with the help of artificial satellites will be considerably expanded.

Important information can also be obtained from the extra-terrestrial observation of cosmic radiation. Primary cosmic rays entering the at mosphere originate "showers" of secondary radiation, which makes it difficult to study cosmic rays in their "pure state". Satellite observations will make it possible to determine the nature of cosmic radiation, which will enable us to judge of complex physical processes and their origins and will doubtlessly bring us closer to the mastering and practical utilisation of thermonuclear energy.

New Vistas

Flights to other planets will throw open new vistas in this field. The discovery made by the Soviet lunik which established the absence of a magnetic field of the Moon shattered at a single blow many hypotheses concerning the origin of the Earth's magnetic field. It has been established before that, unlike the Earth, the Moon had no plastic, resilient, semi-liquid core. Now we may confidently link the Earth's magnetic field with electro-mechanical processes inside the core. Obsrvations of the magnetic fields of large and small planets will finally solve this question, all the more so that the present level of technology makes it much easier to reach Jupiter than the core of the Earth.

When man sets foot on the Moon and the planets, when geologists (or rather planetologists) will bring home unknown samples of rock, when seismographs will present us with the first recordings of "planetquakes," we shall be able by comparative research to screen the primary from secondary element in the geological evolution of the Earth. This will mark a new stage in the development of our ideas on the origin of the Earth and the laws governing the evolution of its various layers. The distribution of elements and compounds in the bowels of the Earth and the causes of orogenic shifts and Earthquakes will be understood.

New Fields

We can dream of entirely new fields of knowledge which we will embark on as a result of more distant flights into space. For example it may be possible to confirm or refute the hypotheses that the causes of the glacial periods on Earth is due to the solar system entering tenuous clouds of cosmic dust which reduced the amount of life-giving solar energy received by the Earth.

I have spoken only of the application of space research to geophysics. Its application is no less important, however, in physics, astronomy, biology and other sciences. The achievements of space research have already given tremendous impetus to such spheres of technology as super-strong alloys, instrument design, and super-long-distance radio communications. Bold engineering solutions will inevitably find application not only in outer space but in many Earthbound industries.

It is not isolated break-throughs in this or that science, and not even the wonderful discoveries awaiting us in other planetary systems that count. More important is the general progress of science, which is stimulated by the development of space flight and which, in turn, presents new opportunities for cosmic exploration. More important is the application on Earth of the new scientific disciplines which will have emerged from space conquest and the new mighty forces of nature discovered in outer space, in the name of the active development of the bowels and skies of our native planet to the benefit of mankind. More important is the advance of human thought and human society, which, in the face of outer space will finally realise the need or urgency and assert on Earth the brilliant era of peace and labour.

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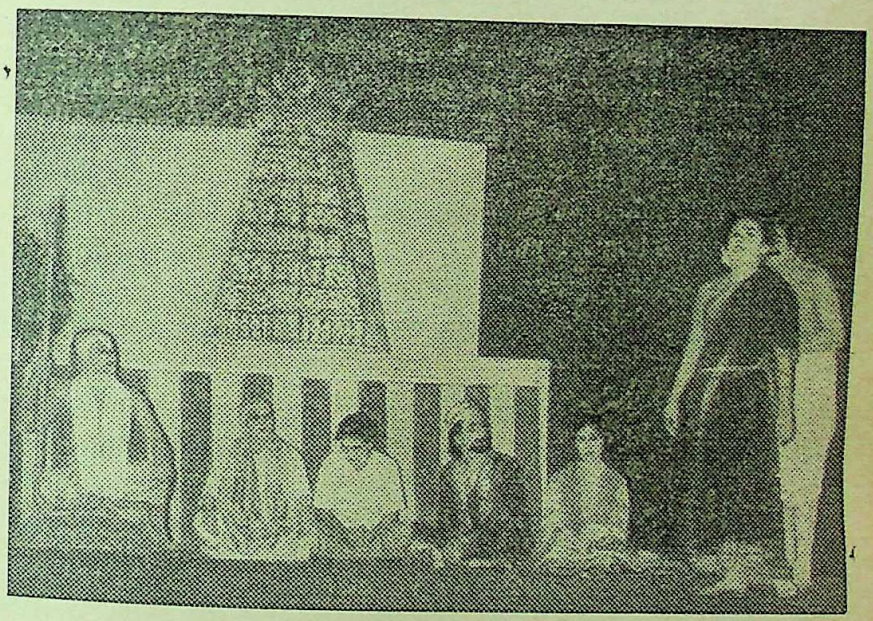
THE PRACHYA VANI MANDIR AND ITS ACTIVITIES

The Prachya Vani Mandir was founded in October, 1943 by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri and his wife, Principal Dr. Mrs. Roma Chaudhuri for the propagation of Oriental Learning, particularly, Sanskrit and Pali Language and Literature. Many illustrious sons of Bengal headed by late Atul Gupta, MM. Dt. Jogendra Nath Tarkatirtha Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. Satkari Mookherji, Dr. B. B. Dutt and Dr. Nalini Ranjan Sen Gupta have been very intimately connected with it. During the last 19 years of its existence, there has been no slackening in its activities; to the contrary, it has very assiduously followed its great ideal and now been rightly well-established as a very important Centre of Oriental Learning in the whole of India.

The Prachya Vani Mandir has under its direct control three other Institutions, viz., Prachya Vani Sanskrit Mahila Maha Vidyalaya, Prachya Vani Bhashan Parishad, and Prachya Vani Sangit-Natya Parishad. It has also a very valuable Library of Printed Books as well as Manuscripts, numbering about 30,000 and 6,000 respectively. The Sanskrit Mss. Library in its possession is reputed to have many unique and rare Mss. The Collections are growing daily and in the spacious 3, Federation Street where the Prachya Vani Mandir is at present housed, there is no space for any further collection, even for a few hundred Books or Mss. The scarcity is particularly due to the storing of 163 Publications of the Prachya Vani itself, most of which are Research works and rare specimens of scholarship and industry combined. Many of these are again the only works in their respective fields, such as "the Contributions of Women to Sanskrit Literature" (7 Vols); "The Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature" (4 Vols); "History of Sanskrit Duta Kavya Literature" (10 volumes)—in different series by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Dr. Roma Chaudhuri's outstanding works such as "Sufism and Vedanta" "Srikantha-Bhasya"; MM. Dr. Jogendra Nath Tarkatirtha's "Bharatiya Darsaner Samanvaya" and "Prachin Bharater Dandaniti" and also Dr. Radhagobinda Nath's "Gaudiya Vaisnava Darshan" for which the author was awarded Rabindra Prize of Rs. 5,000|- last year by the Government of West Bengal. The Institute is now piloting some other Research works of outstanding importance including publication of scientific editions of rare and valuable Mss. procured at times with very great difficulty from different parts of the world. Even the original works of Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri headed by the Sanskrit dramas Ananda-Radham on Sri Radha, Niskincana-Yasodharam on Yasodhara, Holy Consort of Lord Buddha and Priti-Visnupriyam and Bhakti-Visnupriyam on Sri Visnupriya, Holy Consort of Lord Gauranga Mahaprabhu are nothing but Research works, written spefifically in typically lucid and sweet Sanskrit Language for making Sanskrit intelligible to all and sundry.



Last scene of Vimala-Yatindram staged at New Delhi, Sapru House

The Bhashan Parishad of the Prachya Vani is the only Institution of its type in the whole of India for training students in speaking Sanskrit fluently. The course extends over three years. But experience

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shows that students admitted into the Parishad even without any knowledge of Sanskrit can speak Sanskrit well in course of a couple of years. The Professors of these Institutions are self-less workers dedicated solely to the cause of Sanskrit Learning and consequently, it is no wonder that they achieve outstanding results for their wholehearted activities for the development of Sanskrit Learning in India and abroad.

Prachya-Vani Sanskrit-Pali Players at Vrindaban Oriental Research Institute

Of all other Departments and Institutions of the Prachya Vani, probably, the most important one is the Sanskrit Pali Sangita-Natya Parishad, with a very brilliant staff to teach and guide the students. The Professors of the Sangit-Natya academy are concerned not only with the Ancient Texts but also specialize in bringing in Mediaeval and Modern Tunes for popularising Sanskrit throughout the length and breadth of India and outside amongst the masses in particular. Experience has shown that the Prachya Vani can entertain with their Sanskrit and Pali dramas composed by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri with a large number of songs and stotras, in all sorts of Ragas, Raginis and Talas, ancient, mediaeval and modern, even more than fifteen thousand people at a time, of whom not a single individual moves or talks during the time of the play. On many occasions, the songs in particular have to be repeated on public demand even after the play.

The immense popularity of the Prachya Vani Sanskrit and Pali plays throughout India can easily be gauged from the whirlwind tours of the Prachya Vani troupe throughout India during the last six months. In recent years, they are staging every year about 20 plays composed by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri throughout India and outside. In December, 1961, this troupe had been to Madras for staging one of the latest Sanskrit dramas of Dr. Chaudhuri, viz. Vimala-Yatindram on Vedantacharya Ramanuja in the Satya-Griha, Madras, at the invitation of all India Vaishnava Conference, Madras. This play composed at their request by Dr. Chaudhuri was staged for the first time in Madras on the 25th December, 1961, with very great success and its performance was repeated at Pondichery Sri Aurobindo Ashram under orders of the Holy Mother of the Ashram with even greater success. Within a fortnight, on the 6th January, 1962, they staged this drama again at Vrindaban Institute of Oriental Philosophy at the invitation of UNESCO and India Government sponsored All World Spiritual Symposium and captivated the International gathering of more than 6,000 scholars gathered here from different parts of the world. Since then they have been staging some Sanskrit dramas or other—one drama in a fortnight—in Howrah, Calcutta, 24-Parganas and other districtts. Recently i.e., during the last Easter Holidays they had been to Delhi to stage two Sanskrit dramas viz., Vimala-Yatindram and Bhakti-Visnupriyam, at the invitation of the International Academy of Indian Culture and the Ramayana-Vidyapith, Delhi. Sri Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Rehana Bahen Tyabji were the guests of honour on the first day, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, then Vice-President of In-

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graced the occasion on the second day. The Indian Academy of World Affairs Sapru House could accommodate only 700 and therefore, hundreds had to go disappointed. The sweet simple Sanskrit and beautiful style of Dr. Chaudhuri and the excellent pronunciation and acting of the Prachya Vani troupe together with very melodious songs sung by leading Artistes of West Bengal captivated the hearts of the learned audience. Dr. Radhakrishnan and Sri Kakasaheb Kalelkar spoke very highly of the activities of the Prachya Vani and praised the laudable steps taken by Prachya Vani for popularising Sanskrit through the medium of staging of Sanskrit dramas and recital of Sanskrit songs.

In Madras, Sri M. Patanjali Shastri, Retired Chief Justice of India, Sri Bhaktivilas Tirtha and others ; in Pondicherry, Sri Nalini Kanta Gupta, the General Secretary and in Vrindavan, Prof. Sten of Rome, Sri Bhuvaneswari Prasad Singh, Chief Justice of India, who presided over function, Srijut B. H. Bon Maharaj and in various parts of the country, many other leading persons have always blest the Prachya Vani Troupe for their very laudable undertaking.

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LAOS

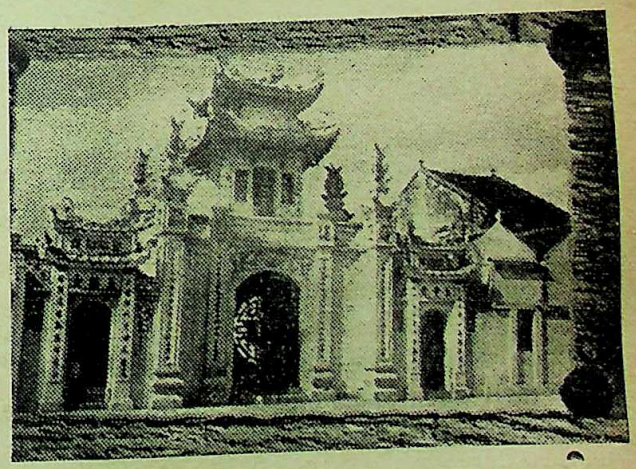
Its Legendary Origin—Past and Present

By AJIT KUMAR TARAN

"The history of Laos begins with a legend." Mrs. Thelma Roffe who has lived in Laos since 1930, used this intriguing statement as a preface to her able presentation of "The History of Laos," at the monthly luncheon of the American Women's club of Vientiene, held at the USOM MESS on September 2, 1957. In her introductory speech the club president, Mr. Rothwell Brown commented, Mr. and Mrs. Roffe had served in Laos as members of the christian and missionary Alliance since January 1930, and their continuing interest in studying the culture of the country culminated in their co-authorship of the recently published book, "Spoken Lao."

"The early history of Laos is largely dependent on outside sources,—Mrs. Roffe told club members, "because there was no written language among the people coming into Indo-China in the early period of the history." And she related, then, the legend the Lao are used to tell people concerning their origin.

A man, Khoun Borom, was sent by the God of heaven to settle in the plain of "Dien Bien Phu" with his two wives. After a while a vine grew in their garden, and also two great pumpkins. Khoun Borom took a hot-red-iron and pierced them and out of them came all the peoples of Laos, the cattle, the water, the buffaloes, horses and other animals and fowls and also gold, silver and seeds of fruits and vegetables and other things. But the pumkin vine grew so large and so luxurious in foliage that



A Laotian Temple

it cast a shadow over much of the country; so that there was not enough sun for the crops. For a long time no one dared do anything, because the vine furnished a path for going back and forth to heaven. But at last a brave man and

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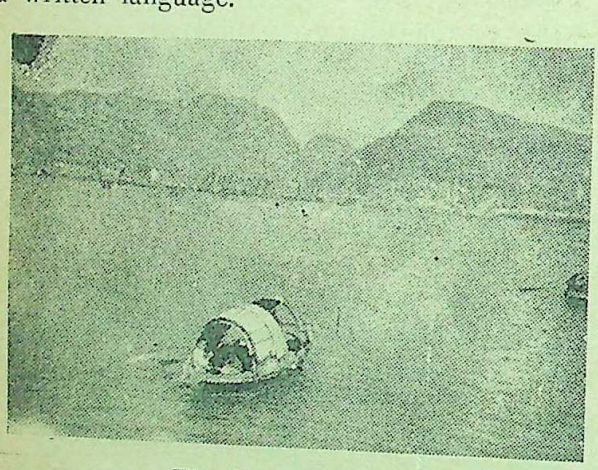
his wife decided to chop it down; though they knew, they would be crushed by its falling—as indeed happened. The brave pair were honoured, however, for their courage in restoring the sunlight and they are remembered when the Lao eat, by being invited to partake of the food. Khoun Borom's seven sons had been sent to seven regions of the country, where they were regarded as leaders and their regions as Kingdoms: Luang Prabang, Xiengkhoang, Chiengmai, South Yunnan, North Fauhim, Arythia (central Thailand), and Pegon (East Burma).

"These were the kingdoms of the seven sons," Mrs. Roffe said—"a history is a legend since there is no written history until about the 13th century when the Thai peoples first developed a written language."



The Mekong River

The Siamese "Thai," the Lao, many of the tribal peoples of Tonkin (like the black Thai, the white Thai, the Red Thai), the Shan of Burma tribes people of Yanam province in China, and of Assam in India, seem to be of one race, since their language evolved from a common base. And Mrs. Roffe added, "The Thais and Laos appear to be blood cousins, since about 75% of the words in every day usage are the same." She said that judging all these factors that the original inhabitants of Laos were probably of Polynesian origin,—and this would include especially the Kho and Khamuh, who were pushed into the mountains by the people migrating from China. "The word Kho means slaves," she added, "and they are never found in lowlands along the rivers because the people migrating out of China came along the rivers and drove the Khas into the mountains.

"Since the Thai poples came originally from China," Mrs. Roffe said, "our first knowledge of them was to be found in the annals of the Chinese emperors. The first such reference occurs about 2200 B.C. which was about the time when the civilizations of Egypt and Assyria and Babylon were at their height. They are spoken of again in 1971 B.C., which was in the time of Abraham and in 1558 B.C. They were called Lao—Lao meaning people, and located in two Chinese provinces, Hupeh and Shens."

"Some years ago," Mrs. Roffe added, "a missionary set out through Thailand, Burma and Tonkin to trace the influence of the language of the Thai peoples, and found that he could go as far as the Yangtse to find linguistic similarity to Thai sufficient for him to understand the various dialects used."

In 543 B.C., the court annals of China say "The Thais came into Yunnan, because of political pressure from the north of China and they might, at that time, have come into Mauongsing and Dien Bien Phu."

13th Century

In the 13th Century, they began to read and write, using a script which was derived from India. By 1254, the Thais spread down into North Laos, Siam and Burma. These included tribal peoples from among the Lao, Siamese, Shans, Red-Black and white Thais, Lu and the Thos of north Tonkin.

In 1283, Rama Khameng, a chief of Chiengmai, had established a kingdom that extended from Luang Prabang, Malaya and from Vientiane to Burma. It was during his reign that writing was introduced into the country.

14th Century

In 1353, Phi Fa, the crown Prince of Luang Prabang (according to one version), was driven from his kingdom in punishment for seduction of one of the King's wives. Another version of his dismissal is that the crown Prince had a son who was born with 13 teeth, and the King's soothsayers advised him to get the dangerous child out of the kingdom. So he was put on a raft and set a-drift on the Mekong

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where a priest found him and took him to the King of Combodia in Angkor Wat. The child, Fa Ngaun, was raised in the court at Angkor and when he was seventeen, was given one of the Cambodian Princesses for his wife. When he was 21 years old, the king of Angkor gave him an army of 10,000 and sent him back to conquer his grandfather's Kingdom. He overcame Ziengkhouang, Luang Prabang and Vienthane—which got its name from the ramparts of bamboo which impeded the conqueror. The city was originally named "Phay Nam" then called Vieng Kham, "Walled city of gold," which was later deformed in pronounciation to become Vieng Chan, "Walled city of sandal wood."

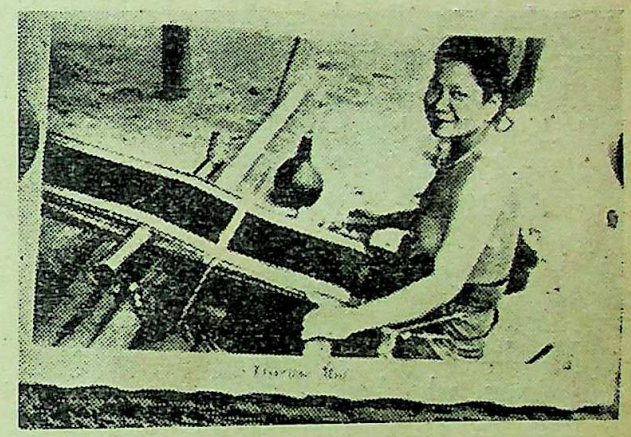
The Kingdom of Fa Ngoun was called Lan Xang Hon Khao—"Land of a million elephants and white parasols" and it extended from the north to Savannakhet. But Fa Ngoun remained a conqueror, ruling as a despot and tyrant, and so his father-in-law summoned him to Angkor and reprimanded him for his cruelty to the people. He persuaded Fa Ngoun to adopt Buddhism and gave him a cession of priests, scientists, artisans and script writers, 1,000 men in all, with their families. In addition, they brought back with them the Prabang, a gigantic statue of Buddha, which was placed in a temple built for it at Luang Prabang, and which was felt to be the source of good fortune for the Kingdom. The statue is said to have been made in Ceylon.

15th & 16th Centuries

In the 15th century there were no great Kings, and no major events recorded. And throughout the 16th century there continued wars with Burma. In 1563 the site of the capital city, Luang Prabang, was felt by the king to be unsafe because the surrounding mountains gave their enemies the advantage of making surprise attacks, and so the capital of Lan Xang was moved to Vientiane by King Sethathirat—a great monarch, who first began to unify the Kingdom. It was he who built Wat Pra Keo, which was to house the Emarald Buddha (a statue carved from a single stone, originating in Ceylon and passing from hand to hand until it came into the hands of King Sethathirat.) He also built the Luang, on the site of a That constructed in the 11th century over a hair of the Buddha. (Mrs. Roffe explained briefly here that a That was actually a monument which marks the site of a sacred relic, as distinguished from a Wat, which is the compound housing temples and living quarters for monks and novices and various mounments.) That Luang was destroyed in 1873 by the Yunnese and restored in part in 1897-98.

17th Century

In the 17th century there was again a great monarch, king Souligna Vongsa. In 1641 a



A Lao woman, busy in weaving

mission arrived from Indonesia which was at that time under the Dutch. One of the Dutch visitors wrote of the magnificence of the King's palace which was as large as a city built entirely of brick overlaid with gold and set with precious and semi-precious stones. He commented, however, that the ordinary people lived simply. An additional memento of that visit can be seen in one of the temples in Luang Prabang, which has on one door in base-relief a representation of the Dutch visitor.

In 1696, Lan Xang came under the suzerainty of Annam (central Vietnam).

18th Century

In 1797, Lan Xang was divided into two Kingdoms, Luang Prabang and Vientiane, and this really ended the grandeur of the ancient kingdom. From then on, it was marked by fratricidal wars. At that very time the Europeans had begun to come into Asia and threaten the surrounding

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countries. The French and the English had established commercial relations with Siam (present Thailand) in the 17 century, and the Dutch had commercial companies in Phnom-Penh (the present capital of Combodia); but until now Laos had remained untouched.

In 1778, Vientiene was captured by the Siamese. One of the factors precipitating the seizure was that the king refused to give one of his daughters in marriage to a Siamese general who had helped him defeat the king of Luang Prabang in an attack on Vientiene. It was then that the Prabang (the Lao statue of good fortune) and the Emarald Buddha from Wat-Pra-Keo, were taken to Bangkok. The Prabang was returned four years later but the Emarald Buddha it still to be seen in Bangkok, and the Wat which housed it has now become a museum in Vientiene. Hundreds of families too, were driven across the Mekong river by the Siamese.

19TH CENTURY

The last of the kings of Vientiene was king Chao Anon, who built Sisokhet temple in 1824. In 1825 he asked for the return of the Lao families taken by the Siamese (in 1778). When refused, he declared war—partly in the belief that the English were about to march on Bangkok. (This was a time when the English had subdued Burma and were contending for power with the French who had begun to conquer Vietnam. But the king had been misinformed; the English did not attack, and although the Lao forces reached Korat, they were turned back and the Siamese retaliated brutally. In 1827, two years after the war began, Vientiene was completely destroyed and Wat-Pra-Keo was razed to the ground. The Sinamese took all the inhabitants of the city across the Mekong into Siam, and Vientiene became a province of Siam. For the second time, Laos lost the Prabang statue.

In 1832 the old kingdom of Xiengkhouong (one of the Kingdoms of the seven sons in the legend) was captured and made a province of Annam (central Vietnam) and the emperor of Annam had the king of Xiengkhouang executed because he had helped the Siamese capture king Anon. It was during this same period that Luang Prabang was invaded by the Burmese and King Anon was forced by them to enter into expedi- tions against Vientiene (before this, it had b destroyed by the Siamese).

The mid-century was marked by the in dation of Asia by Europe; England, France a the United states signed commercial tre with Siam in 1856; the French took all th southern provinces of Vietnam, thenceforth kn as Cochin-China and occupied Tourane (a po city on the Central Vietnam Coast). Somew earlier, the first big migration of the Meos ca into Laos. There are records of a visit to La by a French entomologist in 1861, and of French expedition to explore the Mekong ri in 1866.

In 1864, during the invasions from Yun as far south as Vientiene and before bei put down by the French, Siam too sent an arm to fight the Yunnanese.

In 1867 the Prabang was returned to Lu Prabang by the Siamese and is today in W Mai. In 1883, the French took over Tan (north Vietnam) so that Laos was now a pa between France and Siam. In the same year, t French placed Mon. Pavie at Luang Prabang Vice-Consul. In 1887, Luang Prabang was de troyed by Deo—Von—Tri of Lanchan wh stood some 300 kilometers north of Lu Prabang, when he came searching for his t sons left in the care of the Lao court kidnapped by the Siamese. A Cambodian serv of the French Vice-Consul Pavie, smuggled king and queen and their entourage to the ri and out of Luang Prabang taking them to Pak leaving the city which was burnt until only stone temples remained as evidence of its for magnificence. In the battle, the Vice-C grandfather of Phetsarath and Souvannaphou was slain. The fugitive king invited the Fre to help him, and turning to the Siamese, them, "The French saved us."

In 1888—France took over Lai Chau the permission of the king and moved ste towards the south and south west unt occupied all of the East bank of the river Me by 1893, signing a treaty with Siam in w the Siamese recognised the French author

20TH CENTURY

In 1904—Sisavang Vong became kin Laos. Siam ceded by treaty the present pr

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of Sayaboury on the west bank of the Mekong.

Throughout the ensuing years, Laos had but little contact with the outside world, except for the French, who controlled Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, calling the entire area "French Indo-China."

1940-41, after the fall of French in Europe, the Thais invaded and seized the provinces of Sayaboury and Bassac on the west side of the Mekong. Here, Mrs. Roffe recalled, Vientiene as she had found it during those days, when the Thais put guns across the river, aimed at the city and the sound of cannon—fire was often heard.

Later, in 1947, Thailand agreed to give back the two Lao provinces to the French in return for French support in gaining membership of the United Nations. In the same year, the king of Luang Prabang was declared as the king of all North Laos.

When the Japanese took over in the World War II, the Free Lao movement, headed by Prince Phetsarath, became a political force. He withdrew from active leadership, however, when the king relieved him of his title as Viceroy in October, 1945, just before the Free Lao imprisoned the king and attempted to set up a constitutional monarchy. At the end of World War II French paratroopers were dropped in the south and began a successful retaking of the country. The three brothers—Phetsarath, Souvannaphouma and Soupannavang along with major part of the Free Lao members, took sanctuary in Bangkok.

In 1953, the Vietminh invaded, taking Xiengkhouang and starting a march on Luang Prabang. Soupannovong, the brother of Souvannaphouma and Phetsarath was made Governor of the Nothern Provinces and the entire country was threatened. But King Sisavang refused to leave Luang Prabang and to maintain the position of his country as a protectorate; the French were forced to defend Luang Prabang and turn back the Vietminh (a military necessity which weakened French defences in Vietnam). In October 1953, complete independence was granted to Laos (including northern provinces still held at that time by the Pathet Lao Vietminh under Soupannavong) by the French. Since 1954, when the Geneva Agreement was signed bringing war in Indo-China to an end and partitioning Vietnam there were instructions to group the guerrilla forces of Pathet Lao dissidents in two northern provinces of Samneua and Phonsaly until a settlement could be made with the Royal Lao Government. Uptil now no settlement has been reached and these forces continue to remain in Samneua and Phongsaly.

The current situation in Laos is known to all. There is no actual fighting now going on amongst the people of the land; the fight is rather between the two most powerful powers of the world. Laos is now full of chaos. Should the present and the future negotiations regarding restoration of peace fail, it is apprehended, more terrible scenes and troubles will be created in Laos. Peace loving peoples of the world are eargerly awaiting some bright news from Laos to relieve the pathetic monotony of its past history.

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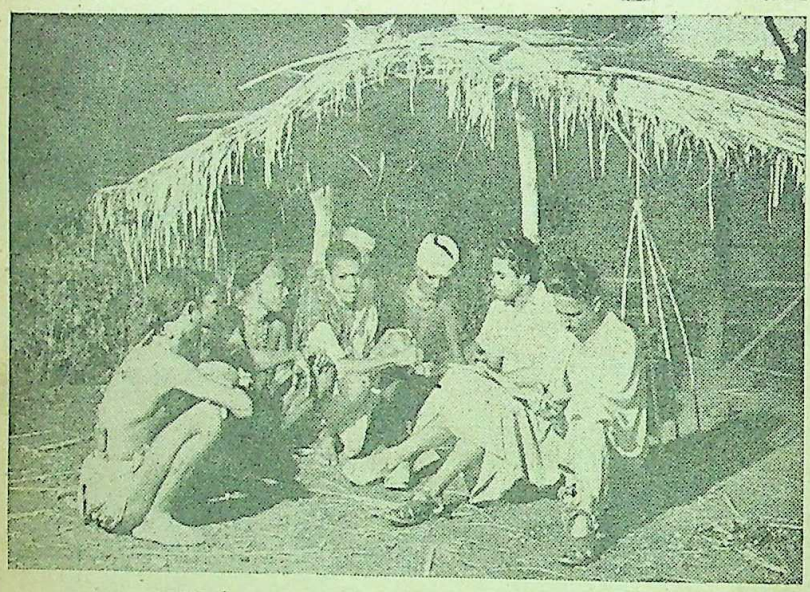
ROLE OF TRIBAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Significant Work Done By Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara in Madhya Pradesh

ALL well-planned schemes require a certain amount of research and factual and statistical information at the planning stage. In the case of development programmes in tribal areas in India, if well-directed and done properly, it should be of great help to the local officials to understand tribal people better and get the desired response from them. It should also inspire the officials themselves with respect for tribal people and their culture.



A research party of The Tribal Research Institute busy in the field doing socio-economic survey in Abhujmad region

There is, besides, an urgent need at the present stage to know as to what is actually happening to the tribal people as a result of development: what are their psychological reactions, whether they are developing a separatist mentality and, if so, why: whether they are suffering from any moral decline; whether individualism is replacing the old cooperative spirit; whether their self-reliance is weakening; whether they are beginning to suffer inferiority complex in face of the technological advantages of outsiders; whether change is coming too rapidly for them to support the many alterations in their lives and environments. Then, there is yet another aspect: studies on the conditions of health and vitality of the tribal people; the effects of nutrition on their pattern of growth and resistance to disease.

Gathering all this information is of immediate significance in planning and execution of smooth and effective tribal welfare programmes. And in this Tribal Research Institutes now coming up in different States—Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan and West Bengal have already set them up—can play a vital role in collaboration with the administrative machinery.

Anthropological surveys and collection of serological data for tracing the history of the tribals; their origin and migrations and racial affinities, are no doubt, important from an academic point of view but these have no immediate significance and are being already done by the Department of Anthropology of the Government of India and the anthropological departments of some of the universities. The Research Institutes can easily concentrate on the more immediate problems.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

The Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara, in Madhya Pradesh, in this context, has already done significant work. Started as an integral part of the Tribal Welfare Department of the Madhya Pradesh Government in April 1954, the Institute functions directly under the control of the Director of Tribal Welfare. It has completed a number of projects such as socio-economic surveys of two tribal multi-purpose blocks of Tamia and Barwani, evaluation of multi-purpose co-operative societies run by the Tribal Welfare Department and a survey of herbal medicines in the forest areas in Madhya Pradesh.

The research projects in hand include the problem of shifting cultivation, importance of minor forest produce in the economy of tribals, survey of marketing conditions in scheduled areas, evaluation of Ashram schools, problems of housing and water scarcity in tribal areas and finding jobs for educated tribals.

Projects to be taken up in future include the problem of indebtedness and facilities for

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rural credit in scheduled areas, study of the practice of *begar*, socio-economic survey of forest villages and labour co-operatives; survey of landless tribals, their problems and possible solutions; prestige feature of tribal life and ways and means to preserve them.

Another line of research on which the Institute has done some work is conversational guides and dictionaries in various tribal dialects of Madhya Pradesh such as Halbi, Kuduk, Bhili and Madia.

The Institute helps the Tribal Welfare Department on the complicated question of exclusion and inclusion of various castes and tribals in the existing schedules after a thorough scrutiny of representations.

The Institute has at its premises at Chhindwara a museum with a rich collection of tribal arts, crafts and artefacts. These, together with photographs, murals, models, diagrams, maps and charts placed in the museum, give a good insight into the life and culture of the tribal people of Madhya Pradesh.

The Institute has a library too with a collection of over 4,500 books on anthropology, sociology, psychology, economic, linguistics, tribal welfare and associated subjects.

There is an art section attached to the museum which prepares murals, maps, charts and models. And there is a statistical section to collect and tabulate relevant data from various projects taken in hand by the Research Institute. At present this unit in collaboration with the art section is preparing an atlas on the various tribals of Madhya Pradesh.

The Institute brings out a quarterly bulletin incorporating research work done by the staff of the Institute. It also includes research papers and articles sent to the Institute by individuals and ageneies engaged in sociological research.

TRAINING OF WORKERS AMONG TRIBAL AREAS

There is a Tribal Workers' Training Institute on the campus of the Tribal Research Institute and the Director of the Tribal Research Institute is ex-officio Director of the Tribal Workers' Training Institute also. He provides technical guidance and generally supervises various training courses. Officers of the Tribal Research Institute deliver lectures to the important categories of trainee officers such as Block Development Officers and I.A.S. and I.P.S. cadre.

The Institute, all in all, has proved its utility. Some hurdles and problems, no doubt, remain such as closer liaison, in its consultative capacity, with the administrative machinery. If the sociological and developmental problems are referred to the Institute sufficiently in advance, the research findings of the Institute would be of greater benefit in planning the right programmes. Here, there has been a considerable improvement recently. Already, more and more problems are being referred by the State administration to the Institute for advice.

Another problem on which the Institute is on its way to finding satisfactory solution is retaining the experience, talent and loyalty of the staff. The staging has to be arranged in such a way that such an Institute can offer a good, worthwhile career to its young workers who join at lower rungs. This involves attractive salaries and graded promotion to higher posts. Here, some progress has already been made.

Then, there is the question of close liaison with other similar institutions in other parts of the country so that there can be regular exchange of ideas and results of research done; both to avoid duplication and to pool all available experience. Here again, some headway has been made. The Institute has recently established closer liaison with the Kidwai Socio-Agronomical Research Institute and the Tribal Research Institutes at Ranchi, Bhuvaneshwar and Calcutta.

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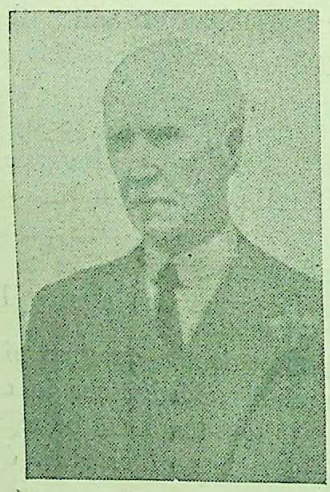
SIR DANIEL, A PIONEER OF CO-OPERATIVES

By D. SEN

Of the few Englishmen who identified themselves with the interests of the common people of Bengal, the name of Sir Daniel Hamilton can be reckoned as one. His love and sympathy for the people, specially the cultivators, is without any parallel. He thought of the economic regeneration of the cultivators who formed seventy per cent of the population and spared no pains to elevate their sad lot. He studied carefully the causes of the poverty of the cultivators as well as of the middle-class people of Bengal and came to the conclusion that the Mahajan or Sowkar "is to blame for the stagnation of the masses and unemployment among the classes."



Sir Daniel

To arrive at the solution of the acute problem, he induced the Government to introduce co-operative credit societies amongst the cultivators and donated Rs. 20,000 for the organisation of a network of co-operative societies throughout the country in 1904. He remarked that finance was the chief immediate need of the rural population and co-operative credit being the only possible method of financing India's huge agricultural population, the Co-operative Departments of Provincial Governments should be enlarged to cover all India. He was of opinion that the economic condition of the masses as well as unemployment among the classes is due more to the absence of judicious operations of banking than to any other cause whatsoever. In his paper on the *Swaraj Road* he said, "Man is the living capital; gold and silver dead, and it is because the dead has usurped the place of the living, and becomes man's master that Communism has come into being."

By judicious operation of banking he meant that paper money should be substituted "in the room of a great part of this gold and silver" enabling the country to convert a great part of the dead stock into active and productive stock which produces something to the country. In his opinion, money manufactured and lent by judicious operations of banking, will increase the food supplies of the country, improve primary education for all, make all men capitalists, abolish proverty and unemployment, make Hindu and Moslem, Brahmin and untouchable all shake hands; and having gathered in the crops golden grain, will return with 5 per cent clear profit to the Government which manufacture and lend it. Sir Daniel said this when India was under the yoke of the British people. This holds good even when India has attained her freedom and even after she has completed her Second Plan.

Sir Daniel did not rest content with giving instructions only. He actually did what he preached and organised co-operative societies in his zamindary at Gosaba lying in the Sunderbans. During the period 1903 to 1907, he first organised a Credit Bank to save the farmer from the clutches of the Mahajans. Later on, a consumer co-operative society was organised wherein the cultivator-members purchased the necessary articles of daily use at reasonable rates. A Model Agricultural Farm was established to impart agricultural training to agriculturists and middle class youths. In 1908, he founded the Bengal Youngmen's Zamindary Co-operative Society with a view to providing the educated youth. In 1928, a Marketing Society for sale of p

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was organised on a co-operative basis at Uttadanga in the city of Calcutta. He also started a Co-operative Rice Mill at Gosaba. In 1929, Co-operative Grain Banks were started to act as safety valves to the farmers in case crops were damaged by insects, pests or draught. Grain Banks or Dharmagolas are no new things in India. Sir Daniel revived the time-old system in order to save the farmers from calamities. As Zamindar of Gosaba he followed the example of Ashoke the Great, and earned the spontaneous homage of his tenants.

Sir Daniel Hamilton died on the 6th December, 1939, but his memory still lives in the minds of the people whom he dearly loved.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

By Dr. DOOL SINGH, M.Com., Ph.D.
Reader in Commerce, Birla College, Pilani.

The basic objective of our planned development must necessarily be to provide the masses the opportunity to lead a good life. A high and sustained rate of economic growth has to be achieved in order to bring about a marked improvement in the level of living for the bulk of the population and to solve the problem of unemployment. The population is increasing at an alarming rate of about 2 per cent per annum while the resources for development can scarcely keep pace with the needs of the situation. Thus, the crux of the problem is to strive hard for attaining a self-generating and self-sustained economy within as short a period as possible. Among the principal conditions for building up a self-reliant economy, which can sustain a high rate of growth, are an adequate level of domestic cpaital formation, the maximum effort possible in developing exports, and availabillty of external assistance during the critical period of transition. Thus, reliance on foreign assistance in the transitional peroid is inevitable. Consequently, during the First Plan period, the country had to obtain Rs. 196 crores by way of external assistance. Similarly, during the Second Plan period external assistance (including PL 480 and 665 assistance) of the order of about Rs. 1,406 crores is estimated to have been used by 31st March, 1961.

The Third Five-Year Plan postulates a total assistance of Rs. 3,200 crores. However, this entire amount is not expected to come to the public exchequer. About Rs. 500 crores of the total receipts of external assistance will go towards repayments of loans maturing during the Plan period. About Rs. 300 crores might go directly to the private sector by way of private capital inflows or loans from agencies like the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the U.S. Export-Import Bank. Another Rs. 200 crores may represent agreed retentions of rupee resources by the U.S. authorities and additions to buffer stocks from P.L. 480 imports. Thus, about Rs. 1,000 crores in all would not be available for the budget; the net credit that can be taken under this head is about Rs. 2,200 crores as against the total external assistance of Rs. 3,200 crores. Let us see what are the prospects of getting this assistance of the order of Rs. 3,200 during the Third Plan period.

Aid during the Two Plans

Before an actual examination of the future prospects, let us first review briefly the nature and extent of the foreign assistance received during the first two Plans. The aggregate authorisations of external assistance up to 31st December, 1960, were Rs. 2,728 crores, including the Third Plan aid offers of Rs. 977 crores. During the First Plan, the total authorisations were for Rs. 394 crores but out of this about 50% (Rs. 198 crores) remained unutilised on 31st March, 1956. Similarly, the total amount available for utilization during the first three years of the Second Plan was Rs. 1,617 crores (including the First Plan carry-forward of Rs. 198 crores), but the amount

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actually utilised was no more than Rs. 691.5 crores, so that the balance available at the end of March, 1960, was pretty large, being Rs. 926 crores.[1] This wide gap between available assistance and its actual utilisation is said to be due to two factors, namely, delay in the release of funds by aiding countries and failure on the part of the Government of India and other agencies to implement in an energetic manner the projects for which assistance was granted.

In this connection it would be instructive to examine further the nature and terms of assistance received so far by India. The following table[2] gives the relevent information:

External Aid at a Glance

(Total authorisations upto December 31, 1960, in crores of Rs.)

Source	Loans	Grants	Total
U.S.A.	974.64	505.68	1,480.32
U.S.S.R.	383.41	1.15	384.56
U.K.	162.66	0.47	163.13
W. Germany	150.58	2.09	152.67
Canada	15.71	90.17	106.28
Japan	27.61	—	27.61
Czechoslovakia	23.10	—	23.10
Rumania	5.23	—	5.23
Yugoslavia	19.05	—	19.05
Australia	—	12.27	12.27
New Zealand	—	3.43	3.43
Norway	2.19	—	2.19
Poland	14.30	—	14.30
World Bank	315.28	—	315.28
Ford Foundation	—	—	14.20
U.N. Special Fund	—	—	4.16
Total	2,112.12	615.66	2,727.78

Thus, of the total assistance of Rs. 2,727.78 crores about 22.6% was in the form of outright grants and the remaining 77.4% in the form of loans. The single largest friend of India has been the U.S.A. which made aid authorisations amounting to Rs. 1,480.32 crores, representing more than 50 per cent of the total authorisations from all sources. The proportion of grants to loans in case of the U.S. is about 1:2 whi most of the other aiding countries exce Australia, New Zealand and Canada, a some private agencies, have extended assi ance in the form of loans and credits.

Another intriguing feature of the foreign assistance is that the greater amou of loans is in the form of medium ter accommodation varying between 7 to 1 years, repayable in annual or semi-annu instalments. Similarly, the rates of interes charged by the World Bank (5¾%) a many other countries, though quite close market rates in our country, are certain on the high side. The high rate of interes and quick repayments over a shorter perio would certainly bear too heavily on our balance of payments. It is going to be harder and harder to keep developmen projects and programmes moving ahead in an orderly fashion and at an orderly pace unless the aid mixture has a larger compo nent of funds on a grant basis or on what may be termed as "non-conventional" term comparable with the loans sanctioned very recently by the International Developmen Association (I.D.A.). Soon after the com mencement of the Second Plan, our externa accounts came under heavy pressure an on a re-appraisal of the economic situatio in 1958, the Plan had to be scaled down an we had to concentrate on "core" projects Even then, the total external assistan utilised for the plan turned out to be more than 50 per cent over the level that wa originally envisaged.

Thus, on the basis of our past experien we find that the foreign assistance mus conform to the following standards if po sible financial reefs are to be avoided in th near future:

(a) Aid must be of non-conventiona type. The existing foreign aid pro grammes except those of the I.D.A are largely unsatisfactory and un suited for our needs.

(b) The loans must be based on lon term planning and financing; unless the country is assured of a contin ing aid over the next decade, th assistance will not be so meaningf and useful.

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(c) A greater portion of the aid should be in the long-term loans at low or no rates of interest. The terms should be somewhat comparable to those of the loans sanctioned by the I.D.A. recently.

(d) Loans must be without any strings —political or otherwise.

(e) A substantial portion of the aid must be "united" as regards its utilisation.

Aid Climate

It is heartening to find that there has been a welcome change in the strategy of development assistance to under-developed countries during the past few months. The basic philosophy of economic aid is rapidly undergoing fundamental change. The new President of the United States conveyed, in his message to Congress on 22nd March, a statement which I am sure must be very welcome to the under-developed countries of the world. It outlined in very precise terms the attitude of the world's most highly developed industrial nation and one which has also taken upon itself the responsibility of persuading other industrially advanced nations of the world to make sacrifices for providing sizable assistance for economic growth. "Judged, therefore, as the statement of a leading country the broad aims and policy goals, outlined in this statement are, in my view, comparable only with the lofty sentiments outlined in the statement on the Marshall Plan."[3] It was very noteworthy that Mr. Kennedy placed the accent on the **moral obligation** and put it ahead of the political and economic obligations, when he said, "the economic collapse of those free but developed nations which now stand poised between sustained growth and economic chaos would be disastrous to our national security, harmful to our comparative prosperity and offensive to our conscience."

Further, the World Bank and other international financial institutions have also realised our need of increasing assistance in somewhat non-conventional terms. Recently Mr. Eugene R. Black, the celebrated President of the World Bank, at the Viena Meeting of the Bank's Governors, has emphasised the need for providing a greater proportion of development capital in soft loans bearing terms comparable to those of I.D.A. It may be noted here in passing that I.D.A. credits have a fifty-year maturity and there are no interest or commitment charges except a small service charge of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent for meeting the administrative expenses of I.D.A. Amortisation begins after a ten-year period of grace.

The proceedings of the meetings of the World Bank, Development Assistance Group and other financial organisations of the free world have all clearly reflected the growing awareness on the part of the industrialised countries of the need to give massive economic aid to the developing countries, including India.

Commitments Up-to-date

Over the past year or so, several meeting have taken place under the sponsorship of the World Bank of the consortium of friendly countries interested in India's economic development, and it is gratifying to note that at the last meeting of the Consortium held from May 31 to June 2, 1961, India has been assured assistance totalling $2,286 million (Rs. 1,089 crores) in order both to provide immediate support to her balance of payments and to cover mainly the import orders to be placed during the first two years of the Third Plan. The U.S. has agreed to provide the largest share amounting to just under 50 per cent of the total ($1,045 million). This is in addition to the P.L. 480 commodity assistance of about $1,300 million in respect of which agreements were signed earlier. The details of the assistance promised by the other countries amounting to $1,241 million (Rs. 591 crores) are as follows:—West Genmany $425 million; The U.K. $250 million; Japan $80 million; Canada $56 million; France $30 million; and the World Bank together with I.D.A. $400 million. The U.S.S.R. had already authorised earlier two credits amounting to Rs. 238 crores for use on Third Plan projects. A number of other friendly countries, namely, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Switzerland, have also extended credit totalling Rs. 67 crores for projects in the Third Plan.[4]

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The carry-over of total assistance available from the authorisations of the Second Plan is of the order of Rs. 365 crores. This, together with the fresh assistance mentioned above, gives the Third Plan a good start.[5]

New Role of Private Capital

The announcement made recently by U.S. Senator, Mr. Jaob Javits, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the NATO parliamentarians, that the NATO countries and others including Japan were seriously contemplating an ambitious plan to double the present $2,750 million private investment participation in foreign aid to the under-developed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America shows increasing awareness of private capital to fit directly into the development plans of specific countries on a long-range basis, making commitment equivalent to what governments do. It will attempt to work out international consortiums of business people in industrial production, transportation, communications and banking, who will underwrite development plans, alone or in association with the U.S. and or local governments.

These developments in the field of external assistance are highly encouraging; they represent a bold and co-operative approach to the problem of assisting developments in the under-developed parts of the world.

Probable Dangers

Credit is just like fire. If it is misused, it can be very ruinous to the borrower. It is, therefore, very essential for the authorities to ensure that every penny of the borrowed money is used very prudently in the projects having the highest priorities according to our social and economic needs and resources. We are importing capital to make the economy self-reliant and that will be possible only if we make the fullest use of this capital for deriving the maximum social and economic benefits for the country. We have, therefore, to guard against the inherent danger of misuse of borrowed capital.

Another important danger to be guarded against is the natural tendency to regard foreign assistance as a substitute for earnings abroad. The behaviour of our foreign earnings has not been very inspiring during the last decade. For example, during the Second Plan period the balance of payments deficit has been of the order of Rs. 2,1[illegible] crores as against the Plan estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores.

Then, again, the domestic resources may not be fully utilised. Greater reliance on external assistance rather than vigorous mobilisation of our domestic resources may be dangerous for the economy as a whole.

Precautions and Safeguards

As a prudent, cautious and farsighted borrower our country should pay special attention to the following:—

(a) **Application of right Priorities**: Only the most essential projects should be given highest priority. The projects which can be taken up at a later stage or which are not essential for achieving a self-sustaining economy should be postponed. This requires a searching scrutiny of the plan projects. To take a few examples, one does not understand the **raison d'etre** of taking up the much publicised "Small Car Project" for execution, even in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, what to say of the Third Plan. With a per capita income of Rs. 330 (in 1960-61), great deficiency of roads and deplorable condition of the existing so-called national highways and other roads one is at a loss to understand the anxiety of the Planners to provide the **Janata** (the poor people) with a car costing about Rs. 6,500. What proportion of the people would afford this luxury is a point which needs no further elaboration. Similarly, the Government have also planned for establishment of 12 more universities as if the present number of 46 was totally insufficient to promote higher education. Looking to the deplorable condition of Primary education the ambition of some of the biggest cities to have one university each does not seem to be a necessity by any standard of prudence or expediency. Has ever any of the members

(b) Compe[illegible] in Wo[illegible] increas[illegible] our pr[illegible] reducin[illegible] quality many It appe[illegible] the Wa[illegible] countr[illegible] market years. achieve[illegible] export[illegible]

(c) Intensi[illegible] ductive[illegible] studies agricul[illegible] startlin[illegible] produc[illegible] to an e[illegible] and ef[illegible] produc[illegible] ing ne[illegible]

(d) More Partici[illegible] Joint c[illegible] so-call[illegible] and fo[illegible] climate[illegible] able, v[illegible]

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of the Planning Commission or its advisers ever imagined the plight of a poor beast of burden saddled with the responsiblity of educating the future citizens of India in the village primary school at a nominal salary and emoluments of about Rs. 100 per mensem? The fact that a teacher with an average size of family of about 5 persons is expected to be alive in the service of the community is no less than one of the so-called wonders of the world. Now it is for the readers to judge which is more important—a substantial improvement in the emolument of the teacher in the school or establishment of a dozen more Universities in the cities. The examples are illustrative of the fact that all is not well with our priorities in Planning.

(b) **Competitive Capacity of the Country in World Markets:** We have to increase the competitive capacity of our products meant for exports by reducing costs and improving their quality. The examples of West Germany and Japan are a case in point. It appears to be most astonishing how the War-torn economies of these two countries have re-captured the world markets in such a short span of 15 years. Historic efforts are needed to achieve a competitive position for our exports.

(c) **Intensive and fuller utilisation of Productive capacity:** Recent intensive studies of the industrial as well as agricultural production do make the startling revelation that our existing productivity capacity is under-utilised to an extent of about 30 per cent. Full and effective utilisation of the entire productive capacity is the most pressing need of the hour.

(d) **More Foreign Collaboration and Participation:** Recently a few giant Joint deals have been effected by a so-called **marriage** between the Indian and foreign private capital. As the climate for such deals is quite favourable, vigorous efforts should be made to secure more foreign collaboration and increasing participation of foreign capital in our industrial projects. This would help us reduce our reliance on borrowings.

(e) **Fixation of a Target Date:** Though the Third Plan visualises stopping of special forms of external assistance (other than normal inflows of foreign capital) within a period of ten or twelve years,[6] no target date has been fixed for the purpose. An all-out effort is needed to make the economy completely self-reliant latest by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Similarly, we have also to impress upon the aiding countries to be a little more liberal than an ordinary commercial lender. It will be in the common interest of both the parties to adopt a concept of partnership based on enlightened self-interest rather than to insist on a conventional relationship of debtor and creditor. The U.S. ambassador, Mr. J. K. Galbraith, was quite right when he recently said, "the provision of economic aid is seen, as it should be, as a co-operative endeavour in which all countries can have a share." The aiding countries would do well to pay special attention to the following points, if they are genuinely interested in helping the under-developed countries to become self-reliant in the near future:

(a) They should liberalise the import policies for a decade or so with a view to giving a start to the developing countries in finding a place for their products.

(b) The export campaigns of industrialised nations should not be beamed at the developing nations in the transitional period.

(c) They should be more liberal in their terms so as to advance a greater portion of non-conventional loans of the type envisaged by the I.D.A. As a matter of fact, the ideal would be to route their aid through World Bank on unconventional terms. This is the only effective way of assisting under-developed countries like India

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on terms more in line with their repaying capacity.

In fine, it may be said that after considering all the factors involved specially the present climate of aid and the attitudes of the various aiding countries and the World Organisations, India is fairly assured of a smooth sailing over the voyage of implementing the Third Five-Year Plan provided the people of this country do not fail to play the role assigned to them for integrity, efficiency and speed in executing the programmes outlined in the Plan. If the Plan has any risk of faltering, it is certainly not on the point of resources from without; but its stumbling on the rock of probable failure on the part of human element from within is not completely ruled out.

1. Vide *Commerce* dated 4th Feb., 1962, p. 194.
2. Compiled from data in *Commerce* dated 4th Feb., 1961.

NOTE: These sums are exclusive of the assistance received in the form of supplies on credit, as, for example, from Japan, France and Switzerland; (b) Rockfeller Foundation Grants; (c) gift shipments from private voluntary agencies in the U.S.; (d) assistance under titles I & III of PL 480; (e) aid from the Netherlands being mostly in the nature of technical assistance; and (f) aid from Switzerland in logging equipment.

3. P.S.N. Prasad: International Assistance for Economic Growth (*Commerce* dated 29th April, 1961, p. 796).
4. Vide Third Five-Year Plan, p. 115.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 115
6. Third Five-Year Plan, p. 115.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati*:**
Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia:

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TAGORE—THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD: *By Vivek Bhattacharya, Metropolitan Book Co. Private Ltd., Delhi, May 1961. Pp. 118 Rs. 5.00.*

This monograph consists of twelve short chapters on the different aspects of Tagore's richly diversified personality and his magnificent *role* as a philosopher, a poet, an educationist, a patriot and a universalist. The author's remarks are illustrated by quotations from Tagore's works and the comments of distinguished writers. He attempts to explain the tendencies and characteristics of Tagore's teachings both as regards their origin and significance. There are successive chapters on Tagore's mysticism, his worship of truth and beauty, the place of Buddhist ethics in his dramas and short stories, his part in the nationalist movement, his dance dramas, his contact with Mahatma Gandhi, his experiences in foreign States, his attitude towards education and our social institutions and religious beliefs, and the musical notations of his songs. It is evident that each of these topics requires a separate volume for its adequate treatment. The author, however, gives interesting hints on the above points which are bound to stimulate the intensive study of the epoch-making significance of Tagore's life and work. As an illustration of the gaps in the author's treatment of his subject, it may be mentioned that he is completely silent about

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Tagore's attitude towards the Gandhian non-co-operation movement. We have further noticed a few lapses of the English idiom and mistakes in the spelling of proper names, which may be corrected in a future edition.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN BOTANY : Part I (A to J) : *By V. Narayanaswami (1961). Published by the Libraria, National Library, Calcutta.*

Sri B. S. Kesavan in his foreword says that the author carried out the work "under the strain of severe illness" and that the book will "serve all workers in the field of Indian Botany." It follows the Vol. I Bibliography on Indian Anthropology, (1960).

Indian Botany is one of the earliest sciences to be studied by Western scholars whose notices and monographs have been faithfully recorded by Sri Narayanaswami. He studied Indian Botany for half a century and served the Botanical Survey of India for over 40 years. So his Bibliography embraces most of the books in Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch and English, following the publications of the various European colonies in India. The earliest works on Indian *Materia Medica* were published from Goa and Lisbon as also from Madrid and Burgs in Spanish, (1578-1590). They were followed by works on Indian Medicinal Plants, published from France, Belgium, Holland and England. In 1789, Sir William Jones and Lady Jones prepared illustrated papers on Indian Botany and Colebrooke added Latin names to plants in the *Amara-Koshe*. French Nationalist Victor Jacqueniont (died in India 1832), studied specimens from Kashmir-Ladak to Poona and he was deeply impressed by the learning of Raja Rammohan Roy who visited France (1832) from England. The Asiatic Society of Bengal publications furnished valuable items to Bibliographer Narayanaswami whom we congratulate on the completion of 'Indian Botany' which will benefit scholars in India and abroad; we hope that his health will improve to finish printing quickly the eagerly expected volume (L-Z).

The Ayurvedic Board of Bengal and other States of India, should order this precious volume and pursue further researches based on Indian Medical Texts in Sanskrit, Tamil and other ancient languages of India.

KALIDAS NAG

REACHING FOR THE MOON : *By Cord-Christian Troebst, English Translation : By Alan C. Readett ; Hodder & Stoughton, London. Price 21s.*

14th September, 1959, precisely 10.02.24 p.m., London time. The gigantic radio-telescope of Jodrell Bank was pointing straight at the moon. The characteristic piping sound of a space-vehicle that was being received had stopped—indicating that for the first-time man had torn a crater in the meteorite-scarred surface of the "Eye of the Night"—as the Greek Poet Aescheyhlus called her—some 239,000 miles away from our Earth. The credit of this stupefying genius entirely goes to the Russian space-scientists who had carried out such an astounding feat with their 103′ 3″ long, 150.66 tons heavy, CH–10 type rocket-Lunik-2. The Russian success rocked the western hemisphere so much as can be very easily understood from Professor Edward Teller's lacomic reply, when asked what he expected to find on the Moon, "The Russians—". Even no other than Professor Wernher von Braun holds this view : "The Russians are so far ahead of us that no expenditure of money, however great, can buy back the lost time. . . . . ." Like Professor Oberth, however, there are also a good number of experts who do not put so much weight on Russian lead in the field of space travel, because, U.S.A. is also catching up with giant strides, and it won't be long when it will be possible for them to outclass the Russians.

This book, under review, is a lucid and delightful narration of the early experiments and till then current developments and future plans aimed at reaching for the moon. The author has had access to a great deal of information, drawing upon new sources giving interesting details, disclosing the news of some Russian moon-probes secured by American Intelligence which have been unknown to the people in general. He has given an account of the various obstacles confronting the scientists in moon-flight and tentative investigations to overcome them. He has discussed problems of providing provisions and protection of the space travellers in an exhaustive, though a little technical but easily understandable way.

One reads with interest the brilliant description of hard gruelling exercise undergone by Mercury Astronauts of America, where only seven were finally selected out of 110 chosen candidates.

While reading this book one cannot help feeling with the author that the iron-curtain secrecy of Soviet Union is something more than embarrassing. They carry out experiments in secret and without any announcement, only to surprise the world with a success which may, as well, owe its pillars to a series of failures unknown; whereas, U.S.A., they claim, "reports successes and

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failures with equal frankness wherever and whenever possible". Public interest is the first concern. But, then, each side has a logic of its own. This is, however, irrefutable that this 'Reaching for the Moon' should take place freely in the open without any overtones of power-politics.

This book, strewn with numerous interesting photographs, is written in such a nice way, packed with so many thrilling facts and episodes, that it is simply a pleasure to read it, and when one finishes it one finds oneself richer with the knowledge of moon and space race.

The English translation is delectable and seems to have retained every ounce of the cream of the original.

PRANAB BASU

MY NON-VIOLENCE : *By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-4, pp. 373. Price Rs. 5/-.*

Truth and non-violence are the twin pillars on which rested the entire framework of the magnificent edifice of Mahatma Gandhi's glorious life and work. To the Mahatma truth and non-violence were the two sides of the same coin. In his own words—"I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills. All I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could."

Gandhiji's non-violence was the non-violence of the strong and not of the weak. It was not also the passive resistance as is generally understood, as an effective weapon used by the oppressed against the oppressor. Non-violence aims at the transformation and change of heart of the oppressor. It is a moral method rather than a physical effort. Gandhiji never looked upon life as divided compartments. To him the end did not justify means. He never compromised with wrongs to get results which to ordinary eyes looked good. The message of his life is the way he lived a life of experiments with truth—truth and non-violence being two sides of the same coin. There was no God but Truth as manifested in eternal love and non-violence.

The publishers brought out in two volumes of about 1000 pages, *Non-violence in Peace and War* containing a collection of Mahatmaji's writings and speeches from 1921 to his last, and the present book is an attempt to present a handy volume to readers. The contents in this volume have been divided into 157 chapters. It is a difficult work to abridge the writings and speeches of Mahatmaji who was not in the habit of using one single word that was not absolutely necessary. However, we are happy to note that the compilation and editing work is well done by Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhaya, whom we offer our congratulations.

BUSINESS ENTERPRISE : Its growth and organisation : *By Ronald S. Edwards and Harry Townsand. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 605. Price 30s net.*

The book is an outcome of a seminar on Problems of Industrial Administration held at the London School of Economics. But it does not cover the whole of industrial economics. It says little about labour relations; techniques used in industry for planning, budgeting and pricing receive only incidental treatment. Four groups of topics are discussed in this volume.

Part I describes how firms are brought into being, built up and consequent variety of organisations which constitute industrial system. Part II is concerned with factors determining the size and specialisation of firms. Part III deals with issues concerning the relations between the government and industry. In Part IV, the authors consider the problems of finding the resources, providing the incentives, and organising the framework for progress in industry.

Part I contains five chapters and four appendices, Part II (Integration of industrial activities) contains twelve chapters and five appendices, Part III (the government and industry), have twenty-two chapters and Part IV (The future of British Industry) three concluding chapters of the book.

The authors present a mass of materials to the readers and a considerable portion of this in appendices in the form of reports submitted by first rank industrial and commercial magnates of Great Britain. A book of this nature is a great help not only to general readers interested in the economy of the day but to the students of economic theories—the science being intimately connected with and based on trends of economic activities. A scientific study and analysis of the facts are essential for a student of economics and the authors have done a good job by presenting the student with materials assembled and discussed for a decade.

The authors claim neither originality nor infallibility but we are confident that the materials they place before readers will be of help to draw conclusions even if the conclusions arrived at by them are not accepted by the reader.

We hope a similar study undertaken by the universities in cooperation with businessmen and industrialists will stimulate a better un-

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...standing of the subject by our students of Applied Economics.

We are happy to commend this book not only to students of Economics, but to the public interested in planned national and nationalized economy to which subjects, the concluding chapters are devoted.

MY GOD: *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, pp. 5-7. Price Rs. 2P.*

This is compiled by Shri R. K. Prabhu. To Gandhiji, Truth is God. But what is truth? Gandhiji also answers this Question. For him love for truth and love for God are indivisible. *Ahimsa* is also God to him. A life dedicated to *Ahimsa*, Gandhiji lived in God all throughout his life. He lived and died for a search after truth—God. *Ahimsa* was to him the unseen power of God. God cannot be seen by reason, not to spark the naked eyes. He can be felt by faith—faith is nothing but a living, wide-awake consciousness of God within. Gandhiji could bear the voice of God within him. Gandhiji's views about Prayers to God, Voice of God, Laws of God, Good and Evil, Pathways to God, Visitations of God, Service of God, "Houses of God" (temples, churches and mosques), incarnations of God are to be found in this brochure. The publication closes with "What God has meant for me" (Gandhiji).

We have no doubt this shall have wide circulation like Gandhiji's other writings.

A. B. DUTTA

PATHWAY TO GOD IN KANNADA LITERATURE: *By R. D. Ranade, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960. Price Rs. 2/-.*

Dr. R. D. Ranade, so well-known as the Head of the Department of Philosophy in the Allahabad University and later its Vice-Chancellor, had contemplated a study of mysticism in Karnataka. It was not a mere scholar's study that he had planned, he was a *sadhak* as well. The spiritual bent of his mind, nursed since his student days, developed and matured his thoughts and investigations. It is good to remember that he never left his early moorings, and he was in the direct line of spiritual teachers, in possession of the knowledge of mystic life preached and practised in Karnataka for the past thousand years.

Dr. Ranade had written already on mysticism in the *Upanishads*, and on the great mystics of Maharashtra. His 'Pathway to God in Hindi Literature' was a pioneer work. The present book follows in its train, but there is a marked predilection in favour of Karnataka mysticism, which he affirms as standing on a higher-level in many respects though essentially the same kind of spiritual life pervades all mysticism.

Dr. Ranade had carefully planned his lectures and he took the audience into confidence and unfolded his scheme. He had delivered fourteen out of the twenty lectures he had prepared when the call came. But the synopses and brief notes of the remaining six helped the Editorial Committee to bring the work to its completion.

Dr. Ranade speaks not from the scriptures so much as from experience. And the rich experience is doled out beautiully, gracefully, through the help of early religious songs and poetry. His clear exposition of this difficult theme makes the reading of the book a rich repast, nutritious and wholesome and "tasty". We are told that each lecture covered the subject-matter of seven or eight songs, so arranged that the development of thoughts was easy to follow, and the songs were sung in accompaniment with *Tambora* and *Tabala*! In this way he brought the art of the 'Kathak' the elucidation of philosophy.

This is a very useful contribution to the Bhavan's Book University and Shri Munshi and Shri Diwakar deserve thanks from the grateful reader for having included it in their publication in collaboration with the Karnataka University, Dharwar.

P. R. SEN

STORIES AS TOLD BY SWAMI RAMDAS: *By Swami Ramdas. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 195, Price Rs. 2/-.*

Though meant to prove instructive and enlightening to the spiritual aspirant, the stories, as told, have appeared to us to be also fruitful to the worldly. The simple language and style kept us bound for two hours and the literary flavour still persists.

Out of the 108 stories contained in the volume a few are from Shri Ramakrishna, Shri Ramana Maharshi and others. But the same simplicity pervades that uplifts the reader to the desired plane.

We offer our obeisance to swami Ramdas for the service he has done by telling us the stories. We congratulate the Bhavan for this publication.

M. Gupta

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Indian Periodicals

Co-operation—A Middle Way

Writing in the March, 1962, issue of the *All-India Co-Operative Review*, Prof. Nafees Baig of the Aligarh University observes :

"One great factor both in promoting the growth of co-operatives in the agricultural countries and in causing the co-operative movements of both industrial and agricultural countries to draw more closely together has been the disorganized condition of world economic affairs ever since the crisis of 1931. The collapse of agricultural prices impelled the peasants and farmers in many countries to consider more seriously the prospects of co-operative farming and marketing. The common bond that held the members together or that induced them to combine was poverty or economic distress first among factory workers and, later, among farmers. Poverty is a spur and for the moderately poor there seems to be no other alternative method of bettering their condition than this one of co-operation. The fact that human beings meet together on equal terms to combine for the satisfaction of a common need affords opportunity for the development of an unselfish spirit which leads to higher things than material advantage. Specially in agriculture, it appears to be the only form that is of practical value to most cultivators who are men of limited means and are unable to combine their efforts in the factory system. It is not exaggerating to say that co-operation is now recognized necessary if any country is to get the best out of its land. It is regarded as the panacea for most rural ills and throughout the civilized world it is being strenuously advocated at the expense of State.

"One great merit of co-operation is that it has made a place for itself in capitalistic economy, which itself aims at complete transformation. It has also found a welcome place in socialistic economy and is gladly adopted in totalitarian regimes. Therefore, the one great hope of 'world unity' lies in no other method except *co-operation* : for co-operative ways are the ways which are acceptable to all irrespective of their diverse economic and social order. 'Co-operation brings to the common people a wider distribution of wealth, which is the object of socialism, without destroying the individual's incentive, private property or competition. Where co-operatives have built up a tradition of self-help and group action the dictatorial methods of communism are not wanted.' Co-operation is now regarded as one of the most powerful instruments for reconstructing and remodelling the structure of the under-developed countries of the world. Co-operation is the backbone of economic activity and social progress.

"Where it succeeds, co-operation brings large gains to the community but the human factors involved in it are complex and in some ways it is much more difficult for the co-operative form of organization to succeed than it for complete socialized enterprise or that of an individual entrepreneur. It is, therefore, necessary to take effective measures to enable co-operation to succeed wherever possible, and especially in fields which are assigned to it in the schemes of a country's development. The key to the success of the co-operative method of doing farm business is to develop the co-operative spirit, that is, the willingness and desire to sink individual opinions and interests to such an extent that a group of men can work together for a common interest. When this spirit is developed to a high degree it means a sense of loyalty and patriotism that leads men even to sacrifice if necessary. . . . Co-operation, if it is to make good the large claims it has advanced since the tide of nationalization has been flowing in its direction, it will have to think not only in a bigger but also in a less stereo-typed way, devising new forms of co-operative enterprises to meet changing social and political conditions and, at the same time, try to get back some of the idealism which, on the trading side, it has so largely lost. No one who knows co-operation well, can help seeing how loose is the connection between the idealistic im-parting of co-operative education and the pro-

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propagandist and day to day business affairs of co-operative trade and production. Closer integration between the trading and the non-trading sides is imperatively needed if the case for a great development of co-operative enterprise as a recognized alternative to private capitalism and socialism is to be made acceptable."

The Administration and National Integration

The following excerpts from an article by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao in the April 15, issue of *The Indian Libertarian* are interesting :

"The tone and spirit of governmental administration play a decisive part in strengthening or weakening the over-all psychological influences making for national unity.

"The effect of British rule with one system of law and administration throughout the country during the last two hundred years has played a dominant part in awakening national consciousness in our country. It crystallized and brought to intense focus all other educational and economic factors modernizing the climate of thought. Its centralized civil service developed a national outlook among the elite. The increasing participation of Indians in the higher services, civil administration, the judiciary, the police and magistracy and educational cadres in the universities bred a new confidence in the educated classes in their capacity to rule the country themselves and take it over from the British. . . . .

"The high degree of national sentiment developed during the Gandhian struggle . . . . for over thirty years was largely negative in direction and tone. . . . . But the leaders of the freedom struggle had not devoted much attention to the form and substance of the kind of society and polity and economy that were to displace foreign rule when independence was attained. It was natural, therefore, for the sentiment to get weaker during the post-independence period of national reconstruction that started in 1947. . . .

"The only clear-cut doctrine and policy emerging with power in the chaotic stream of tendencies were those of socialism sponsored with increasing authoritativeness by the Prime Minister. . . . But the subconscious mind of the people as well as the conscious thinking of many strata of the public are not convinced of the necessity or desirability or beneficence of these new fangled ideas and trends, espcially as they are beginning to embark on the socialist liquidation of property and to invade the realm of free private life and occupation. In addition to the superficial integration that the socialist policies of Mr. Nehru present to the hasty eye, many fissiparous currents are also being let loose. . . . . .

"The prevalence of a strong centralized administration (with its writ running throughout the vast length and breadth of our sub-continent) is a great integrating force. We should, therefore, urge the development of All-India services for every branch of the administration. Civil service officers are now centrally recruited . . . . and then detailed for service to different States of the Union, the Central Secretariat and Union territories. It would be a good thing to rotate these officers every few years . . . . from State to State, every officer should also have some years of service at the Centre so that he will have an opportunity of seeing administrative problems from the point of view of the country as a whole. . . . . This . . . . will also facilitate the acquisition of more than one language of the country by the officers. . . . . .

"The system of employing High Court and Supreme Court Judges after retirement in civil positions . . . . is *thoroughly wrong* . . . Indian leaders have deliberately contrived it for reasons of strengthening their own executive supremacy. . . . . .

"No policy will conduce more to national integration than *simple* justice. . . . . *The rule of law* should prevail and not the communal favouritism of the ruling groups. Similarly . . . . no (one) should be given special privileges on the ground of his birth in a certain community and, likewise, no (one) should suffer discrimination on account of his birth in a supposedly superior community. And so with jobs in the administrative hierarchy.

"All public appointments should be conferred on the ground of merit and fitness for the post in question. Everyone should be enabled to acquire the highest qualifications he can in school and college. . . . . .

"These simple measures if honestly put into practice with rigid impartiality, national integration will result as a matter of course, in due time."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

South Vietnam

Writing in *New Leader* in its issue dated January 22 last, on "Agonizing opportunity in Southeast Asia, Robert S. Elegant says :

South Vietnam is not merely a prickly—and potentially humiliating—foreign policy dilemma for the United States. The country is also a perfect demonstration of the problems which arise when a state and its leader become synonymous and indivisible.

It is almost inevitable that the political leader who rules a newly independent and basically *ademocratic* nation should become so completely identified with it that men find it impossible to imagine one without the other. Unfortunately, belief in the unity of interest between leader and nation tends to endure longer in the leader's mind than in the minds of his countrymen.

The career of Ngo Dinh Diem, who has ruled South Vietnam since 1954, has now come to that climacteric. Because he cannot possibly imagine his nation's best interests being advanced by anyone but himself, he believes any action justified if it perpetuates his rule. And since a great majority of the South Vietnamese feel that Diem no longer embodies their aspirations or serves their best interests, he is constantly forced to further extremes to preserve his power.

This conflict is complicated by the fact that Vietnam is a plexus of vital military and psychological significance for all of Southeast Asia. The country is attempting to resist an armed invasion from its opposition state, the Communist-ruled Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north. The attack is neither open nor dramatic: The invaders do not wear regular uniforms; they have not declared war; and they enter the south stealthily, by sea or through Laos. Paralyzed by the ever-widening gap between its citizens and itself, the Diem regime cannot check the invasion.

The dilemma presented to the United States has two prongs on each of its horns: If the clandestine access routes along the coast and through Laos were cut off by military force, the Diem regime might still prove too weak to survive popular discontent. If Diem were either superseded or forced to reform, a continuing invasion would make it extremely difficult—and perhaps impossible—for the South Vietnamese nation to survive.

The American response, so far as one can see, has failed to attack either of the root problems effectively. Washington has increased its material and technical aid to South Vietnam to a greater but still inadequate degree, and is vainly urging Diem to mend his ways. Meanwhile, the access routes remain open and Ngo Dinh Diem remains arbitrary and isolated. Moreover, one cannot help recalling the collapse of Nationalist China when the chief U.S. diplomats on the scene are unwilling to face the reality of Diem's ineffectiveness, and become infuriated if the press does so.

President Diem sees absolutely no reason for yielding to American pressure for reform. Both he and his counsellors quite frankly admit that thorough reform would make it impossible for them to continue in control. They, of course, argue that this is because the Communists would "take advantage" of any grant of real power to the people. Actually, regardless of the Communists, their own power probably would vanish if they simultaneously instituted more democratic procedures and relinquished the special economic and political privileges with which they have buttressed themselves.

For Diem himself, no moral problem exists. Since he *is* Vietnam, he considers it sheer impertinence for foreigners to claim to know better than him the nation's own soul, what is good for Vietnam. Besides, Diem is so completely isolated from events in his own country that he cannot accept outsiders' reports that his authority is vanishing. At this juncture he is attendant only to the voice of his younger brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, a bitter and pretentious Right-wing intellectual of the French school circa 1930, with authoritarian Confucian overtones. So great is Nhu's dominance that in discussing South Vietnam's problems Diem consistently adopts his brother's very sentences.

Although he has been the beneficiary of American charity, Diem makes it clear that he neither loves the United States nor respects its opinions. While cataloguing American sins in private conversation, he is wont to cast back as far as 1954. To hear Diem tell it, his Government has endured not because of American aid but despite it.

Editor—**Kedar Nath Chatterji**

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ষাট বছরের বাংলা এই পর্যায়ে সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, ইতিহাস, চিত্রকলা, ভাস্কর্য্য ইত্যাদি বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে বিশেষজ্ঞদের রচিত প্রবন্ধ এই গ্রন্থের সর্বপ্রধান আকর্ষণ। এই বিভাগে লিখেছেন: ডক্টর সুকুমার সেন, ডক্টর কালিদাস নাগ, ডক্টর সরোজকুমার দাস, ডক্টর নীলরতন ধর, ডক্টর দেবেন্দ্রমোহন বসু, ডক্টর আশুতোষ ভট্টাচার্য, ডক্টর নন্দলাল বসু, দেবীপ্রসাদ রায়চৌধুরী, বিষ্ণু দে, অর্ধেন্দ্রকুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি।

এই ছাড়া আছে স্মৃতিকথা, মহিলা মজলিস, ছেলেদের পাততাড়ি প্রভৃতি বিভাগ।

এই গ্রন্থের আর এক সম্পদ্ অবনীন্দ্রনাথ, গগনেন্দ্রনাথ, নন্দলাল, যামিনী রায়, দেবীপ্রসাদ প্রমুখ ভারত-বিখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা তেইশটি রঙীন ও কয়েকটি একবর্ণ চিত্রের মূল্যবান্ আর্ট পেপারে ছাপা প্রতিলিপি।

বহিঃসৌষ্ঠব এবং রচনা সম্পদ উভয় দিক দিয়েই অতুলনীয় এই স্মারক গ্রন্থখানি মাত্র নির্দিষ্ট সংখ্যক ছাপা হয়েছে—সংগ্রহের জন্যে অবিলম্বে তৎপর হোন্।

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কাশীরামদাস বিরচিত

সচিত্র

অষ্টাদশপর্ব্ব মহাভারত

ব্যাসদেব কৃত মহাভারত পুরাণ-ইতিহাসের অন্তর্গত হইলেও, কাব্য হিসাবে ইহা মধুরতম। বস্তু মহাভারতের মত বিরাট গ্রন্থ আর দ্বিতীয় নাই। একসঙ্গে সহস্রাধিক চরিত্রের যথাযোগ্য মর্য্যাদা দান ক কৃতিত্বের কথা নয়। অপূর্ব্ব ইহার আখ্যানভাগ। তেমনি অপূর্ব্ব চরিত্র-বিশ্লেষণ। রাজনীতি সমাজনীতি গূঢ়তত্ত্ব ও তাহার অনুশীলনী ইহাকে আরও গুরুত্ব দান করিয়াছে। বস্তুতঃ, ব্যাসদেব শাস্ত্র-সাগর ম করিয়া অমৃত পরিবেশন করিয়াছেন। 'যা নাই ভারতে, তা নাই ভারতে' এই প্রবাদবাক্যটিই মহাভারতে শ্রেষ্ঠ পরিচয়।

সংস্কৃত-কাব্যের এই অপূর্ব্ব রসাস্বাদনে সাধারণ লোক দীর্ঘদিন বঞ্চিতই ছিল। কাশীরামদা তাঁহার সুললিত পয়ার ছন্দে সেই অভাব দূর করিলেন। এজন্য বাঙালীমাত্রই তাঁর নি কৃতজ্ঞ।

আজ মুখে মুখে এই মহাভারত সর্ব্বত্র প্রচারিত। ইহার ফল একদিকে যেমন ভাল হইয়া তেমনি মন্দও হইয়াছে শতগুণ। মূল কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত আজ নানা কারণে বিকৃত—যি যতটুকু পারিয়াছেন, তিনি ততটুকু আপন মনোমত রচনা ইহাতে সংযোজন করিয়া দিয়াছেন। প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি ও ভুল পাঠের পুনরুদ্ধার করিতে আজ পর্য্যন্ত কেহই সাহসী হন নাই। রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত এই মহাভারতের এত সুনাম।

পূর্ব্ব সংস্করণ শেষ হইয়া যাওয়ায় পাঠকের আগ্রহাতিশয্যে বহু অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া এই অমূল্য গ্রন্থ পুনর্মুদ্রণে সাহসী হইতেছি। শীঘ্রই আপনাদের হাতে দিতে পারিব বলিয়া আশা রাখি।

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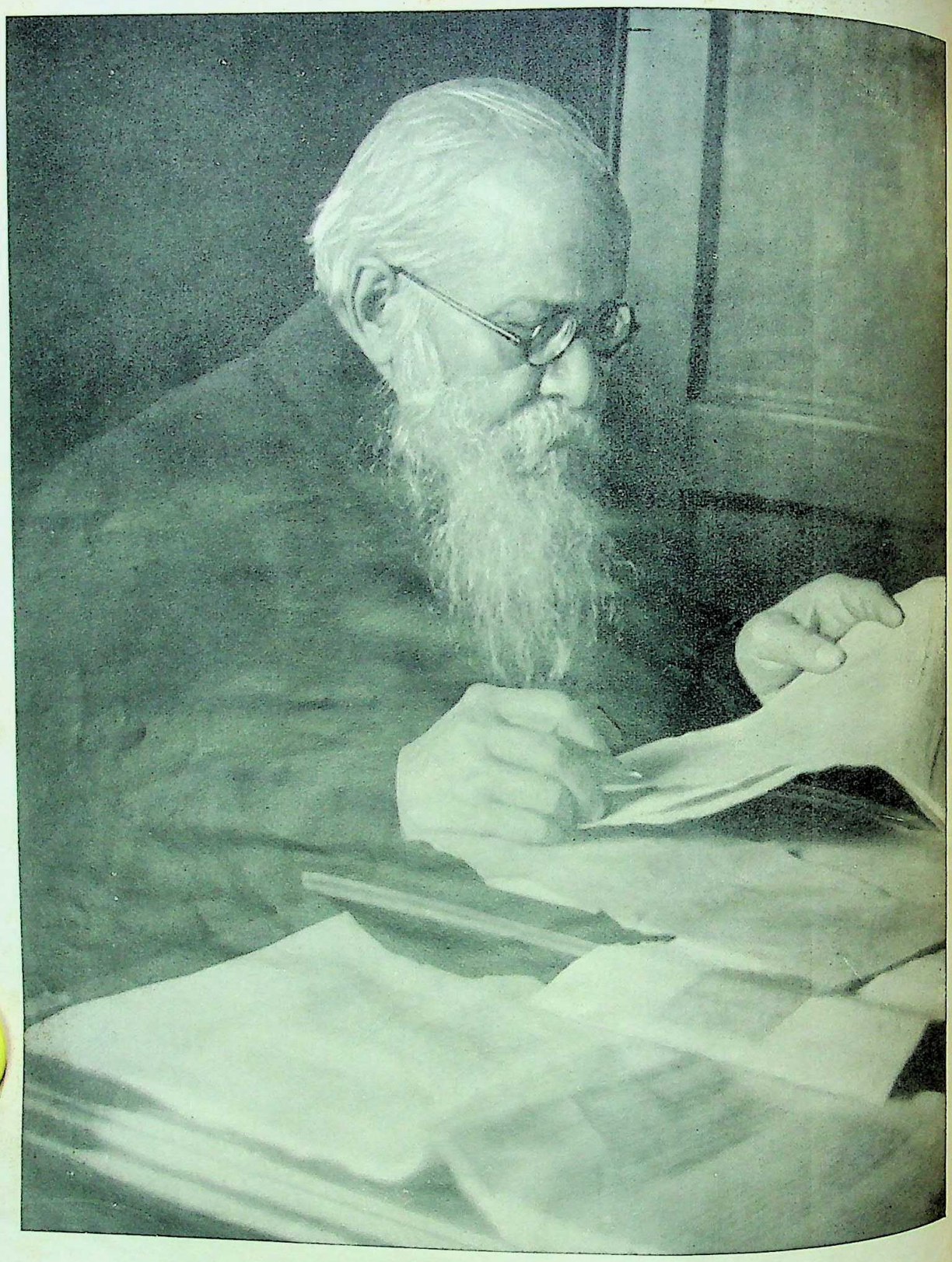

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1962

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NOTES

The World

The two outstanding world events in the month of June were, firstly, the formation of a coalition government in Laos after long months of dispute and disagreement generated from a chronic distaste and unwillingness on the part of the three easy-going Princes of Laos to come to grips with realities. The main obstacle in the way of settlement was the unwillingness on the part of Prince Boun Oum, the pro-West royalist Premier, to part with the portfolios of Defence and Interior. He was backed in this dogged and desperate stand by his military chief General Phoumi Nosavan. The impasse was resolved finally by the drastic measure adopted by the U.S.A. in January, of stopping the three million dollar-a-month aid that had bolstered up the collapsing economy of Boun Oum's regime. The **New York Times** sums up the final settlement thus:

> Laos, a Southeast Asian tinder-box for three years, is important for its strategic situation, surrounded as it is by six nations of varied political coloring—pro-Western Thailand and South Vietnam; Communist China and North Vietnam; and neutralist Burma and Cambodia. It also has been important as a touchstone of East-West relations.
>
> Last week Laos provided a modestly hopeful augury for better East-West relations. The three Laotian factions—pro-Western, neutralist and Communist—settled after long delays on a coalition regime to "neutralize" the country. President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev, who had agreed at Vienna a year ago that Laos should be neutralized, hailed the agreement as hopeful. But it was plain that many problems remained.
>
> For months the issue of neutralizing Laos had been in doubt even though both Washington and Moscow backed the idea. Each was clearly concerned that major powers—the U.S., Russia, Communist China—might be drawn into the Laos conflict.
>
> The hitch was in Laos, where the U.S.-backed regime of Prime Boun Oum balked at neutralization. Specifically, the prince refused to yield the ministries of Defense (army) and Interior (police). Under an agreement made by a fourteen-nation conference at Geneva to guarantee the independence and neutrality of Laos, those ministries were to go to the neutralist leader, Prince Souvanna Phouma, who was slated to be Premier. The Boun Oum faction contended that Souvanna Phouma was more pro-Communist than neutralist.
>
> What finally brought Boun Oum around was continued advances by the Communist-backed forces of the Pathet Lao, plus heavy pressure from Washington, which since January has withheld $3,000,000 a month in aid that it had provided the Boun Oum regime. Last week, at the sixth conference of the three princes, Boun Oum

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agreed to yield the contested ministeries to Souvanna Phouma.

Under the agreement, Souvanna Phouma will be Premier and Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao, a deputy premier. Boun Oum will retire, and the principal rightist figure in the new regime (also as a deputy premier) will be his long-time military chief, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan.

With the neutralization of Laos, there is a possibility of the concentration of Communist activities against the neighbouring State of South Viet-Nam, according to some political observers. It is said that the Pathet Lao held areas of Laos—which comprised two-thirds of the entire territory of that State—served as a channel through which men and equipment from Communist North Viet-Nam were poured into the Communist held areas of South Viet-Nam, where a fierce struggle is going on between the Western backed governmental forces of President Ngo Dinh Diem and the Communist guerillas who are numerically inferior (25,000 as against 200,000 government forces) but all highly skilled in jungle warfare and have the tacit support of the local peasantry who have been estranged by the rigid dictatorial rule of Ngo Dinh Diem. The main question involved therein is whether the neutralization of Laos would really mean the disbanding of the Pathet Lao forces. To make the neutralization of the armed forces effective in Laos would mean the withdrawal of all foreign troops, such as the 10,000 black-uniformed North Vietnamese in the Pathet Lao forces and the 300 U.S. troops acting as "advisers" to the Royalist forces.

The withdrawal or, in the alternative, strengthening of the U.S. forces that have been rushed to Thailand in response to a call for aid from that country, will depend largely on the course of action followed by the North Vietnamese and the Pathet Lao alliance, following the neutralization agreement.

The pattern of the cold-war picture has undergone a slight change with the new development in Laos, as it provides one of the few points of agreement between the West and the East on a major world issue. Premier Khrushchev's view-point is clearly illustrated in the message he sent to President Kennedy, on the conclusion of the agreement between the three Princes. The message ran as follows:

"The results achieved in the settlement of the Laotian problem strengthen the conviction that success in solving other international problems which now divide States and create tension in the world can be achieved in the same way."

President Kennedy's response was more reserved. In his reply to Premier Khrushchev, he said that he found the agreement "encouraging". In his news conference, he declared that Laos was only a beginning and a tentative one. He said that he had to wait and see now whether this agreement will work. If it does then there can be further discussions between the East and the West on other problems.

It is evident that the West is watching for the chain reactions that may follow the Laos settlement, in the areas of Thailand and South Vietnam, and this possibly is the reason behind the restrained view taken by President Kennedy on the consequences of the peace in Laos. U.S. forces are involved in both of those areas, actively in South Vietnam, where the U.S. Air forces are staging "Operation Jungle Jime" and also on the watch, in force, in Thailand.

The second event of world importance contained in the following report, which we quote from the Statesman:

ORAN, June 27.—The Secret Army Organization has called off its last-ditch campaign of scorched earth destruction in Oran, and the OAS leader, ex-General Paul Gardy, has fled the city, it was disclosed today, reports *Reuter*.

The dramatic developments came only five days before the self-determination vote in Algeria.

Algiers itself continued to be calm following the recent peace deal between Muslims and Europeans.

OAS leaders in Oran have earlier refused to follow the Algiers lead, ordered all Europeans to leave by July 1, and climaxed their scorched earth campaign by starting huge fires in petrol storage tanks on Monday. Last night an explosion in the telephone exchange cut off the

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from the outside world. Telephone links with Algiers were still cut today.

But in a pirate broadcast last night ex-Colonel Paul Dufour, former paratroop commander, ordered OAS special sections to halt the destruction. First news of the broadcast was divulged from the Algerian administrative centre of Rocher Nair after tele-communications had been re-established today.

Meanwhile, about 180,000 European and Muslim Algerians living in France yesterday cast postal votes in Algeria's self-determination referendum. Voting in Algeria takes place next Sunday and Monday.

The ballot boxes will be flown to Algeria for counting.

Just over 350,000 Algerians living in France, Britain, Tunisia, Morocco, West Germany and Belgium have a postal vote.

If this message is based on truth and the O.A.S., which is truly in a desperate position after the flight of the panic stricken civilians, really obeys the orders of its leader, then at last the final steps for the establishment of peace on the African shores of the Mediterranean Sea can be laid firmly. The results of the self-determination vote are a foregone conclusion. The only problems were those posed by the O.A.S. and to a certain extent by the National F. L. N. forces.

Besides the above there was the "Exercise in Cold Warfare"—as it was termed by Sri Krishna Menon—as exhibited by the U.S. Minister to the U.N., Mr. Adlai Stevenson, over the Kashmir debate in the Security Council of that august body. This "Exercise" was indulged in after the U.S.S.R. stopped the further progress of a resolution proposing a third party mediation in the Kashmir affair which was sponsored by Ireland and supported by the U.S. and British led group of six in the Security Council, by the application of the veto.

It is curious to note the way in which Ireland was beguiled by Britain and the U.S. into becoming the "cat's paw" in this unfriendly move. Of course, the wily moves of the British under the Conservative Party are well-known and it is clear that the U.S. is still playing the "Gullible Yankee" role in response to the clever wire-pulling by the British diplomats, who are evidently in close touch with the megalomanjae groups in the U.S., but it is strange that Ireland, a country that has suffered so long from the effects of British Imperialism, should assume such a role, unsuspecting and unhesitant, without stopping to trace the origin of the whole affair with all its complex implications.

Pakistan is, of course, determined to attain the objective which she failed to reach by direct aggression. She has been encouraged by the blind and heavily prejudiced attitude of the U.S., and the more cautious support from the British.

The proposed negotiations for the purchase of two squadrons (thirty-two planes) of M.I.G.-21 supersonic jet fighter planes from the U.S.S.R. Government, has also caused a stir abroad. Indeed, it has been reported that the U. S. Congress might be influenced by a large section of its members to stop further U.S. aid for our Five-Year Plans as a retaliatory move if India persists in its deal with the U.S.S.R. in this matter. The open statement made by Pandit Nehru on this threat which is being held over the head of India as a deterrant to its freedom of action in this matter, lends substance to what was regarded as being mere superficial and extraneous reaction to a deal with a powerful opponent. It is needless to say that the logic in such a reaction is hard to percieve where Indians are concerned.

The position in the U.S.-cum-India relations over the affair is summed up as follows in the **New York Times:**

"Pakistan receives U.S. military aid by virtue of its role in two Western defense alliances—CENTO and SEATO. This has caused resentment and concern in India, which accepts no military aid from East or West and which has been feuding with Pakistan for years over the status of Kashmir. India's border quarrel with the Chinese Communists has brought additional pressure on the Nehru Government to strengthen its defenses.

"The Nehru Government has been particularly concerned by the shipment to Pakistan a year ago of twelve U.S. F-104 jet fighters. India's air force includes British and French jets, but none of

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these is a match for the supersonic F-10. Recently Moscow offered to sell India MIG-21 supersonic jets to equip two squadrons (thirty-two planes) and a plant to produce MIGs in India. Prime Minister Macmillan and President Kennedy have been discussing proposals to try to induce India to buy instead British Lightnings or French Mirages, both supersonic jets.

"Last Wednesday Prime Minister Nehru confirmed that talks with Moscow were under way and indicated that India favored buying the MIGs. He said that 'we've been inclined to think MIGs more suitable,' for India's needs, because the MIG is 'a stout, simple type, good for rough use, not sophisticated or complicated like others, and therefore less difficult to manufacture.' India was said to be especially attracted by the idea of making her own MIGs.

"President Kennedy was asked about the matter at his news conference on Wednesday and replied that U.S. Ambassador J. Kenneth Galbraith was returning to his post in New Delhi this week-end and will 'be reporting to us on the situation.' Britain's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Duncan Sandays, discussed the MIG question in a meeting with Mr. Nehru on Friday.

"The Western nations are concerned over the possibility that the MIG deal might jeopardize an important Western link with India and establish a Soviet link. Russian technicians presumably would accompany the MIGs into India. This would raise serious questions of British security since Indian officers trained in Britain possess considerable classified British military data. The introduction of MIGs to Indian defenses would also require modifications in a broad range of accessory equipment—radar, for instance—to accommodate and serve the Soviet craft, thus making India further dependent on Soviet advice.

"In Washington there are predictions of hostile reaction in Congress should India conclude a deal for MIGs. For several reasons—including India's seizure of Goa—there already has been pressure in Congress for cuts in economic aid for India. Last month the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected a $90,000,000 increase in total aid commitments to India for fiscal year '63 and limited commitments to the $727,000,000 total of the last fiscal year."

It seems that the mere fact of "defensive alliances," such as CENTO or SEATO are capable of overriding all other considerations, such as jeopardising the security or existence of a great and friendly nation such as India. Otherwise one cannot explain the bland attitude of the U.S. in "presenting" Pakistan with twelve supersonic jet fighters. It is obvious, therefore, that purchase of similar planes or for that any essential defense equipment—from members of sister aliances, like the NATO, would further increase the hazards that we are already subjected to through the openly aggressive attitude of our belligerent and antagonistic neighbours. The alternatives suggested in the New York **Times** excerpt are, therefore, open to careful scrutiny.

Education in India

Education seems to have been relegated to the category of minor necessities by our demi-gods of New Delhi. Indeed judging by the snail-like progress indicated by the literacy Index of our population in the decade between 1951-1961, and the rapid degeneration in the standards of education in our Universities, the Indian Nation is rapidly falling behind the rest of the civilized world.

This seems to be of no concern to our authorities either at the Centre or in the States. From time to time we have casual pronouncements from one or other august personage about the "progress" made in the field of education. Figures are flung at the dumb and long-suffering masses, indicating the truly "vast" sums that have been allocated for the various educational projects at the primary, secondary or higher levels without any indication as to how these figures look when worked out on a per capita basis when the student population is juxtaposed against the budgetary figures. If awkward questions are asked, the responsible authority brings in some totally irrelevant matter into the discussion, such as the importance of the Plan Projects for which priority must be given in all financial considerations, etc., etc., or else an emotional appeal is made to the audience in general and the question is thus warded off.

The result is that we have vast numbers of children of school-going age still roaming

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about, with no arrangements for elevating them from the unlettered and uneducated state to which their forbears were condemned by a foreign government. Of those that have the good fortune to get admission to a primary school, some good few are without books or materials for writing, etc., because of shortage of text-books—even at the primary stage—and because of the high cost of paper, which puts that essential commodity out of the reach of many poor parents. The teachers are poorly paid, ill-fed and ill-equipped to impart knowledge to the innocents entrusted to their care. Only a small fraction, the children of the well-to-do, can enter schools that are fully-equipped and even there the accommodation is totally inadequate, particularly at the secondary education stage. High school-fees are charged and of late many reputed schools that are outside the governmental fold have taken to the dubious practice of asking parents of the pupils desirous of entry for donations for various purposes, in the same way as landlords today ask for **salamis** or **pugree** as a consideration for leasing out a flat or house to a tenant.

The result has been a lamentable degeneration of schooling at the primary and secondary stages. And the consequences are disastrous when the student crosses over the threshold of the institutions for higher education. He is ill-prepared to absorb the more advanced measures of teaching, because basically his traning has been so unsound that his faculties are not properly tuned for the reception of higher education. A boy or a girl whose grasp of the rudiments of language, mathematics, geography, history, science, etc., is defective, can hardly be expected to make satisfactory progress when more complex elements are introduced into his or her curriculum.

A lot has been said about the medium of education and there is no further need for the advocacy of the mother-tongue of the pupil as the medium of education. Indeed in most of the provinces, the vernacular prevailing in the State has been adopted as the medium of teaching, in both the primary and the secondary stages. The text-books are in the mother-tongue and the teaching also in that medium. This change into the mother-tongue as a teaching medium has been going on progressively for a long number of years and in some areas has even gone beyond the schooling stage.

But the results, as judged by the performances of the students in the school leaving examinations, have been anything but satisfactory. Despite lowering of standards of examinations all over India, the percentages of passes have gone down and the majority of those that can cross over to the college portals, have difficulties in making further progress along their educational career. Faulty ground work and insufficient and incomplete preparatory instruction are the handicaps that these entrants to the higher courses of education carry with them from the schools

It has been argued that the principal handicap is the change in the medium of instruction, and that plea is certainly not without any justification. The teaching of English in the schools has been criminally neglected of late, rendering the students incapable of using that language as a channel for the reception of instruction in any but the most rudimentary subjects. The enthusiasts for the adoption of the vernaculars as mediums of instruction have brushed aside the question of inefficient instruction in English in the schools and pressed for the extension of the vernacular medium into the higher stages of education as, in their opinion, this would remove most of the barriers that stand between the instructor and his pupils in the matter of imparting and receiving instruction.

We find in the news reports of the winding up of the discussion in the Rajya Sabha, by Dr. K. L. Shrimali, the following summary :

"Dr. K. L. Shrimali, expressed the hope in the Rajya Sabha today that most of the universities in the country would be ready by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan for switching over their medium of instruction to regional languages up to the under-graduate level.

"Winding up the discussion on the report of the University Grants Commission for 1960-61, the Minister said 27 universities had already accepted Hindi or the regional language as

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optional medium for instruction at the undergraduate level.

"He said that the question of medium of instruction in schools and colleges was a very ticklish one. While all were agreed on the ultimate switch-over to regional languages some were in favour of a 'go slow' policy on the ground of maintaining a good standard of education.

"Dr. Shrimali said he could not understand this 'go slow' policy. The universities would have to pursue the question of switching over to regional languages in schools and colleges vigorously if substantial results were to be achieved in the near future.

"Regarding the criticism that a switch-over to the regional language would hamper the development of scientific education in the country, the Minister said that education experts were agreed that if international technical terminology was accepted for use in the universities, it would be far easier to teach science in the regional language than in English.

"Dr. Shrimali said that a glossary of international technical terms had already been prepared and was in the final stages of scrutiny. It would be placed before the public within a few months and those wanting to translate technical books into regional languages could utilise it."

We would have liked a fuller and detailed account of the individual opinions, with names, of the "educational experts" who—according to Dr. Shrimali—were agreed that "if international technical terminology was accepted for use in the Universities it would be far easier to teach science in the regional language than in English."

We have lately seen reports of the opinions expressed by some professors to the same effect. These professors seem to have devoted more thought towards popular acclaim than to the cause of education for some time past. Their opinion on the matter of education in science **is not shared by most of** those eminent professors of scientific subjects who are still imparting higher education or assisting in research in science.

The statement made by those education experts is sheer balderdash and it would not stand scrutiny for even an hour. Is the question of terminology the sole impediment then in the matter of instruction in science through the vernacular medium? Most certainly not!

The whole problem stems from the beginnings of the preparatory schools. The school books are faulty in the extreme. The adaptation of the methodology of teaching the beginner to feel his way up the complexities of the subject been clumsy and complicated in most of them. The teacher in the school has not received efficient training in the use of the vernacular medium in explaining the complexities for the reception of his pupils and in many cases he himself is unable to grasp the meaning of what has been put forward by the writer of the text-book. The student seeks an easy way out through learning by rote the gibberish served up by the text-book manufacturers—that is the only suitable term for most of the authors and publishers inclusive of the efforts by State Governments—and regurgitated for their benefit by their teachers.

The foundations being laid in this haphazard fashion, complications arise when the superstructure is being erected on the faulty first stage. It is not the medium of instruction alone, as our enthusiasts for the ousting of English from the schools and universities would have us believe. The men that have pleaded for a "go slow" process have the cause of education at heart which is more than can be said of the "tame" education experts who have fallen for Dr. Shrimali's approval or are athirst for popular acclaim like some we could name.

Dr. Shrimali's move has been construed in non-Hindi-speaking areas as an insidious attempt to manoeuvre Hindi into a position of vantage by the ousting of English on false grounds from the field of education.

Dr. Shrimali and other protagonists of the early ousting of English from the Universities must understand that as yet Indian language has proved its capacity for taking the place of English in the advanced stages of education, even at the undergraduate level. Terminology is only part of the problem. Fitting the terms in the stream of scientific, technical and com-

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language of the higher text-books is quite another—and far more intrictae-problem. To write a text-book in any language calls for special aptitude on the part of the author, who must not only have mastery of the subject but also the power of rendering his knowledge into the textual form of scientific writing for students, which must have clarity, precision and, above all, the sharp incisive quality needed for easy comprehension by the students. This means that not only the author have mastery over the language he employs but that the language itself must posses the flexibility, width of scope and wealth of words suited to carry the finer nuances of meaning necessary for scientific explanations.

We have as yet to see any text-book in either of the two Indian languages that we are familiar with. We would be obliged if any of the so-called educational experts mentioned by Dr. Shrimali, would refer us to any such book.

And above all, we must impress on all Hindi enthusiasts like Dr. Shrimali, that Hindi must be standardised into an easy all-India form and very considerably enriched by the addition of a vast number of words, before it can even attempt to replace English as an all-India medium of communication and education, or be it will be an implement for National Disintegration.

Embargo on Education

Mahatma Gandhi declared that "the doors and windows of my house shall be open to all the winds from all parts of the world" meaning that the channels for the free intercommunication with all the currents of progress and change that emanate from all parts of the world should be kept open for us as without that we shall not be able to keep abreast of progressive thought. The alternative is stagnation and retrogression, the grim consequences of which we suffered through eight centuries of foreign aggression and domination, a repetition of which the Father of the Nation and the Liberator of India was determined to prevent.

But Pandit Nehru in his wisdom has ordained otherwise. He has not only constricted the doors and windows by placing impassable restrictions in the way of imports of books and journals of foreign origin that contain informative and other material for expanding and improving the minds of readers—thereby effectively preventing the entry of the refreshing and reinvigorating currents of air desired by Bapu—but now he has allowed his reactionary colleagues to fetter the limbs of those of our children who wish to go out of the stale atmosphere of Pandit Nehru's India to breathe the free breeze of foreign thought and learning.

We do not know the why and wherefore of the pleas put forward of our elected great men for such measures. The ostensible reasons for thus crippling our children's faculties through gross neglect of their educational facilities at home and the preventive police measures against going abroad, are the Five-Year Plans. What have they achieved so far and what promise they hold out in the near future that our children must be sacrificed to these Moloch like Plans ?

If our planners and the planning minded Ministry had the force of honest conviction, then while proposing the measures for fettering education, they would have promised that the country in general,—that is the nation as a whole and not merely the few hundreds or thousands that are battening on the blood of the toiling and suffering millions—would show the distinct and plainly apparent measures of improvement and progress in the terms of actual living conditions and amenities of life. They do spout forth statistics which are distinctly of the quality specified by the lexicographer who gave the comparative and superlative of lies as d—n lies and statistics. But evidently according to Pandit Nehru and his "Brain Trust" planning is the thing, the nation might perish, just as Pancha Sheel is deemed to be superior even to the liberty of the nation.

We do not wish to continue with this jeremiad. But we have been obliged to call the latest financial—and passport—restrictions as "police" measures, which only those who are skilled in the evasion of laws applicable to the common—and honest—man can defy. It seems that about a hundred

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thousand persons, forewarned by Shri Morarji Desai's department and equipped with necessary amounts of illicit money have already done so. And what are the measures regarding education? We append the following extract from the **Statesman**:

"The latest circular of the Reserve Bank of India, issued earlier this month, has debarred students from attending any foreign university, except a few well-known institutions. The restriction does not apply to Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Manchester universities in the U.K. and Harvard, Princeton, Yale and Massachusets universities in the U.S.A.

"Those willing to study non-technical subjects abroad will now have to choose from a restricted list. Education, Journalism. Librarianship, and Country and Regional Planning are among the 'banned' subjects. Nor could any one go in for courses to qualify as LL.B. LL.M. and Bar-at-Law. Only those securing an aggregate of 60 per cent marks in degree examinations and an aggregate of 50 per cent in post-graduate examinations may now apply for admission to the approved institutions.

"While these tightening restrictions have primarily affected students of non-technical subjects, a graduate in science or a student having passed the I.Sc. with an aggregate of 50 per cent marks will be allowed to study technical subjects abroad.

"According to a source close to the Students' Advisory Bureau of Calcutta University, the latest restrictions have affected more than half the students who had their passages booked after securing admission to foreign universities on the basis of the permission granted by the earlier circular of the Reserve Bank."

We further understand that the **Reserve Bank** has informed the Universities that from now on students going abroad for higher education in non-technical subjects will not have either the option of choosing their subject of study or the foreign University on their own. All that would be done for them by the **Reserve Bank** and not the Universities or the authorities of the institutions which are the students' **alma mater.**

Who delegated the powers and the authority for such an arbitrary and totally mischievous nature to the Reserve Bank? This is a question our representatives in the Lok Sabha and the State legislatures m... ascertain from the powers that be. Has ... Finance Department at the Centre co... sulted all the Universities and institutio... for higher education before equipping ... Reserve Bank with the necessary powers?

It is unthinkable that in a democr... country powers that are applicable like ... police net should be given to the Reserve Bank where education in any form is co... cerned. In the days of British rule the pol... departments had the same powers. It seem... that in Pandit Nehru's "Socialistic Patter... of a State, the Reserve Bank will have t... same powers, during the tenure of Mora... Desai.

Will Pandit Nehru please define a Poli... State of the Socialistic Pattern for the edu... cation of he Indian Nationals? We might ... least know what is ahead of us while th... Plans sap the vitals of the Nation.

THE EDITOR

National Integration

We were in a place in the State of Bih... and a local dignitary whose family had live... in that area for over 500 years, said the ... clusion of Bengali areas into Bihar ... been a source of great annoyance, loss ... dignity and money losses to the Beng... speaking people of the area. He said ... British had cut off large slices of Beng... and added these to other provinces in ord... to reduce the strength of the Bengalis w... had become Britain's enemy No. 1 in In... But the Indian National Congress ... passed many resolutions from time to ti... about the injustice of these amputati... and had assured the Bengalis that jus... would surely be done to them as soon ... India become independent. When, howev... India attained freedom by agreeing t... partition, which was carried out with... reference to the people of India, ... question of returning the detached pieces ... the main body of Bengal was shelved ... order to appease the feelings of the Hi... speaking Biharis. The Hindi speak... thereafter began a mass infiltration m... ment into the non-Hindi speaking ... and soon set up Hindi speaking pocke... Manbhum, Singhbhum, Santhal Parg...

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Purnea, etc., etc., and the Bengali speakers became the barely tolerated people of their own home land. In many places, Bengali-owned lands were requisitioned by the Bihar Government and all jobs or most of them began to be given to Hindi speakers. The position of Bengali speaking Biharis has become like that of Hindus in East Pakistan and the behaviour of the Hindi speakers is, if not quite so bad as that of the Muslims of East Pakistan, at least not up to the standards set up by the apostles of national integration.

The gentleman referred to may have not been absolutely accurate in his recounting of the incidents that in his opinion occur quite frequently in Bihar and which usually cause suffering to the Bengali speaking Biharis; but he could not have been imagining all of what he said. If half of his statements were half-truths, one would be justified in assuming that everything was not as it should be in the State of Bihar. Favouritism, discrimination, open hostility, expropriation, etc., etc., are not constitutionally tenable as the legitimate rights of majorities of the States of India. The leaders of Bihar, of whom some have attained the highest positions in the Union of India, are not free from the vices attached to the Hindi **lebensraum**. Even before the British left India, they had been busy inducing Bengalis to quit Bihar by indirect pressure and unfair treatment. All Bengali officers who were in service in Bihar during those critical years will bear witness to the anti-Bengali programme that some **national** leaders of the Hindi speaking variety made and followed during those years. These may be called the crimes of national disintegration and people guilty of these crimes could be brought to trial even now, if not to punish them, but at least to expose them. For then the true meaning of national integration will be understood by all Indians including the leaders.

A. C.

The Death of Ajoy Mitra

Some time ago, Shri Morarji Desai discussed in Parliament the death of Ajoy Mitra in Vienna, where he was acting as First Secretary to the Indian Embassy. Shri Morarji Desai admitted that Government had received valuable information about gold-smuggling from the deceased diplomat. He also said Mitra was not employed as an investigator, but did this work nevertheless. Our conclusion, therefore, was that Mitra was a secret investigator who was employed as First Secretary to the Embassy too. Shri Morarji was sure that Mitra had committed suicide and yet he was not very sure of his facts. He knew that gold-smuggling was the most lucrative crime in India and that many wealthy men were involved in gold-smuggling in India and abroad. These unscrupulous people were quite capable of silencing Ajoy Mitra. But some people lost no time in Vienna and Delhi to spread a well-coloured story of his suicide for no apparent reason. He was happily married and yet these concocters of a convincing fable cooked up a fiancee' for Mitra, who was very well-up with Mitra's associations, but for some obscure reason either did not know that Mitra had a wife and two children who had been to Vienna often and stayed there for long periods too. And Mitra committed suicide in spite of having a friendly fiancee' and a loving wife! Such nonsense can only be believed by those who wanted to establish an utterly untrue story to cover up a foul and dastardly crime.

Now Pandit Nehru has talked about Ajoy Mitra in Parliament. He has also admitted that Mitra's death was considered to be mysterious and that the Austrian police were suspecting foul play. But Pandit Nehru has no doubts that it was a case of suicide. Why? Is it because the friends of the gold-smugglers have been repeating their lies to the Prime Minister over and over again to make him believe in the suicide story? Pandit Nehru knows that Mitra had a wife and two children and that his marriage was not dissolved nor was there any divorce proceedings. Yet Pandit Nehru talked about Mitra's Austrian fiancee' without thinking how absurd it would be for Mitra to have a fiancee'. We would not suggest that Shri Morarji Desai or Pandit Nehru are knowingly helping any criminals to escape detection and punishment. We rather think they are being fed with lies by interested persons who hang round them and are in a position to repeat lies to them. These people can lead us to the criminals who make their millions by gold-smuggling and also commit other crimes including murder to carry on their business successfully. There have been murders in India too of persons

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who were on the verge of discovering the organisations which engaged in smuggling, wagon-breaking and similar offences. But, strangely enough, detection is rare in such cases. People feel that in India one can get away with murder if one has the necessary pull with the right persons. But that the murder of an important member of India's Foreign Service will also be allowed to be hushed up is unbelieveable. The Government of India should ignore all suggestions to the contrary and order the fullest investigation of Mitra's death by the most competent investigators of Europe. They should also try to find out who are circulating the suicide story. For they are connected with the gold-smugglers.

A. C.

Love of Political Decorum

Pakistan is very fond of pretending to be the land of the Pure, the Free and the Virtuous. They try to live down their very short but glorious national history by tall-talk and by circulating lies about others. There are still hundreds of millions of people alive who clearly remember how Pakistan was created by British aided *agents provocateurs* during the last days of British imperialism in the Indian continent. All the lies then uttered about the one Muslim nation of India which had one language (Urdu) and one culture and all the rioting in the big cities of India by hired hooligans employed the henchmen of the British, cannot be forgotten quite so easily as Pakistan would like. Then came the great Calcutta killing of 1946-47 in which British soldiers and the Armed Police of the Muslim League Government of Bengal took a very active part in supporting the Muslim hooligans of Calcutta. The attempts made by the Razakars in Hyderabad to terrorise and persecute a 90 per cent majority Hindu population and the invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan Army in the fancy dress of tribal hoodlums are also typical of the Pakistani ways of achieving political objectives. In view of their history and their activities one is not surprised to see Ayub Khan plead for a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine who should rule there. Ayub Khan forgets that when his predecessors claimed Pakistan from the British by a Partition of India, the Hindus had a 75 per cent majority in India and a plebiscite at that time for deciding the fate of the proposed Muslim State would have finished the Muslim Leaguer with a single blow. But the British with the connivance of the Congress allowed the poison to grow by effecting partition *without a plebiscite!* Now, when he rules Pakistan by force of arms, his demands for a plebiscite in Kashmir are shameless and amounting in the extreme. He forgets that India is in Kashmir by the political right created by Kashmir's accession to India *and* Pakistan is there by armed intrusion and as trespassers. He forgets that his Government denied the presence of Pakistan soldiers in Kashmir even after months of their forced entry there. He also forgets that the U.N. instructed Pakistan to get out of Kashmir, before any plebiscite could take place there. We have no detailed knowledge of the moral code imposed on Muslims by their religion; but we are very sure it does condone lying, cheating, stealing, kidnapping, and the cult of might being right. We have an idea it also condemns begging for money from those who are non-believers. The Islamic State of Pakistan has no morals according to the ethical standards set by other religions. It seems it has no morals even by Islamic standards. A very sad state of affairs indeed! And the aiders and abetters of Pakistan, *viz.*, the U.S.A. and the U.K. fully share the ignominy that Pakistan has earned by its predatory activities. It is only China, which has boosted up the morale of Pakistan by committing even greater crimes against other nations. And that is why Pakistan has such great admiration for China.

A. C.

To Clean Calcutta

A city's sanitation and conservancy depends on two major factors. One is the proper organisation of the services which will keep the city clean and the other, a more important factor, is the cooperation of the people who live in the city permanently as well as during working hours. About the organisation of the Calcutta Corporation for keeping the city clean, one has to admit that it is both inadequate and out of date. Further, what organisation and equipment there are, cannot function to full advantage owing to the negligence and disloyalty of the personnel employed by the Corporation. The elected members of the Council are also guilty of neglect and disloyalty to the citizens who have put their trust in them and of participation in activities that are unworthy of the elected representatives of

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people. So that if one desires that the Calcutta Corporation should become a well-manned and well-equipped organisation, there should be a moral and a physical reform, which can be achieved by the citizens of Calcutta with the assistance of the State Government. But the State Government needs a moral and physical reform too and we cannot visualise any upsurge in Bengal, or anywhere else in India, which will stimulate and bring about the required changes.

The unclean condition of the city of Calcutta is, therefore, largely due to the unclean condition that prevails in the minds of the people who run that organisation. In India nobody is ever dismissed and sent out of their appointed jobs for any act of delinquency whatsoever. If they are by chance removed for a little while they are soon brought back by the Prime Minister, the Chief Ministers or the General Managers, if any pressure is put upon them by persons who pull strings. We find this happening in Cabinets, State Governments (vide the cases of T.T.K. and of K.B.S.) state managed industries and offices and in private organisations. No rewards for work done and no punishments for crimes committed are the order of the day. People associated with the Calcutta Corporation should have been fired *en masse* and many times over about twenty years ago. That was never done. Nor was anything done by the I.C.S. officers who took charge of the Corporation for several years. So that if Dr. B. C. Roy now sends a few of his useless henchmen to bring about a change in the city's sanitary position he will be throwing away money again as he does in many other spheres of work.

Coming to the people of the city, the first thing that strikes one in Calcutta are the very large number of coolies and other unskilled workers who throng the city's *Bustees* and pavements. They pull *rickshaws*, push-carts, carry-weights, hawk things and sell food in an absolutely unhygienic manner everywhere. There must be about half-a-million such dirt-makers all over the city. Even in the so-called European part of Calcutta, there are holes in the walls of all godowns of the palatial buildings and *dhobis*, grocers, food-vendors and other denizens of the under world of trade and crime live and practise their crafts there in their thousands. Unless all these people are slowly pressed out of this great city and sent back to their own natural habitat, the city can never be free from filth and epidemics. These are the people who create cholera and other diseases out of their basic way of life. If people cannot maintain a fairly civilised standard of living in this city, they have to go and live elsewhere. Otherwise, they endanger the city's health. Many people will say that these people provide various services at a low price. We would say that the inhabitants of Calcutta will have to pay a fair price for such services and a fair price will enable the sellers of these services to live like modern humans and not like the dwellers of backward villages.

A. C.

India in Games and Sports

Generally speaking India's position in the world of games and sports is not enviable. Excepting in Hockey India does not hold a high position in any particular type of atheletics or field game. Her position in cricket is average but none too creditable. In wrestling India produced some world hitters in the past in professional fighting but, in spite of the great aptitude that Indian's show in wrestling, we have not been able to win laurels at the Olympics or other international contests for wrestling honours. Football has been a source of great disappointment to Indians, for we have played football for nearly a century and have not yet come upto world class. In tennis too we have produced near-champions but always just failed to come on top. Swimming, boxing, running, jumping, putting the shot, throwing the discus, etc., have not produced any Indian champions, though thousands of Indians participate in these. The reason for our continued failure to achieve success is due to our own negligence in putting the finishing touches to our atheletic ability. We are usually too busy holding conferences at high level and working our way into the half hearted favour that the Government of India shows to games and sports. We have no time or energy left to train up the players and atheletes, nor to discover talent or to organise and set up clubs and play grounds. And yet our newspapers have quite a lot to say in large capital letters in their sporting news about Indian games and sports. In this they have their likes and dislikes; boosting up this

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and ignoring that according to their attitude of mind for the day. Coming to the practical side of the question of stimulating development of atheletics and field games in India, the first thing to do is to have proper play grounds, tracks, swimming pools, trainers and equipment in all good size towns and cities in India. These will number over 5000 in India. But the number of proper play grounds are few, tracks and swimming pools nil and trainers and equipment for a facade only and placed far away from the players and atheletes. The Government of India and the State Governments should wake up now to provide the play grounds on which will win their impending Waterloo.

A. C.

Playing at Traffic Control

In West Bengal and Bihar Traffic Control is a farce and is only a method by which the police can harass owners and drives of Private Cars. Taxis, Trucks, Rickshaws, Push Carts and Pedestrians are exempt from the operation of all laws and rules, for a consideration, and the private car owners are constantly harassed by the police for minor "offences". Taxis can violate all rules relating to speed, correct lanes, overtaking, honking in no horn areas etc., etc., without any opposition from the police. Trucks can travel at 60 miles per hour along the middle of roads or even on the wrong side without offending any police officers. The area in which traffic is regulated is Dalhousie Square—Chowringhee and Club land; for these are the places where the big shots have to go. And the police know how to keep on the right side of the V.I.P.s even if they fail miserably in performing their alloted duties—thus spreading death and destruction on our high roads.

A. C.

C. P. I. Talks Big

The Communist Party of India always engage in tall talk without engagaing in any real work: This they may have learnt to do from their big brother the Congress; but it ill behaves them in the face of their persistent claims to being highly progressive. Recently they have sat down in Delhi and abused the real communists of the world in no uncertain terms. Nikita Khrushchev a "revisionist," whatever that means and Stalin has been declared a Marxist etc., etc. What we do not understand is all these ideological and political considerations give headaches to the Indian Communists, who only play at Communism and who have been the collaborators of imperialists in the past and are the imitators of the capitalists now. We have not seen any Communists in India who have not the highest appreciation of private property who do not engage in all the condemnable activities of the decadent middle class. In the circumstances why do Indian Communists talk about communism at all?

A. C.

Civic Emergency—The Corporation and the C.M.P.O.

As has been so often reiterated from time to time during the last decade and longer, life in the city of Calcutta presents a truly disgusting indeed a horrifying spectacle, strangely at variance with its universally acknowledged status of being, still, the most important metropolitan city in this part of the world, certainly in India. Once the proud second city in the now non-existent British Empire the huge and still steadily increasing concentration of population in the city, at once an index of its importance as well as one of the principal causes of its myriad and burdensome problems, marks it as one of the most intensively congested cities of the modern world. The concentration of population within the metropolitan area, it has been estimated, yields as high a density as 125 persons per acre. In comparison, even such heavily built-in cities abroad like, for instance, Birmingham or Chicago would, indeed, seem to be only very sparsely populated. Birmingham is said to have a density of only 25 persons per acre, while Chicago is said to be even more thinly populated with only 13 persons per acre. This would appear to be even more alarming as the burden of the city's slums which are said to occupy more than a sixth of the total area within the metropolitan city.

It may not seem quite strange, therefore, that the problems of the city's civic

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should have remained not merely a persistently continuing one for almost as far back as one can remember, but which have, moreover, also been a steadily and progressively deteriorating one continuing to alarm successive generations of the city's permanent dwellers, but also to terrify sporadic visitors to the city from other parts of India and from the rest of the world. Our city fathers, the Councillors and Aldermen of the Calcutta Corporation, through successive lives of this supposedly august civic body have, of course, continued to hold out assurances and promises of radical measures to eradicate basic problems of the city's sanitation, water supply, public hygeine, etc., but how or when these desired and halcyon measures of direly needed relief would be formulated or implemented has never been quite clear. In the meanwhile conditions of life in the city have continued to progressively deteriorate and to be increasingly fraught with ever-growing dangers to even bare physical existence. Elementary conservancy services remain utterly broken down with increasing accumulations of huge piles of garbage and stinkingly putrid wastes of the city at important and densely populated areas of the metropolis; water supply remains not merely hopelessly inadequate to the very basic minimum requirements of a tropical city but even of the very inadequate supplies available the quality of edible water is not always found to conform to requisite minimum standards of purity; drains are said to have so badly silted up that a good third of the city's areas remain almost indefinitely submerged during the heavy monsoon months. All these and many other problems to which no solution seems ever to be in sight has compelled this once city of palaces to remain perpetually condemned as a pecked city of pestilences."

Lack of resources has, of course, remained one of the excuses for as far back as one can remember, preferred in extenuation of the failures of the Corporation to meet any of its basic obligations to its rate-payers. In the meanwhile, the city fathers have continued to squabble among themselves, almost every meeting of the Corporation that one can remember about, being marked by disturbances and rowdyisms which would be considered horrifying even in immature teen-agers providing, perhaps, one of the worst examples of lack of restraint and discipline known to us, but which if and when emulated by the younger generations invariably come in for the severest castigation even from those very persons who set these deplorable examples. It has become one of the insupportable burdens of existence in the city that nothing gets done by the Corporation, it is even unable to cope with the very elementary responsibility of transporting infectious patients to hospitals in time for its ambulance services continue to remain derelict and inadequate. Yet it continues to exist—we should not, by even the longest stretch of imagination, say that it continues to even remotely function—and merrily appropriate to itself rates and taxes for services and civic amenities which are invariably conspicuous by their hopeless inadequacies and failures.

It is a welcome thought that the West Bengal Chief Minister's intrepid imagination had conceived the necessity for doing something to reorganize the city and its minimum services on an adequate scale to deal with not merely immediate basic needs but even to project themselves into the growing tempo of future needs. Necessary funds, technical collaboration and know-how have been arranged and work is at present reported to be going on briskly ahead to formulate a master-Plan of readjustment and development which, according to the sponsors of the Plan would be likely to change the very face of the city in the future. A great deal of hope and faith has been pinned upon the newly organized Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization which, if it does not get bogged up on its way ahead—an apprehension ever-present in the minds of the detached observors of any newly formed organization of this nature—should be able to make life in the city progressively more supportable, perhaps, even pleasant, in the long run.

But, as the notorious aphorism puts it, in the long run we may all be as dead as the dodo. It is with current emergencies of bare existence that we are compelled to

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be immediately concerned. One such emergency, currently before the city, that of the newly declared cholera epidemic, is a horrifying instance in point. Cholera, a particularly filthy and horrifying disease, once widely prevalent almost all over the world, is now claimed to have been completely eradicated in other countries, its sole source in the modern world, from information available from a published editorial of the Statesman, being claimed to be a small area in Howrah, 'whence it annually spreads in the hot weather, abetted by lack of proper sanitation, over the metropolis and thence to the rest of India, and sometimes abroad.' What would appear to be especially horrifying is that the dwellers of the metropolis have become so inured to shocks of epidemics of such horrible diseases, they seem to be taking everything in their complacent, easy-going stride and do not, in any case, seem to be at all surprised that such horrible epidemics should still be allowed to rage in a modern city and in these times. To a visitor from abroad it would be bound to feel utterly shocking that at the same time that an epidemic of a disease said to be usually carried through food has been declared in the city, the civic fathers are still permitting extensive and completely unrestricted sale of exposed cut-fruits and other ready-to-consume edibles at congested and important street corners. It would seem as if they feel that they have fulfilled all their obligations by merely issuing the warning inherent in the declaration of an epidemic and that it is upto individuals to choose or not to spread the epidemic by such means without their having any part to play to stop it.

It must, indeed, be a most nauseating sight for anyone used to more hygeinic living conditions to see ready-to-consume edibles being sold unrestrictedly from a perch fronting, perhaps, an open and uncleaned drain or next-door to huge piles of putrid garbage, with edibles non-chalantly exposed to the swarms of buzzing flies that go on breeding and multiplying in these stangant drains and garbage-piles. The Calcutta Corporation either would not or could not do anything to deal with all these,—that has been more than convincingly self-evident for as long as we can remember. Government, in the Ministry of Local Self-Government have, of course, from time to time carried out amendments in the Statute relating to powers, responsibilities of the Calcutta Corporation and its Council, new offices have been created with statutory authority somewhat beyond the immediate and comprehensive over-riding authority of the Corporation Council in the selection of incumbents to which Government have retained a measure of power, but all these have had not the slightest effect. Either the officers concerned are chary of jeopardising their peace of mind and the placid tenour of their employment under the Corporation by desisting from functioning in the manner expected of them, or their hands have been so tied that they have found it impossible to exercise discretion in a measure in which it could be effective. We have long felt that no reformist palliatives like the ones mentioned above can do the slightest good and that nothing short of a complete revision of the structure of the Corporation will have the slightest effect in stilmulating it to action and responsibility. Strangely, however, the Government in spite of their frequent and even strident criticism of the Corporation's failures have remained inexplicably immune to public demands for its supersession, the only remedy which might have been even remotely effective in the circumstances. But, perhaps, it is not quite so inexplicable either. That the Congress Party happens to have been continually constituting a majority in the Council has, presumably been the reason why the Government, despite their many warnings to the Corporation, failed to act. If our presumption in this behalf is correct and there is no legitimate reason to suppose that it may not, then it must be regarded as one of the most dishonest examples of how the Government have been ready to suborn its responsibility to the people who have voted them into power to those of its own growingly effete party organization.

We could pin-point in far grinding details the possibly dire consequences

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of the Corporation's failures and neglect at all points of its responsibilities to its rate-payers, but we desist from harrowing our readers more than we have already been compelled to do in these notes. We could, for instance, give harrowing details of contamination being carried by osmosis in water mains from adjacent untreated sewage, a possibility ever-present, of horrifying consequences not merely to the city itself but to the whole countryside. That, side by side corruption and nepotism of various descriptions run rampant is also a fact indisputable and against which correctives so far would seem to have been utterly futile and frequently punctuated by labour troubles breaking down even the rudimentary service that seems to exist entirely of its own volition from time to time.

It may be a heartening news that the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, presumably convinced of the jeopardising potentials of the current failures of the Corporation of its long-term projects, have come forward with offers of help. Their offer includes, we understand, carrying the burdens of financing it from their own resources and is said to be particularly concerned with cleaning up the city of its accumulated and growing filth with a view to clearing the ground for effective epidemic control. They do not seem to be deterred by the burdens involved and even intend, it is learnt, to promulgate a system of house-to-house collection of refuse as in Bombay and attend to their effective disposal. It is only natural that the C.M.P.O. would make it a condition of their offer that they must also have the right of supervision of the work they are ready to organize and finance. Unfortunately, as we write, the Corporation do not seem to be cooperative enough. Although the Mayor, personally, seems to be very eager to come to an effective arrangement in this regard with the C.M.P.O., he does not seem to have the statutory discretion to conclude a final agreement and, in the meanwhile, the Corporation officials are said to be obstructive. It is learnt that at earlier stages of the negotiations they were even chary of supplying necessary and vital information required for the purpose. It is not yet known as to how the Councillors, who have not entered the negotiations at this stage, would be likely to behave, but on record, there would seem to be hardly any ground for optimism that they would be reasonable and co-operative.

The only remedy would seem to be to eliminate the Corporation altogether and for Government to take necessary measures under their reserved powers for dealing with emergencies, to deal with the C.M.P.O. directly and place all necessary powers and authority at the latter's disposal to enable them to function effectively and without any avoidable delay whatever. It is strange that the Government should, obviously, be reluctant to act even in the circumstances of emergencies that seem to prevail and which is fraught with the potential threat of decimating large chunks of the city's population. We do not yet know for certain to what extent the C.M.P.O. itself could be relied upon to replace effectively and immediately the essential civic services that the Corporation have been failing to provide for as many years as we would care to remember. But their offer, voluntary as it was and additionally including the responsibilities of financing it from their own resources, is at least well worth a trial run for we do not know of any alternative source of rescue. We shall hope, as the rest of Calcutta's dwellers must, that the C.M.P.O. will be found strong and adequate enough for the purpose, since we know that the Corporation can and will do nothing at all. In the circumstances, the least that we can do is to add our most emphatic voice to the demand that even if it were necessary to wholly eliminate the Corporation by an instrument of supersession, Government must apply it without delay to enable the C.M.P.O. to come to the city's rescue at this dire juncture.

K. N.

Border Protection And Unauthorized Immigrants

Horror and indignation have been the natural reaction of the man-in-the-street in India to the innumerable atrocities that Pakistan seems to be perpetrating with impunity upon Indian citi-

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zens along the borders between East Pakistan and West Bengal, especially since it would appear that the Government of India are unable to afford the protection which every citizen of the country has the right to expect and which is supposed to be, in all civilized communities, one of the basic obligations of Government. The Government, likewise, have been repeatedly found unable to discharge another essential responsibility, that of maintaining the territorial integrity of the country against incursions by outsiders of evil design. Nor have they, it has been patent, been able to do anything to prevent unauthorized immigrants from intruding into the country.

One of the latest instances of such incursion has been the recent intrusion by Pakistanis, armed police included, into a portion of Daihatta within the Berubari Thana area of the Jalpaiguri District in West Bengal. This is not a portion of the Berubari Thana area which the Prime Minister of India, so munificently gifted away to Pakistan, some time ago against the concerted protests of the entire country, eminent leaders of his own Party included. It was quite another portion of the area which in the Indo-Pakistani negotiations on the matter had been mutually agreed to belong to India. While acknowledging the fact of this fresh incursion in Parliament, the Prime Minister stated that his Government had made "strong protests" to Pakistan which, of course, would be, as usual, quite futile and useless. While asked why Government should not take necessary punitive measures to compel vacation of this illegally intruded upon territory, Mr. Nehru was provoked into uncontrolable anger and replied that 'that was not the way of his Government.'

Shorn of all unnecessary and self-deluding verbiage for which our Prime Minister is justly notorious, the bare fact would be evident that the Government have no policy of action in such emergencies on the country's borders, emergencies which, however, have already become quite chronic and endemic in character throughout the history of what, patently, would seem to be the *effete* Nehru regime. Organizationally it has proved itself weak and inadequate so that Government is usually the last-informed about these incidents on the border, usually not until these are already *faits accomplii.*

Equally disturbing must be the position in respect of unauthorized Pakistani immigrants and infiltrators in Indian territory. The problem has already assumed quite threatening proportions in Assam where, the last Census figures have revealed, Muslims have already grown during the years since Independence, into the largest single community in the State from their pre-Independence position of being only one of the important minorities there. Apparently neither the Central Government, whose responsibility in this matter would naturally be regarded as paramount, nor the State Government had the least concern, with the result that apprehensions are not unreasonable that by the time the next Census enumerations have been carried out, Muslims will probably attain to the status of an absolute majority community in the State. The position in Tripura would also seem to be similar where entry of unauthorized Pakistani Muslims is said to have been proceeding at the alarming rate of some 50,000 a month.

The Government's amazing lack of policy, or if they have any at all, their lack of determination to carry it out into effect, would seem to cause concern about even their sanity. What may prevent deportation (or, more properly, repatriation back to their own country) of these illegal immigrants who must rightly be regarded as *undesirable aliens*, is more than one can understand. Such action would have all the necessary sanction of international law and inter-State conventions established by long usage. A few days ago, the Central Government were stated to have been following determined deportation procedures in Tripura, but even as we write, the news has come through that under the personal intervention of the Prime Minister, the External Affairs Department have been obliged to advise the local administration concerned to *go slow* over the matter. It would seem as if Mr. Nehru and his Government have been bogged up in the morasses of stark, raving *fear-complex* from the death-dealing suctions of which they have neither the courage nor the strength to extricate themselves. It would not mind but for the fact that the whole country are, in consequence, being steadily pushed in into these quicksands.

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INDIA'S IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

By Prof. P. C. TRIPATHI

The iron and steel industry is the basic industry of the modern world. Adequate production of iron and steel is essential for the industrial development of a country and is of fundamental importance for national security. Industrial development being the spearhead of our national progress, the importance of increased production of iron and steel in the country cannot be overemphasised.

Localisation

The location of iron and steel industry is governed by the relative pull of raw-materials, power and markets. The most important raw materials used in the manufacturing processes are iron ore, coal, limestone, manganese and dolomite. Coke and limestone liberate iron ore from its oxygen and iron content. The other materials, very important but required in lesser quantities are chrome ore, sulphur, tin, zinc, nickel and various alloys such as ferro silicon and ferro-phosphorus. Both iron ore and coal are bulky and weight-losing materials and hence cannot be transported over a long distance without significant addition to the raw materials costs. The iron and steel industry has, therefore, a tendency to be "raw material localised" rather than "market localised." Generally speaking the industry is located at the point of "minimum transportational costs." The point of minimum transportational cost may lie either at the sources of iron or coal deposits or near the markets or anywhere in between the three. The iron and steel industry of the United States furnishes examples of all the four types of localisation. In the Pittsburg region, the ore moves to coal, in the Lake Supersior region the coal goes to the iron ore, in the Lake Erie region the industry is located at the meeting point of the two—the iron ore and the coal. In Chicago and near Lake Michigan the industry is located near the markets.

In India, the relatively greater pull of rawmaterials over markets is noticeable in the localisation of this industry. But as among raw materials, their relative influence depends upon whether the industry is manufacturing pig iron only or is a steel manufacturer also. Steel manufacturing requires proportnonately more iron ore than coal, while pig iron requires proportionately more coal than iron ore. It is calculated that for manufacturing one ton of pig iron $1\frac{3}{4}$ tons of iron ore and 1-2/3 tons of coking coal are required in India; while for one ton of finished steel 2 tons of ore and 1-5/6 tons of coking coal are required. About $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of limestone and $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of other materials like dolomite, manganese ore and alloying elements have also to be arranged.

In the matter of raw materials for steel making, India is very happily placed as compared with many other countries. For example, the iron ore supplies from the Mesabi range in the U.S.A. are fast depleting and, therefore, the country is importing iron ore from Canada, Venezuela, Nigeria, Brazil and Sweden. To take another example, the British Iron and steel industry is mostly located on the sea coasts so that the imported ore is directly unloaded in the close proximity of the blast furnaces. Compared to these countries India has inexhaustible reserves of high grade iron ore with an average iron content of nearly 60 to 65%. India is also fortunate in having reserves of coking coal and other raw-materials in close proximity. According to John E. Brush assembling of raw materials in India required fewer ton miles than in most of the large steel producing centres in the United States. Pittsburgh—one of the relatively well placed steel centres in the U.S.A., for example, requires 604 ton miles to get coal, iron etc., together to make one ton of pig iron. The corresponding figures for Jamshedpur and Burnpur are 334 and 441 respectively.

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The Indian iron and steel industry is highly localised in the states of Bihar and Bengal although Madhya Pradesh and Orissa are making great headway on state initiation in recent years. This excessive concentration of iron and steel industry in the east can be ascribed to the following factors :

(a) High grade haematite ore with an average content of 64% iron in the Singhbhum district of Bihar is found in close proximity to the best coking coal of Girdih and Jharia in the Damodar valley.

(b) India has had very few towns with a demand for steel goods in the past. This never necessitated the growth of this industry in other parts of the country and resulted in overemphasis being given to the considerations of transportational costs in relation to iron ore and coal deposits.

(c) The expensive character of inland transport and the excessive dependence of this industry on coal as industrial fuel has also caused the industry to localise in Bengal and Bihar.

How Steel Is Made

Steel is essentially an alloy of iron and carbon. Iron is produced from iron ore, an oxide, by the removal of the oxygen and other extraneous earthy matter associated with it. This is done with the help of coke and limestone. The resultant product is liquid iron, commonly called pig iron. This contains about 93 to 96% of iron associated with about 3 to 4% of carbon and small percentages of silicon, manganese, sulphur and phosphorus. An integrated steel plant consists of four main sections—coke ovens to convert coal into coke, blast furnaces to smelt iron ore into pig iron, steel melting plant to alloy iron with carbon and other metals to form steel and rolling mills to roll steel into saleable products. The blast furnaces are charged with iron ore and coke and subjected to intense heat. As a result iron in molten form flows out at one end while the rest flows out as slag to the other end. The former when cooled is known as 'pig iron'. The pig iron to turned into steel is purified in the melt furnaces by any of the three known cesses viz., Open Hearth, Bessemer, Ba The molten iron is, therefore, pourd receptacles called 'ingot mouls', allowe cool in them and then taken out as he rectangular blocks of steel weighing over tons called ingots. The huge steel ing are squeezed in what are called 'roll mills' and shaped into plates and sheets the required dimensions. In so doing ingots are first heated in furnaces, ca 'soaking pits' until they become soft enou to be pressed and shaped. They go at end in this form and emerge at the ot as long slabs which are only a few inch thick. These slabs are again heated bef they enter the 'plate' or the 'strip mill' fr which they emerge as long plates and c of sheet each hundreds of feet long.

The other things in a steel plant ancillories like a power plant for the ge ration of electricity, a blower plant wh blows air at high velocity into the bl furnaces, structural and machine shops repair and maintain the main steel pla arrangements for the supply and cooling water, laboratories for carrying out exp ments and test, storages for storing r materials and offices for administra and sales etc.

Steel plants are generally tailor-ma in the sense that the size of each section the plant is determined according to nature of the requirements, availability raw materials, etc. However, the sec which determines the size of the plant whole is the rolling mills. The gen tendency is to have steel plant of one lion tons output, provided other conv ences like adequate and regular supply raw materials, water and power are av able. Generally beyond the two mil tons stages, difficulties arise, particula with regard to transport, economic wor of mines and quarries for rawmater conveniences of management etc.

Present Position

At present the industry comprises important iron and steel producing

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There are the Tata Iron and Steel Company, the Indian Iron and Steel Company, Mysore Iron and Steel Works and the three steel plants at Rourkela, Durgapur and Bhilai. Of these the first two are private enterprises, the third is a state enterprise and the last three are Central Government undertakings. A brief description of each of these units is given below:

Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

The Company (1907) which is one of the biggest steel manufacturing units in the whole of Asia, is located at Sakchi now known as Jamshedpur. The site of the works is in a narrow valley formed by the Subarnarekha and the Khorkai rivers in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. Being engaged in the manufacture of steel, the works are situated nearer the iron ore supplies than to coal supplies. The main source of iron ore supply of the Jamshedpur works lies in the hills to the south of the valley within 60 miles. The coal supplies come from the Jharia coal fields at an average distance of about 100 miles. Supplies of limestone, dolomite, manganese ore, fire clay and chemicals are also available near at hand. The two rivers supply the works with water which is stored in a tank. The works are only 152 miles away from Calcutta.

The Indian Iron and Steel Company Limited

The Company has two works at Kulti and Burnpur, about 140 miles from Calcutta. Until a few years ago the iron works at Kulti on the Barakar river, a tributary of the Damodar river, was the important pig iron manufacturing centre of India, situated nearer to coal than to iron ore. The coal supply was obtained from the Ramnagar collieries only 2 miles from Kulti and from the adjoining collieries in the Jharia field. Iron ore was obtained from the rich deposits in Kolhan which are slightly far off. The supplies of other materials are also obtained easily. Kulti is now a centre of the largest ferrous foundry industry in the country, iron-making having been discontinued with the dismantling of the old, obsolete blast furnaces. The industrial region around Calcutta serves as a valuable outlet for the disposal of finished goods. The iron works at Burnpur in Asansol division of West Bengal (formerly working as a separate entity under the name "The Steel Corporation of Bengal" but converted into an integrated steel plant from 1-1-1953 merged with Indian Iron and Steel Company) derives its supplies of ore from Gua, in Kolhan. Coal is obtained locally. Water supplies are obtained from a large reservoir on the works into which it is pumped from the Damodar river which is 2½ miles away.

Mysore Iron and Steel Works

The works are located on the west bank of the river Bhadravati in the Mysore State where no coking coal is found. To counteract this difficulty the works have installed electric furnaces run by the electric energy supplied by the Jog Hydro-electric scheme. The supplies of iron ore come from the Bababudan hills, about 26 miles south of Bhadravati. The ore used is, however, inferior. The limestone is obtained from deposits which lie at a distance of 13½ miles from the works. The works also enjoy certain freight advantages in respect of the South Indian markets in comparison with the iron and steel works of Bengal and Bihar.

The plant is unique in India in two ways, viz., (1) its use of electricity in melting pig iron and (ii) its variety of production. It produces pig iron and steel, pig iron castings, steel castings, cast iron pipes, steel sections, railway sleepers, cement and by-products of char-coal burnings such as alcohol, tar and pitch. It further hopes to be the pioneer producer in the manufacture of stainless steel rods and sheets.

Bhilai Steel Plant

The Government of India in collaboration with the U.S.S.R. have set up a steel plant at Bhilai in Drug district of Madhya Pradesh. Iron ore is drawn from Government mines at Dalli-Rajhara Pahar area, about 60 miles to the south of Bhilai, coal is drawn from Jharia and Bokaro (about 300 miles away) and nearby Korba fields about 100 miles away now being developed. As a measure of conservation of the limited resources of metallurgical coal, coals from

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Bokaro and Jharia are washed in the washeries which have been built near the coal fields. Korba coals are not washed. The demand for limestone is met by the Nandini deposits about 12 miles from the steel works. The Tandula canal supplies 30 million gallons of water daily. The plant proper cost Rs. 131 crores. It consists of 3 blast furnaces (each having a capacity of 1,135 tons a day) for producing pig iron and 6 furnaces for producing steel. There are 3 coke oven batteries (each of 65 ovens) for turning coke into metallurgical coal. There are 4 rolling mills besides some of the bye-product units. All are now in production, the entire construction of the steel plant having been carried out in less than 4 years—an outstanding achievement indeed.

The plant is capable of producing one million tons of ingot steel* and is designed to produce mainly rails, railway sleepers and light and heavy structurals.

Rourkela Steel Plant

The Government of India in collaboration with the Germans have set up a steel plant at Rourkela in north Orissa with the Bihar border a few miles away. It is said that in this village Maharshi Vyas sat under a tree and wrote the **Mahabharat.** Rourkela is 257 miles west of Calcutta and is a railway station on the main Bombay-Calcutta South-East railway line. The steel works are situated nearer to iron ore than coal. Iron ore is drawn from Government mines which are being developed in Barsua just about 50 miles to the south. The iron content of the ore is said to be only 58% against Bhilai's average of 64%. Coal is drawn from Kargali-Bokaro and Jharia fields from distances ranging from 190 to 215 miles. This often creates shortage. The percentage of ash content in the coal is high being 25. Limestone and dolomite are found nearby in the Birmitrapur-Hathibari area only 20 miles to the north. The Mandira dam built across the Sankh river provides an unfailing supply of water to the plant. The cost of the plant proper is estimated to be about Rs. 170 crores. There will be 3 blast furnaces each with a capacity to produce over 1000 tons of pig iron per day. Of these two have gone into operation. The project will have 3 coke oven batteries of 70 ovens each. In these coke ovens the coal will be made into metallurgical coal by driving out the volatile matter in it. The gases so driven out will be dealt with in the by-product plant which will recover the tar, ammonia, benzole, nepthalene, etc. and the rest of the coke oven gas will be sent to the fertiliser plant where the hydrogen in the gas will be removed and stripped gas will be sent back to the steel plant for burning in furnaces. The hydrogen of the coke oven gas and the nitrogen which will be a by-product of the oxygen plant will be combined to make ammonia. A part of the ammonia will then be oxidised to nitric acid and the two combined to make ammonium nitrate. Limestone fines which cannot be used in the blast furnaces will be combined with the nitrate to yield 4,50,000 tons of nitro-limestone fertiliser which is eminently suited to the soils of West Bengal and Orissa. Since this plant will essentially be based on by-products, the cost of the fertiliser is expected to be low. But the plant may still take 2 years to complete.

The plant is capable of producing one million tons of ingot steel. One important feature of this plant is that its entire production will be of flat products, viz., plates of varying thickness required for shipbuilding, railway wagon building and a variety of other uses, sheets and tin plate. Another important feature of the project is that it introduces the L. D. process, an innovation which has the advantage of lower capital and operating costs, higher rate of production and savings in space and auxiliary equipment as compared to the conventional open hearth process.

* Steel is generally measured in its crude stage—ingots. Every product of steel has to pass through this stage and is, therefore, the most convenient stage for measurement. But ingots as such are not sold in the market. They are rolled into salable sections like rails, structurals, plates, sheets, bars and rods. On an average, about 0.75 million tons of salable steel are obtained from one million tons of crude steel (ingots).

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Durgapur Steel Plant

The Government of India in collaboration with the British have set up a steel plant in West Bengal. The site at Durgapur is bounded on the north by Grand Trunk Road and on the south by the Calcutta-Delhi main line and further south by the Damodar. Iron ore is obtained from new mines being developed by the Government in Bolani in Orissa in association with the Orissa Minerals Development Corporation. Metallurgical coals of Jharia will be blended with the high volatile semi-coking coals of Barakar. Jharia coals will be washed in a washery of 0.8 million tons capacity which is being put up as a part of the main steel plant in Durgapur. Limestone is obtained from the Birmitrapur-Hathibari areas. The plant gets its water from the Damodar river. The present estimate provides for an expenditure of Rs. 138 crores for the plant proper, but the latest estimates put this figure at Rs. 180 crores. The plant will consist of 3 blast furnaces each with a capacity of 1250 tons per day. There will be 3 coke oven batteries of 78 ovens each.

The plant is capable of producing one million tons of ingot steel and will devote itself to the production of wheel tyres and axles, heavy foreign blooms and light and medium sections and billets.

Hindustan Steel Limited

The management of all the 3 projects rests in the Hindustan Steel Limited wholly owned by the Central Government. The authorised capital of the Company amounts to Rs. 300 crores. Though the Company is wholly Government owned, technically it occupies the same position as any steel manufacturer in the private sector does. Thus, for example, if the Company wants to expand it must come to the Government for a licence in the same way as a private manufacturer. The Company is growing from strength to strength. Its investments in the present phase will be of the order of Rs. 645 crores—Rs. 260 crores in Rourkela, Rs. 200 crores in Bhilai and Rs. 185 crores in Durgapur. Adding to this the cost of about Rs. 220 crores proposed to be incurred in the fourth steel plant and its auxiliaries at Bokaro and another Rs. 290 crores on the expansion of the 3 existing steel plants, the total investment of Hindustan Steel will exceed Rs. 1155 crores and will make it the largest single company east of Suez.

Certain inadequacies in the management and training organisation of Hindustan Steel and its constituent units were referred to by the American Steel Industry delegation which visited this country in early 1960. Consequently the Company has engaged the services of competent foreign agencies to analyse and advise on the management and organisation of the 3 new steel plants. A British team has been employed in Durgapur, a French firm in Rourkela and the Soviet Union is assisting at Bhilai.

Prospects of Steel Industry in South India

The ores available in Madras and Mysore States are mostly haematite and magnetite ores with 50 to 67% and 25 to 56% iron content respectively. The only coal fields that are fairly close are in Singareni, Andhra Pradesh and Neyveli lignite mines. It is no doubt true that large conventional furnaces cannot be built to use such fuels in the present stage of manufacturing technique in our country. Low shaft furnaces as in East Germany can be established to produce pig iron by using the poorer kinds of fuel. But in recent years much work has been done on processing the ore direct to steel without the intermediate pig iron stage. These are the Krupp-Renn and Sponge iron processes whereby the ore is converted into steel with an intermediate stage of Luppen or sponge (the products respectively obtained from the 2 processes). This product can be then smelted directly in electric arc furnaces for direct conversion to steel. The sponge iron process is very well established in Sweden. Any pattern of industry in the South should be based on Sweden.

Problems of the Industry

1. **Dearth of technical personnel:** Men are is important as machines for the success

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of any large undertaking more so when the machines to be handled are so many and so complicated. The supply of know-how in Bhilai is woefully inadequate and the steel plant is running only because of its perfection in automation. No wonder in actual production Bhilai is deficient both in quantity and quality. Production of rails, for instance, is not picking up at the rate envisaged earlier because of the inexperience of the men engaged in the section. The polling of the rail is done well but the finishing has serious limitations. The straightening of the rails is a delicate job where efficiency and experience count. The result is that while 6,000 tons of rails are now rolled every month—this is only half the target—the finishing and is able to handle no more than 3,000 tons a month. The bye-products programme is also crawling at snails' pace. This shortage is bound to get worse in the years to come because all the steel plants will be expanding their capacity in the third plan.

2. **Constructional delay:** Steel plants are by nature a complicated engineering business, but the one at Rourkela seems to be highly temperamental. Although the first to be taken up for construction, Rourkela is the last to be completed. Even today no one is able to predict with confidence when all the units will be commissioned. The pattern of the contract for procurement and erection of machinery is at the root of the trouble. Orders for the supply of the machinery were placed with 35 German firms without creating any agency entrusted with the responsibility to coordinate the numerous purchases from the more numerous suppliers. To make it worse, the 35 German contractors entrusted their work to over 100 large sub-contractors who, in turn, had 100 small agents each. The utter confusion let loose by this arrangement can be imagined. Lapses could not be located because responsibility was diffused. The breaking up of the contracts into too many units had the lure of some savings in taxes. Actually, however, there was saving neither in time nor money. Had the suppliers' contract been a united one, there could have been a saving of at least one year in the construction of Rourkela and, incidentally, quite a few crores of rupees.

3. **High capital cost:** A comparative cost study of the three steel plants is too early to attempt now and can be done with a measure of accuracy only after all sections of each plant are in continuous production. A rough preliminary study, however, indicated that Bhilai's conversion costs—conversion of coal to coke, iron ore to pig iron and pig iron to ingot steel—will be lower than of the other two projects. Production cost of pig iron is likely to be the cheapest in Bhilai because of a recovery of about 64% in iron ore as against 58% in the case of Rourkela and Durgapur. The coal cost of Bhilai will, however, be slightly higher at Rs. 45 per ton as against Rs. 42 per ton in Rourkela and Rs. 37 per ton in Durgapur. Bhilai also has an advantage over the other two plants in the matter of good quality limestone within easy reach. Durgapur comes next in this respect.

In the stage of steel and finished products, Rourkela with the benefit of the LD process and the most modern mills should normally have a cost advantage over others. But it is not so because of the heavier capital base and the mechanical and operational limitations. On the whole Bhilai is the cheapest and may continue to be so after the expansion by sheer virtue of the dimensions of its production. The present production cost of pig iron at Bhilai is said to be about Rs. 100 per ton as against Rs. 130 per ton at Rourkela and Durgapur while that of a steel is placed at about Rs. 200 per ton as against Rs. 230 at Durgapur and about Rs. 240 at Rourkela. The present retention prices are uneconomic for all the three units and cannot enable any contribution towards the Rs. 111 crores expected of them during the third plan.

In fact, the steel plants are not providing even for reserves. The provision of 5% depreciation for such continuous plants like steel projects is absolutely inadequate. Perhaps, it has been fixed deliberately so with a view to balancing the books somehow. Even at this poor rate, depreciation provision is in arrears to the extent of more than Rs. 5 crores.

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Industry and the Third Five-Year Plan

The First Plan with its emphasis on agriculture, gave pride of place in irrigation and power, the second loaded in favour of industry, has been a "Steel Plan". Nearly two-third of the total investment in public sector industry during the Second Plan has gone into the establishment of three steel plants which were to produce 3 million tons of ingots or about 2.1 million tons of finished steel. But actual ingot output in 1960-61 has been at the rate of 1.75 and that of finished steel less than half the target. In the Third Plan the overall targets proposed under this industry are 10.2 million tons of steel ingot capacity and 1.5 million tons of pig iron for sale. The share of the private sector in these targets is 3.2 million tons of ingots and 3 lakh tons of pig iron. The existing installed capacity of TISCO and IISCO is 3 million tons of steel ingots New developments in the public sector comprise the expansion of the existing plants and the establishment of a new plant at Bokaro. In addition there is included in the Plan a project for the pig iron plant at Neiveli. The levels of capacity to be reached under these programmes are:

(Million tons target capacity)

	Ingot steel	Pig iron
(a) Expansion of		
Bhilai	2.5	0.3
Rourkela	1.8	..
Durgapur	1.6	0.3
Mysore Works	0.1	..
(b) Bokaro Steel Project	1.0	0.35
(c) Neiveli Pig Iron Project	..	(Capacity to be decided)

The lay out of the new steel plant at Bokaro is being planned for a capacity of two million tons of steel ingots, but in the first phase of development it is proposed to instal facilities for the production of one million tons. This plant is expected to specialise in the production of different types of flat products.

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AN OUTLINE OF AGRICULTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA (C. 2000 B.C. to 700 A.D.)

J. R. KAKDE,
Agriculture College, Poona

Agriculture is an ageold art and science in India. It dominated the whole economic life, forming the lifeblood of trade and society with other modes of life. It was the main source of bread with the bulk of Indian population. The development of family and village systems depended largely on the type of agriculture. Early literature presents a predominantly peasant civilization organised in village communities, more or less on the pattern observed today in rural India not affected by modern developments and post-independence reforms. This state of peasant proprietorship remained in vogue till early Christian era; only that predominantly stock farming type of mixed farming changed gradually to more well balanced mixed type with interest nearly equally divided into arable and stock farmings and with some specialised intensive farming in localised areas near urban life.

Starting from 'Brihatsamhita' of Varahamihira of early sixth century A.D. back to early Brahmana texts various Sanskrit treatises refer to ancient sages as great authorities on various subjects affecting human life directly and indirectly. Some of these texts have separate sections on aspects related to agricultural production. The available texts on agriculture, in the name of Parashara and Kashyapa, are considered compilations of such information from their various previous texts and are known as "Parashara Krishisangraha" and "Kashya-

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peeya Krishisuktih". These works are considered to be of eleventh to thirteenth century A.D.

The oldest direct reference to any systematic agricultural text is from Kautilya's Arthashastra wherein 'Vrikshayurveda' is mentioned as part of 'Krishitantra.' However, antiquity of any such text is not clearly mentioned, even though indication of such a scientific outlook can be traced in Yajurveda as a part of Shilpa (Chapt. 15). This indicates that agriculture science was known as "Krishitantra" in ancient times, and that it included practical application of other sciences also. Agriculture knowledge was considered incomplete without that of Plant Biology, as evident from the verses in Vrikshayurveda chapters of Brihatsamhita and Agnipurana. Ancient agricultural authorities were the sages-Gautama, Mareechi, Atri, Kashyapa, Garga, Parashara, Vasistha, Bhrigu, Bharadwaja, and Jamadagni (Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda ; Linga Purana, I. Chap. 5,39,63 ; Battotpala's commentary of Brihatsamhita ; Kautilya's Arthashastra ; and also Vedic texts). Other authorities are also mentioned. However, independent treatises of these authorities are not presently available. It is surmised that like other knowledge agricultural knowledge had undergone modification due to progressive development and omissions and additions was the rule ever since Vedic times. Remarks in the very first chapter of Brihatsamhita and Arthashastra largely emphasise this. Even though scattered references to some principles of crop husbandry can be noted in Vedic literature more elaborate treatises are from the pre-epic and later periods, excelling from Buddhist period onwards (seventh century, B.C.). These varied many texts show that in ancient times agriculture included various branches of science, interdependent in plant culture. These texts are sufficiently exacting in final guidance and representing different stages of cultural advancement, each separated by centuries..

Historical study of this agricultural development in India begins from the unrecorded period of the Indian history and extends to a period when many evidences, both written and archaeological, are found for the early Christian era. This can broadly be divided into seven periods: (1) Pre-Vedic, (2) Veda period, (3) Post-Vedic period, (4) Epic, (5) Post-Epic, (6) Buddhist and (7) Early Christian Era (upto 700 A.D.). No definite date can be given for the pre-Buddhist periods since the problem is still controversible.[1] Historical authorities mention different dates as per their own conventions. However, generally followed date for the Vedas is C. 2000 B.C. In the following pages a historical outline of the nature and standard of ancient agriculture is briefly given. It is not claimed to be perfect by itself.

Pre-Vedic (Prehistoric) Period

This period starts with Old Stone Age of the non-Vedic people. This early civilization can be expected to be rural predominantly with stock-farming as the main branch of agriculture. Pre-Vedic period covers the latter part of Palaeolithic Age passing through Neolithic or New Stone Age and ending with early Metal Age. Together they form the Primitive Agriculture period or early part of agricultural history and partly covers the early Traditional Agriculture period. This progress was at different times in different regions of India. As normally accepted, starting as hunter during the process of cultural evolution man came to a nomadic and gradually afterwards to semi-nomadic stage with numerous forest dwelling tribes advancing in agriculture from its rudiments to some form of cultivation of crops. However, this view is not totally accepted. It is mentioned in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Ed. 1908, Vol. I, p. 226), giving the instance of Bashkir Tatars in Russia, "As a sweeping generalization it is no longer possible to hold this theory" (man passed through hunter-nomad shepherd-tiller life gradually but that the circumstances suddenly changed life. Giving instances of the Mediterranean countries, it is further stated that "Agriculture in the earliest times was probably thus practised before the invention of the plough, the seed being left to sink into the soft mud, or as represented on Egyptian monuments being trodden in by cattle,"

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that most of our conditions of the modern civilization do not hold for primitive times.

The account under this pre-Vedic period is largely based on Archaeological findings which may not be of pre-Rig-Vedic period. However, it can give the idea of pre-Vedic period in India. Even some of the references in Rigveda give an account of such type of earlier agriculture, besides the achievements during the Rigvedic period.

I Stone Age[2]

(a) **Palaeolithic:** From the palaeolithic explorations and excavations in the States of the Punjab, U.P., Rewa, Orissa, M.P., Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras, since 1863, it is concluded that the prehistoric man is as old as nearly 500,000 years. He is described as living on river banks and hunting his food, and he used stone tools and implements. However, a story of this palaeolithic age in India cannot be properly reconstructed as yet.

(b) **Mesolithic and Neolithic Age:** Mesolithic Age is not well defined, and the evolution of Neolithic Age from the previous stage is not yet well established in India. The implements were still of stone but ground and polished. The Neolithic people were food producers with a comparatively settled life. The Bellary excavations are considered to present this life—with the discovery of milling stones, grain crushers, grinding stone, spindle whorls, clothculture and thatched dwellings. Even Rigveda presents such a picture of primitive agriculture in certain hymns in which case deities other than Indra are independently connected with the start and early development of certain agricultural practices.

During this period, which covers the Primitive Agricultural period mostly, agricultural evolution took place gradually. The picture of agriculture in this stage is given broadly by many authorities on ancient history.

II. Metal Age: (Immediate Pre-Rigvedic period)

It is not possible to say when metals began to be used in the absence of stratigraphic sequence of cultures and for want of unanimity of the age of Vedic texts which refer to "Aryas" both as copper and iron. The next contribution is attributed to the three modifications of the Dravidians of Mediterranean race which brought a high level civilization of city culture to India. Later on there was cultural and racial fusion.

Early Metal Age people were well settled and largely pastoral than arable. From the finds in burial sites it is known that they used millets and rice and wore clothes. The land of Punt in the Egyptian ethnological traditions has been identified with Malabar coast of South India, from where imports of various products in Egypt were in progress by sea route. This trade was very flourishing, indicating that Indian people were much advanced with a flourishing pre-Vedic civilization, and that agriculture was an important occupation with cotton exclusively restricted to India much before 5000 years. The Vedic period is considered to have started during this stage.

In the Vedas some acts are attributed to ancient sages, personalities, deities, and clans. This indicates that even before the Vedas were composed the pre-Vedic people were not ignorant of most of such knowledge. Much of the Vedic culture is of pre-Veda origin. Certain agricultural aspects are also of pre-Vedic period and had reached a farily high standard in the type of Traditional Agriculture. Even the Indus civilization (3000 B.C.) is largely considered pre-Vedic. Taking it as pre-Vedic, the archaeological evidences as described by Marshall, 1927, (Indus Valley Civilization) reveal the following nature of agriculture, in the general advanced picture of Metal Age with agriculture dominating the highly advanced community life in that part of India.

The wealth of Indus valley people was derived mainly from agriculture and trade. Millets, Rice, Barley, Wheat (a type still cultivated in W. Punjab), Melons, Peas, Sesamum, Cotton, Dates, and other fruits and certain vegetables were grown and land irrigated. Fowls, sheep, goats, cows, and buffaloes were reared. It has been indicated that 5000 years before India had a wall developed, managed and flourishing agricultural industry. Localised specialization

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might have developed during the process of Agricultural evolution. Extensive trade was flourishing; particularly in the Sumerian regions on the west. Marshall remarked "Great cities with teeming populations like Mohenjodaro and Harappa could never have come into being save in a country which was capable of producing food on a big scale and where the presence of a great river made transport, irrigation and trade easy."

Vedic Period (From C. 2000 B.C.):

India of the Vedic and Post Vedic times had been described by many foreign and Indian authorities. This period is divided into sub-periods and considered accordingly.

(A) **Veda Period**:—It starts with the Rig Vedic composition, as generally considered. The Veda, which literally means "Store of knowledge" is not a starting point for every thing by itself but rather a culmination. It is generally admitted that the expressions in Vedic hymns are a learned artificial synthesis (based on practical experience and proved thoughts and with instructions for proper pronunciation for results) the elements of which have been variously interpreted from practical basis and elaborated to reconcile dissimilar and contradictory conceptions. The famous sanskrit scholar, Pandit S. D. Satwalekar has stressed this fact in his interpretations and many publications in Hindi some of which refer to agriculture in the Vedas.

Rig-Veda gives a picture of the history of agricultural development from the beginning of primitive agriculture till the sufficiently advanced traditional stage of the period.[3] Whether the Metal Age development pictured in the Vedas belongs to this period or earlier it is observed that agriculture had become the universal occupation of high degree and the main stay of the Vedic Indians (Ath. 3.14.2). Even the word "Arya" means "tiller of soil." Various Vedic hymns are in the praise of natural factors affecting events in the universe and giving relationships with different lives on the earth in figurative or metaphoric ways. The Nasadeeya and Purusha Sukta of tenth mandala of RigVeda give in nut-shell the physical and biological origin of the universe and in that reveal the origin of vari sciences. In such other expressions agr cultural knowledge can be traced. Scatte ed references give the following broad ide of agriculture and its allied sciences, as co sidered by the ancient Hindus.

Of the four Vedas, Rigveda and Atharva Veda mention much more abou agriculture and present a picture of the ad vanced status of arable and stock farming the latter getting some predominence ove the former to the extent which yielded the plenty, and hospitability came to be regard ed as a cardinal virtue, (Rig. 5. 10. 117). Agr cultural profession was considered superi for one's livelihood (Rig. 10. 3. 34; Ya 18. 7; Ath. 4. 11, 4.10, etc.) and even the Brahmins were advised to take up culti vation instead of any other occupation in times of difficulty. A cultivator secured a high national status for food production (Yaj. 6.28; Ath. 8.13.9-12) since agricultu has to be followed for the happiness health, long-life, etc., and thus for the prosperity of human beings and the whole nation (Yaj. 9.22, 14.29; Ath. 3.17 and 24 4.11). In general, Atharva Veda is much more specific in respect of various agri cultural activities, while Rigveda refers more to general culture of the period.[4]

The whole farming structure w based on "Mixed farming" (Rig. 10.34.13) and not purely pastoral as generally cons dered. This aspect is more clear in Atharv Veda (3.8.4). Vedas frequently refer t grain food from field and milk food fro cows for the same reasons. Time and agai it is clearly stated that earth is the mother source of all knids of food and medicine so vital for healthy and prosperou life. Agriculture had become a stab national industry for which care was take and divine powers were invoked. seems that at the time of Vedic compos tion people lived mostly in semi-arid re gions and hence all elements related adequate rainfall are frequently praised and invoked. Though other specialised farming types did exist to a certain exte and produced varied types of food (Ath 12.1.4) agriculture was still less exacting in intensity of crop products, with great concentration on dairy and husbandry. Co

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was a symbol of varied necessities. Atharva Veda deals with care of cow and cattle in general along with problems of animal husbandry and disease treatment (3.14; 3.26; 3.28). Also broad aspects of crop production and soil fertility are stressed (Ath. 3.17.5; Rog. 4.57.8; 10.101,3; Yaj, 12.69 and 70; 4.10).

Plants, animals, rivers, mountains, atmospheric elements, etc., have played their part in Indian literature and religion, so also in agriculture. Any misery creating event is termed "Daitya," trouble. Such stories or references reveal many scientific aspects and natural events particularly in Rig Veda. Agricultural produce compared with a flowing river received far greater importance than mineral products compared with a tank getting emptied on constant use. Vedas consider agriculture as the very foundation of life, happiness, and wealth. Land is considered "mother" and human being her "son" entitled to enjoy her milk (produce) as the result of his efforts (Upasana) or cultivation. Land is 'Kamdhenu' giving all essentials of life in plenty on her proper care and maintenance. Agriculture should be the supreme habit (Chhanda) and germ plasm of life. Kings are advised to raise the status of agriculture by inculcating the spirit of producing better and higher outturns. Whatever man eats or drinks is considered the ultimate products of agticultural pursuits.

Shukla Yajurveda is much more specific on such aspects. In its sixteenth and eighteenth (hymns 17-45) chapters are mentioned various types of foods and varied and many professions for whose efficiency food is considered a basic necessity. Methods for good harvests are broadly outlined (4.10 and 11) in stating the importance of soft soil (tilth) which originates from hot condition and is capable of storing rain water. Need of agricultural officers for the two main branches of farming is also emphasised (Yaj. 14.25-26, Ath. 12.4) in State administration. Therefore, the land which is often prayed for achieving prosperity is designated as "Cow". By raising land, bullocks, seed, and peasant the Vedas had considered these four as the "Pillars of Agriculture" (Ath. 4.14); that agricultural wealth is dependable for availability of nutritions food (Ath. 3.24); and for bumper and good quality harvests from land, proper agronomic practices must be followed (Ath. 3.24.2).

In the philosophical and figurative descriptions of Vedic deities and explainations of their deeds, the relation of natural elements and energies with agriculture can be observed. The pillars or "active limbs" of agriculture and the principles of agriculture are explained for the production of various agricultural produces. If properly attempted, prosperity can be achieved, even starting from scratch, as explained in the praise of 'Ribhu' (4.33-37. Rig.) who converted barren soil (cow hides) into productive ones (Rig. 4. 36.4). Even the mythological legend of Rig Vedic Gautam Rishi (1.16.9) can be explained as utilising water of river Godavari for irrigating the fertile lands which remained 'dead' for lack of water—as a salvation for his sin of cow-killing (barren land or neglect of land). As such Gautam can be said to be an expert in agriculture and irrigation engineering. This high standard is not impossible for this period since grains, milk, and water are stressed for requisite quality, else on spoiling they are as good as poison (Rig. 1.187; 10.179; Ath. 8.2.19, 11.3.1-2 and 50-56). Naturally good quality food production was the ultimate object of agricultural pursuits. This profession was for those with proper aptitude and not for the fool of the family and that psychological make up of mind was the most essential attribute to become a successful farmer (Rig. 10.101.4). This Rig Vedic 'Sukta' refers to some essential things in agriculture. For the eternal happiness of family one should desist from gambling and get engrossed in agriculture along with cow rearing (mixed farming) (Rig. 10.131) and for benefits or salvation of life in cultivation by acting, exerting and producing good food (Ath. 4.10-20).

On the whole, the picture of farming in the Vedic period is of both "arable" and "stock" farmings. Mixed farming was the rule with predominance of dairy farming. Direct references and interpretations of other references together show that many

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principles of crop husbandry were well understood. Agriculture had a place of pride for the welfare of the society, was of good standard, and the peasants enjoyed great respect as giver of life generating energy through agricultural products. Even in the State administration agriculture had an important place. Vedic words are expressive of properties and actions of matter and hence in the Veda's references to different aspects of knowledge can be traced. These have to be properly interpreted and correlated to search the probable information.

(B) **Post Veda Period** (Known as "Karmakanda" period):

This period is the climax of the advance of Vedic ideas with adulteration as well as the shifting of isolated civilizations from various regions towards blending. Post-Veda literature forms part of Vedic literature and is considered as explanations of Veda hymns with further details. Various other separate treatises (besides Brahmanas, Aranyakas, Upanishadas) are also credited to this period. Of such texts some are on 'Shilpa' and Agriculture (Sasya Veda.) It is difficult to find such texts and also to decide the antiquity of some which are available. However, such initiaton had started during the period when Brahmana literature was being compiled* and thus the separation of various branches of knowledge is marked with the beginning of Brahminical composition. In the theory of sacrifice and connected speculations in Brahamana texts many agricultural aspects are referred, particularly in Shatapatha Brahmana. Probably some 'Sutra' and 'Purana' literatures of this period, if available, may also give more information. References to previous economic compositions, 'Shilpa-Shastra' and other 'Samhitas' in Mahabharata indicate that this period had treatises on agriculture either separately or merged in other works (like Shilpa-Shastra) in sufficiently elaborate forms.

The division of eighteen shilpa Samhitas in eighteen different regions of India (Matsya Purana, Chapt. 252) gives a good picture of agricultural conditions of India and some of these Shilpas are considered to belong to post-Veda period. For instance the pattern of Bharata's army (of Ram-yana) is considered to be according to Maya Samhita and the creation of Bhrig-Samhita, after the Great War of Deva-Danava, is feferred to as the result of the destruction of Kashyapa-Samhita (in Shat. Brah. and Tait. Aran.). Agriculture was one of the important parts of this 'Shilpa' which defnes agriculture "dealing with the propagation of growth and maintenance of plant, animal and human being" with its basis in the broader science "Varta". (Economics)

Agricultural importance continued on the basis of Veda thoughts, primarily centered around food for human beings. In the elaborated importance of food is revealed the importance of food production by mentioning the need of certain agronomic practices (e.g., rotation, manuring etc., in Shatapath Brahman). The Aranyaka philosophy explains the biological cycle and physiological principles. "All those living on this earth are formed from food, remain alive due to food and finally vanish in food; food is supreme in all lives and the medicine of medicines. Living things take birth from food and that they also grow and flourish due to food. It is eaten by all principles (Bhute) and all principles are assimilated in food." Upanishads condense it further— "Food is Brahma", "multiply food" (Bhrigu Valli, in Tai. Upanis.). Thus it seems that during this period basic principles of all life (including plant) called "Panch-mahabhute," were well defined and applied to agricultural production and that various sciences were initiated related to form finally the agricultural science (Krishitantra). Even the great care of food production of vegetative origin is the result of the doctrine of meta-sychosis which is considered to have originated during this period. Likewise the single supreme power or energy (Adi-shakti) was recognised as the mother source and controller of all actions of various energies (deities) and the movable and immovable things in this universe. These energies with definite functions and characteristics were partly interdependent. Interpretations of such functions reveal some relationships of these various factors

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related to agricultural problems, with five basic "principles" and four "pillars" of agriculture more emphatically stressed for the success.

Of the Sutra literature of this period, Grihya Sutras (as mentioned in Upanisadas) are of specific importance as these in covering different fields of domestic affairs in life refer to farming, gardening and other agricultural aspects. Upanisadas give little direct agricultural information, but indirectly they have stressed the dominance of agricultural pursuits in food production for the life and activities of men in stating that man is the essence of plants (plants from earth with its elements and earth from water—) whose creation is needed (natural or by cultivation) for human life (Chhandogya, 1. 1. 2; Tai. 2.1). Similar to the continuity of economic life of Vedic Aryans from the Rig Vedic period down to the Brahmana age, agriculture followed with further improvement. References to crop husbandry, stock farming with good dairy industry, irrigation, etc., are noted with further details. Many eatables are often mentioned; plough is described as a well lying lance pointed and with a smooth handle (even though referred earlier in Rig Veda). Some crops are mentioned for definite season—barley for winter, rice for rains, beans and sesamum for early summer rains (to be sown). Different milk products mentioned are curds, sour milk, fresh butter, creamy butter, milk mixtures, clarified butter (ghee), etc.

Epic Period

Epic period can be considered to start some time before the Ramayana and end with a few generations after the Mahabharata period. The texts reveal that the whole of India was then a continuous region, comparatively well knit socially with contact from region to region, giving complete blending and enveloping the whole land as the climax of cultural and social contacts. Ramayana refers to ideal social life and state welfare, while Mahabharata is more like the oldest encyclopaedic work referring to various aspects of human life. Study of these two texts shows that many other texts on various subjects were already in existence, including Puranas and texts on agriculture and Sutras. Agriculture and farmers received high status and ready existence, including Puranas and State attention for prosperity. Offenders were punished severely besides compensating any loss to the farmer concerned. Mahabharata reveals better understanding. Agricultural pursuits had recorded great advancement with a continuous growth of progress in economic sphere. Urban life came into certain prominence, with agriculture changed towards a more systematic and better managed national occupation and as an important source of taxation. Even though cow was held in great esteem, for the same reasons of varied usefulness, she was not yet sacred as we find today—as an aftermath of Buddhist and Jainist teachings now assimilated in Hindu culture.

The controversial Gautama-Ahalya story of Ramayana seems to be a figurative one and refers to agricultural aspects. Either the development of waste or barren land (Ahalya) due to action of Gautama (Agni) and Indra (heavy rainfall) for thousands of years (due to excessive erosion) from the existing undisturbed forest (developed later on) areas for agricultural purposes, or rebuilding the highly eroded land by induced vegetative growth and other soil building and erosion control practices of a shorter duration, can be taken as the sense of this mythological story on the agricultural side —as a great duty of a king. The Brahmins are noted (in Ashram life) doing cultivation and leaving their ploughs to pay homage to Shree Ram (1.32). In town planning agricultural aspects were highly developed—Ayodhya City is mentioned having large mansions and plenty of beautiful parks and gardens with fruit and flower plants besides home gardens of palaces. Studies of various lores are referred (2. 1. 24-25, 2. 2. 28-29, etc.) to particularly in connection with Bharata's education and proficiency in 'Shastras'. Shilpa was still a broad term (as mentioned in Yajur-Veda). All these arts and sciences had specific importance for a prince. The most ancient 'Shilpa' authority (Kashyapa) is referred to (1.21.24) besides Bhrigu (2.25.21)

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indirectly (corroborated by events in Devi Bhagwata and Brahmana literature). Even in the description of the capital of 'Vanara' tribe many agricultural aspects are mentioned.

Besides the general history of the period and the tale of the Great War, Mahabharata covers about fourteen important lores (Adiparva, 1 and 2) concerned with agriculture. Leaving aside the conjectures in Geeta and other parts of Mahabharata about the topics and stories therein, a search for agricultural aspects reveals a higher nature and status of agriculture. The querries of Narada (Sabha-parva) give great national importance to farmers, agricultural pursuits, their welfare, attempts to improve their lot on the part of the State, irrigation facilities, low interest loan facilities, supplies of good seed, etc. Various cultivated crops and stock farming features are frequently referred. Even some of the present day psysiological marvels were thought of (e.g., plants have life and feelings like other lives). Even the Brahmins were to take up agriculture in times of difficulty or if unfit for the assigned duty towards the society (Shanti-parva, Chap. 63). The 'Puranas' referred to are not now available. Else many other facts of agriculture would have been revealed as these broadly deal with political, social and cultural history. So is the case of medical and Arthashastra texts.

Post-Epic Period

Historically this period has been styled as the "Dark Age" of India, since no proper records covering the period are available. However, this period is of great importance with brisk social activities, as surmised from the references of later period works, and codification of various social aspects to avoid degeneration of society. This resulted into social awakening with different schools of thought. Literature of this period is considered to cover a very wide range of topics and it produced Sanskrit dictionaries, Sutra and Smriti texts, Shilpa Samhitas, other Samhitas (compilation texts) and commentories on earlier works in an attempt to interpret and search knowledge in Vedic as well as other earlier texts and to give a regularised structure with all its rigidity. The aphoristic Sutra literature is a special literary feature and reveals the nature of agriculture of the period in dealing with domestic duties connected with gardening and other agricultural aspects. It is also probable that independent agricultural texts might have been composed (Kautiyla's Arthashastra refers to some much older works entitled "Vrikshayurveda" and 'Krishi-tantra') Buddhist 'Jatakas' and Jain literature also produce a picture of this pre-Buddhist period.

It is generally noted that the whole Indian sub-continent was a net work of villages and some towns. Agriculturally they representated the intensive, extensive and mixed types of farming. Land holdings were from very small but manageable sizes to even 8,000 acres (1,000 Karisas) well fenced, watched, properly demarcated with stones, fences or irrigation channels as stated by R. N. Mehta (1939).** Drought and flood troubles were not uncommon the question posed even since the Rig Veda times. Many cultivated crops are mentioned. Flowers and fruits were innumerable with flourishing trade, and a good horticultural knowledge had developed as revealed by the maintenance of various parks and gardens as pleasure resorts and sources of fruits and vegetables. It is naturally expected that the various references to earlier 'Vrikshayurveda' works (either independently or forming parts of some of the 'Samhitas' Puranas, Arthashastras, etc., of later period) might be of the texts mostly belonging to this post-epic period. Cattle were the wealh, they were well cared for, and their various products better utilised. Breeding for quality was practised. However, the actual methods of cultivation of the various crops, to enlighten on the principles of crop husbandry cannot be properly stated from the available literature. It is surmised that there was much advancement in these respects. Some facts of cultivation are mentioned in Buddhist and some Sanskrit texts. This is also the period of introduction of many foreign cultivated plants.

Smriti literature and Dharma Shas-

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tried to codify agricultural occupation to avoid confusion in society and to encourage development of efficiency in specific arts and professions ultimately for national welfare. Puranas of this period are considered to be not available. If available the medical and botanical (Vrikshayurveda) texts can give better information on the agricultural standard. It is observed that the degeneration of society had affected the agricultural field also, as Smritis had to codify the acts free from fear of any kind of pilferage from various agencies, within and without, by prescribing severe penalties against sources of troubles. Thus the need of this vital occupation.

Buddhist Period

This period is usually taken from 7th century B.C. till the start of Christian Era. It has produced some of the most important compilations as well as original works, based on references from many former ancient texts most of which are now considered extinct. Better known Sutras and other literature belong to this age—(Texts on agriculture, engineering, biology, chemistry, meteorology, astronomy, astrology, medicines, etc.). Kautilya's Arthashastra, Jain and Buddhist literature, records of Greek ambassador Megasthenes and other Greek writers are important references. All these produce a glorious picture of the administration, in which agriculture was a systematic and regulated State Department with extension type work.

Importance of the care of animal life and prevalence of vegetarianism received maximum support during this period. From this cult agriculture in widder spheres developed to a high status. Even hospitals for animals were opened by King Asoka. In the royal polity, as discussed by Kautilya, various duties of Revenue and Agriculture Departments are mentioned for the welfare of farmers (in irrigation, stock farming, arable farming for grain, fruits and vegetables). The rules for the guidance of these officers, in different sectors, are sufficiently exacting though brief. He advises every one to cultivate the land and even the "Sudras" were not forbidden as was done previously. Different crops—cereals, pulses, oilseeds, fibres, fruits, vegetables, etc., were grown and Pandits warned people about the on-coming droughts and floods, weather conditions, etc. A pattern of cooperation in agriculture and social life in villages seems to be the dominating feature of the latter half of this period. Various details of rules for different agricultural operations indicate that the practical side of good crop and animal husbandry was well understood. Agricultural aspects included the study of other sciences as 'Vrikshayurveda' formed a part of the broad agricultural science 'Krishitantra' (Kautilya, Chapt. 24), Plant Science, was studied and much valuable information is available (Mujumdar, 1927 and 1951).

Panini (middle of 6th century B.C.) who produced the famous Sanskrit grammer, referred to many works of Parashara besides that on agriculture. However, Parashara's agricultural text (in its original form) is not available. Study of different texts of Panini[5] gives very valuable information on agriculture. Even the commentary of Brihatsamhita (early 6th century A.D.) by Bhattapala (10th century A.D.) refers to some Samhita texts of this period, giving many references to varied agricultural aspects. Some texts on Veterinary Science belong to this period but they are not available in original form. Other medical texts cover many crops, their products and their nutritional and other properties. Authorities on Arthashastra and Rajniti were more liberal than those on Dharmashastra in allocating various professions to different classes.

Megsathenes in describing India of his times (4th century B.C.) referred to huge mountains with fruit trees, plains of great fertility, large-scale irrigation and double cropping and great skill of the cultivators. He referred to agricultural conditions[6] as: "In addition to cereals there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well-watered by the propulsion of river streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also and what is called 'bosporum,' as well as many other plants useful for food of which most grow spontaneously. The soil

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yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. There is a double rainfall in the course of each year . . . always gather in good harvests annually. The points, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man." Kautilya had emphasised the importance of the State Administration of agriculture and other related departments for such prosperous agriculture. The observations of Megasthenes were confirmed and enriched further by other Greek authorities (Diodonis, Strarbo, Arrian) who came after him during the fourth and third century B.C.

Early Christian Era (Upto 650 A.D.)

The period is noted with brisk activities and great prosperity in many spheres and high standard of social life[7]; of many cultivated plants from the Middle East and East Sea Islands through trade and other channels. A broad outline of the progress in the art and science of crop production and other agricultural enterprises, as continued from the later Buddhist period and progressing further, can be had from Sukraneeti of first century A.D. and "Brihat-Samhita" of Varahamihir (early 6th century A.D.), medical texts, some 'Puranas', Sanskrit works of Kalidasa, and other texts and inscription records. Sukraneeti (Chapters IV. II. I.) refers to high intellectual standards and alround economic and industrially prosperous conditions. Cultivators' guilds are also noted. During the seventh century, the texts of famous Sanskrit authorities (Banabhatta, Dandin, Bhartruhari) and travel accounts of the Chinese travellers. (from 400-630 A.D.)[8] continue the prosperous picture of agricultural pursuits. Bhattapala (10th century) in his commentary on 'Brihat-Samhita' has elaborated the information by quoting from many previous works (particularly belonging to Buddhist period). Brihat-Samhita in its many chapters gives information on water findings (Dagargalshastra), arboriculture (Vrikshayurveda), various field and garden plant culture and maintenance, crop climatology, irrigation, planting treatment of seeds and planting material, crop protection, tillage and other aspects including partly the of physiology and morphology of plants. A careful management for good yields is stressed. In fact, the importance given is so much that in Sukraneeti (IV. 24. 224-26) it is stated "a successful agriculture is one which yields a profit twice the expenditure after duly considering the variations in actual produce; anything less than that is unsatisfactory."

Most of the "Purana" literatures of today belong to this period. These Puranas, besides giving the type of existing social life, refer to prospering agriculture and agricultural aspects. Some of the 'Puranas' contain very valuable information. Vatsyayana Kamsutra also indicates the high standard while referring to the arrangement and maintenance of the kitchen and flower and ornamental gardens for a house and which formed part of the duties of a housewife. The famous medical texts, "Charak" and "Sushruta" Samhitas of the early period (first and second century A.D.) mention many crops and other vegetation, give their various properties and uses in the control and cure of many diseases with elaborate information on diet. This gives a very wide list of cultivated plants and their uses. Different Sanskrit texts of Kalidasa, Harsha, Bana, Bhavabhuti and other authorities give marvelous descriptions of very well planned orchards and parks with bowers, rockeries, artificial water ways, inside pathways, fountains, etc., indicating a high standard of ornamental gardening during the later part of this period.

It is observed, broadly, that with the advent of civilization and wide extension trade and cultural contacts there was advancement in various arts, professions and sciences. Agriculture passed through similar evolution and became well established and was considered separately in many details. Like all ancient Hindu knowledge agricultural knowledge is mentioned broad

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ly in the Vedas. Gautama was the first known agricultural expert of great eminance in the pre-Rig Vedic period, and Kashyapa was the first to write an independent text on agriculture as a part of his Shilpa-Shastra during the Vedic period. The various texts show that more and more detailed information is available during later periods and thus agriculture too was undergoing evolution. As many texts of Buddhist period are available, specific information is largely for this period. By the end of this period a highly prosperous picture of agricultural pursuits is available. No caste was forbidden to cultivate land and the State had a strong administration to take care of the problems of farmers. This high standard is, of course, the result of gradual evolution built on the previous experiences.

"Acknowledgement"

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INFLATION AND CAPITAL FORMATION

By A. K. PODDAR,
Deshbandhu College, University of Delhi

Although a host of complex factors and forces of diverse character are responsible for the chronic backwardness of the underdeveloped economy, there is a general consensus of opinion that by far the most important factor holding up the pace of economic growth is the low rate of capital formation. If this diagnosis is correct, it logically follows that the essence of the process of economic growth is in increase in the rate of capital formation which implies (to put it in the succint terminology of Paul Baran) the mobilization of the **potential** economic surplus and canalizing it into the channels of productive investment. It is sometimes suggested that inflation, deliberately created by credit expansion can considerably facilitate economic growth by accelerating the tempo of capital formation.

The case for inflation as a device of promoting capital formation rests upon the inadequacy of voluntary savings and its efficacy in generating **forced** savings. In an underdeveloped country characterised as it is by the low capacity to save, the spontaneous voluntary savings are extremely limited. Most of the savings which are made by the well-to-do sections are either spent on ostentatious consumption and social and religious ceremonies or are hoarded in the form of idle cash balances, gold, ornaments and jewellery. Besides, there is the technical problem of collecting the small bits of savings from myriad petty savers which becomes particularly difficult on account of the absence of a the small bits of savings from myriad inflation, on the other hand, by raising the prices of goods and services and compulsorily cutting down the aggregate consumption of the community creates forced savings which can be utilized by the Government for financing capital formation.

This method of forced savings was widely used during the war time and there appears to be a close analogy between the war economy and the developing economy. The crucial problem in the war economy as well as in the developing economy is to divert resources from the old to the new channels of production. In the war economy, the resources are required to be diverted from the civilian consumption to the production of war materials, while in the case of the development-seeking economy, the resources have to be canalised into the channels of capital formation. In either case, the process involves a reduction in the aggregate potential consumption. In fact, the case for inflation for capital formation would appear to be even stronger. The accumulation of capital achieved through inflation enlarges, the productive capacity of the economy. The forced savings involved are thus only temporary in character and conductive to a long-term rise in the standard of living. There is nothing corresponding to this in the case of war-time inflation

Besides generating forced savings, inflation also tends to increase voluntary savings. In a period of rising prices, the consumers are likely to postpone the consumption of durables and even to some extent semi-durables in the hope of lower prices in future. Inflation may also activate the idle cash balances and the hoardings of precious metals by the force of compulsion to draw upon them in order to maintain the standard of living.

By far the most significant effect of the inflationary rise in prices upon capital formation arises from the inflation of profits. As the prices of consumable goods rise, the wages and salaries tend to lag behind on account of the natural inertia of the "contract income" to move in response to changing prices. The consequ-

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fall in real wages increases profits which has a two-fold effect on capital formation. First, the increase in profits has a stimulating effect upon the incentive to invest. Secondly, the share of profits increases relatively to that of wages and salaries which implies in effect a redistribution of income in favour of the class whose marginal propensity to save is higher than that of the wage and salary earning class. This is highly conducive to capital formation.

Copious historical instances can be cited in favour of inflation as a powerful source of capital accumulation. The phenomenon of profit inflation played a crucial role in the Industrial Revolution in England. In Japan, between 1880-1900, the rate of investment was doubled as a result of inflation combined with a system of agricultural taxation. In Soviet Russia during the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, forced savings and profits of the public enterprises constituted the major source of capital formation.

Inflation, however attractive it may appear at first glance is fraught with considerable risk and uncertainty. On closer scrutiny, many of the tall claims made in favour of inflation seem to lose ground.

The extent of forced saving depends upon the size of the **wage-price differential;** larger the gap between the wages and prices greater would be the forced savings. The inequality in the distribution of income which this creates, entails a heavy burden upon the common masses and thus undermines the democratic ideal of social justice. Even if this could be brushed aside as the inevitable cost of economic growth, there is no guarantee that such a policy would be successful for any long period of time. The condition for the successful generation of forced savings is that the working class must be prepared to accept a cut in real wages consequent upon price inflation. But as the phenomenon of inflation gathers momentum, the labourers become more alert and try to protect their interests demanding higher wages and sometimes an increase in wages greater than the rise in prices in anticipation of further price-rise. This problem is of special import in a democratic set-up where trade unions are a vital force to be reckoned with.

Inflation is likely to destroy some voluntary savings. First, the rising prices reduce the real income and thus the capacity to save. This reduces the **potential** savings, i.e., the savings which people might be induced to make without inflation. Secondly, because of the rising cost of living, the people may be compelled to draw upon the savings which form a part of current investment. In real terms inflation also reduces the value of the past savings.

An increase in the share of private profits by no means ensures saving of corresponding order by the profit earning class. As the investors of the underdeveloped countries are not imbued with the true capitalist spirit, an increase in their incomes may merely induce them to emulate the conspicuous consumption habits of the landed aristocracy and other dominant social classes.

An increase in savings similarly does not guarantee a corresponding increase in the rate of capital formation as inflation tends to encourage malinvestment. In the first place, in a period of continuous rising prices, the speculative forces become rampant and investment in inventories of goods and capital equipment become extremely profitable. Secondly, inflation tends to encourage investment in real estate like land, construction of high-price commercial buildings and apartments. Thirdly, at a time when the domestic currency depreciates in real value, the ownership of foreign assets including gold may become extremely popular. The expectation of an exchange depreciation may further strengthen this tendency.

It is clear, therefore, that inflation is an extremely delicate instrument and unless handled with due caution can jeopardize the whole economy. However, inflation can facilitate capital formation if it is contained within the limits of control and is accompanied by the necessary checks and balances.

Inflation is conducive to capital formation so long as there is a wage price differential. So long as the rise in money wages is in a proportion less than the rise in price,

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inflation can be carried on without any fear of dislocation. But as soon as the rise in wages tends to be equal to the rise in prices, inflationary pressure should be gradually toned down. In a typical underdeveloped economy this limit would be around 3 to 4% rise in prices per annum.

The method of inflation is likely to prove more fruitful and effective as an instrument of capital formation if it is used in conjunction with other monetary and fiscal devices. First, a heavy tax should be imposed up distributed profits and tax concessio should be granted on profits reinvested business. Secondly, a general expendit tax may be adopted to encourage savi and discourage consumption. Thirdly, order to discourage investment in specu tive fields, the capital gains arising out appreciation in the value of fixed ass like land, buildings and gold should be su jected to heavy taxation.

TAGORE'S KARNA AND KUNTI—A STUDY

By V. GOPALAM, M.A., L.T.

Tagore's dramatic genius appears at its best in the five dramas which he produced during the closing years of the last century. The dramas of the period are noted for their lyrical grace. They are splendid poetry, they portray rich scenes of nature, they transport the spectators into a fairy land of luminous mists, but they have little of the human element in them. The dramas of the later period are laden with symbolic meaning. The five dramas of the middle period have the true dramatic spirit in them. They are profound studies in human psychology. It has to be admitted that they cannot be called dramas in the strict sense of the term. They represent no action; they are only dialogues. But the dialogues are full of vital energy and the characters are powerfully drawn.

Kunti and Karna is the finest of the group. The dramatist borrows the story from the Mahabharata, but it is little more than the bare idea of the mother's meeting with the son that he borrows from the epic. The dialogue between the mother and the son as it is presented in the drama is entirely the product of the poet's imagination. Properly speaking, it is an imaginary conversation. Its very setting is different from that of the epic. The Karna of the drama has no knowledge of Kunti, nor has he any the least guess of her motive in coming to him. The dramatist's purpose in representing the meeting of the mother with the son is different from that of the epic poet. Tagore pre sents to us a picture of Kunti which is n where suggested by Vyasa. Karna does n suffer such a transformation as Kunti in th dramatist's hands, but he too undergoes change. He is more rigorously moral-minde than the epic hero; he appears in a different mood, a different spirit.

According to the story in the Mah bharata Karna has learnt the secret of h birth from Lord Krishna before Kunti g to him, and he has expressed his resolve t Krishna. Kunti, as the mother of t Pandavas, is well-known to him. The dram tist represents her as a stranger to Kar and ignores the incident of the Bhagava earlier visit to the hero to produce the effe of thrill in the listener's mind while Kun is unfolding her story to him. In the dram Karna notices Kunti, and asks her, "Tell who you are." Her answer is enigmatic him. He does not understand her meani when she says that she is the woman w first made him acquainted with the light is worshipping. But mysterious feelings working in his mind at sight of her. Insti tively, his heart is drawn towards her he questions her what mystery binds birth to her. By gradual stages she rev the hidden secret to him while he looks her bewildered to discover that the m of Arjuna, his mortal foe, is his mother.

The epic poet's purpose in describing meeting of the mother and the son is

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bring out the nobility of the hero's nature, his high moral sense in remaining faithful to his patron. The hero comes to know that the Pandavas are his brothers, but he would not desert his master in the hour of need. He would fight against his own brothers in support of his benefactor. He is not lured by the prospect of becoming king of Hastinapura. The meeting ends when he gives his word to his mother that he will not enter into a mortal combat with any one of the brothers except Arjuna, and Kunti departs half satisfied with her mission. But the talk between the mother and the son in the drama is in an altogether different vein. The Karna of the drama does not feel the need to explain to Kunti why he is resolved to fight on the side of the Kauravas. He enters into no reflections on his duty to his patron. He gives her no scope to argue with him on the propriety of his joining the Pandavas. He is roused to indignation to hear that she had abandoned him, kept his birth a secret all these days and left him to suffer the indignity of a charioteer's son. He assails her with questions to explain her conduct. He gives her no such promise as the epic hero does, but dismisses her in contempt.

In fact, the dramatist's main purpose in the composition seems to be the representation of Kunti as a base dissembling woman. In the epic, she adopts no arts of dissimulation to win Karna to the side of the Pandavas. She makes no protestations of her love and affection for him. She tells him in plain terms that he is her son and invites him to take his place as the eldest of the Pandava brothers. But in the drama she tries to appear as if her heart is swelling with love of him. In revealing herself as his mother she makes much ado of the motherly feelings that swayed in her heart on the occasion when he stepped into the arena for a trial of arms and when Duryodhana made him king of Anga. The Kunti of the Mahabharata makes no reference to the past occasion in the present context. In the drama she makes herself contemptible in her talk from the beginning to the end. The very first question that Karna puts to her on hearing her tale reveals his doubt and distrust in her professions. He does not recognise her as his mother, but addresses her with gentle irony as a Mother of Kings and wishes to know on what errand she has come to him. When she observes that she is thirsting for his love he becomes more bitterly ironical, and calling her as the fortunate mother of five brave kings, he asks her if she can find a place for him who is only a small chieftain of lowly descent. She has not the understanding to perceive that he is ironical and readily answers him that she will hold him as the eldest of her sons.

Kunti's words awaken in the hero's mind a train of recollections to which he gives pathetic expression. He knows that there is a rumour which says that he had been deserted by his mother. He had a yearning to see that mother. He saw her often in his dreams, but her face was veiled and when he cried to her to open her veil and show him her face her figure vanished. He expresses his wonder if the same dream has come to him while he is awake. He is greatly agitated in his mind to think that the mother of his dreams has come to him on the eve of the battle and revealed to him that he is the brother of Arjuna. Bitter feelings of enmity are deeply implanted in his mind against Arjuna. He resents that at this hour of impending battle his half-forgotten mother should come to him and try to draw his heart out to Arjuna and his brothers

Kunti fails to notice the effect of perturbation which her words have produced in her son's mind. She hears him say that her words have drawn his heart out to Arjuna and his brothers, and she hopes that with one more stroke she can win him entirely. She eagerly appeals to him to come away with her to the Pandava camp without any delay. The hero observes that she has effected a great revolution in him. His heart responds to her call. The discovery that the Pandavas are his brothers has damped his martial spirit. His emotional outlook is suddenly changed. His struggle for victory and fame and the rage of hatred now look to him like the delirious dream of a night. He feels it bitterly that she has made her revelation at a very inopportune hour. He considers that her protestations of love are all false. In silent disgust he asks her if he can find his lost

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mother on the other side of the river supposing he would go there. His dark meaning that he has lost her for ever is not perceived by her. She mistakes that he is really in doubt and tries to dispel his misgivings by a rapturous exclamation indicative of a heart overflowing with love for him.

The hero can no more contain his indignation. Casting the veil of irony aside, he sternly questions her why she banished him, rendered him a castaway uprooted from his ancestral soil and left him adrift in a homeless current of indignity. By her unnatural conduct she created a bottomless chasm between Arjuna and himself and turned the natural attachment of kinship to the dread attraction of hate. At these words Kunti is awakened to a sense of her sinful action. She realises the truth of her son's indictment. She stands speechless while he is fiercely denouncing her un-motherly conduct. The hero grows more and more emotional. He considers that her shame permeates the vast darkness that envelops them and observes that it sends invisible shivers through his limbs. Quivering with rage, he tells her that he will be satisfied if she would at least let him know why she has come to him on this day, on the eve of the battle. By her own hands she has wrecked the heaven of his ancestral home. He asks her what she means in inviting him to the ruins of that wreckage. In Karna's bitter words to Kunti the dramatist expresses his own view of her as a callous-hearted woman.

Kunti is abashed at her son's reproaches, but she does not give up her efforts to win him to the Pandava side. She pleads guilty to his charge, admits that she has been a recreant mother, but excuses herself by explaining that under a deadly curse she could not reveal the secret of his birth in the past. Having thus glossed over her past conduct, once again she protests her love for him, declares that on account of separation from him her heart has shrivelled and that all her life's pleasures have run to waste, and implores him for generous words.

Karna is the very embodiment of generosity. He does forgive her so far as to address her as his mother. He subdues his feelings of rage and speaks to her in tears. From this change in his demeanour she is misled into the hope that she might win him over by other arguments. She confesses that she came to him with little hope of winning him back to her arms. But she puts it to him that he need not forgo his rank and position as the eldest of the Pandava brothers. The hero is too noble to be enticed by the invitation. He would not be persuaded to desert the couple who brought him up as their own child. His blunt answer to her is that he does not covet the glory of greater parentage than that of Adhiratha and his wife. Karna is magnanimous in his humility.

Kunti then plays upon another chord. She offers him the glory of kingship. The Pandavas will be the winners, and as their eldest brother he can become king of the land by changing sides and joining the Pandavas. The hero looks at her in utter contempt for the bait she has thrown him and ask her, "Must you who once refused me a mother's love tempt me with a kingdom ?" His words are an emphatic declaration to her that he is not the man to yield to her temptations. Coolly but severely, he expresses that he cannot look upon her as his mother. He speaks the psychological truth that the quick bond of kinship which she had severed can never grow again. If the charioteer's wife upon whom he would look as his mother. He should be a shameless man to desert his mother in the charioteer's house and call the Pandava queen-mother as his mother.

Kunti realises the futility of her dissembling tricks. She finally takes recourse to flattery and self-reproach. She expresses her admiration for him as a high-souled man and ruefully extols God's inscrutable ways of punishing sinners. She bewails that as a result of her sinful action in having abandoned him he would now smite her brothers. The rat has at last come out of the bag, and without knowing it Kunti has confessed the purpose of her visit to him. She betrays her anxiety for the safety of her five sons as the prime motive of her visit. The hero, however, does not soften at her wailing and grants her no concessions. He gives it to her to understand that she need have no anxiety about the safety of her five sons. He knows that victory is in

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for the Pandavas and that the Kauravas will be defeated and destroyed. He has chosen to suffer destruction with the Kauravas. He looks into the future with a philosophic spirit of resignation. Once again referring to her callousness in having left him naked and unnamed to disgrace he begs her to leave him without pity to the calm expectation of defeat and death.

The Karna of the drama is a hero more sublime and pathetic than the Karna of the Mahabharata. He has also other traits which make the character more interesting. The dramatist has imparted to his hero an emotional and a critical spirit which we do not find in the epic hero. The epic hero also condemns his mother for her past action in having deserted him. He also considers that she came to him with no motherly feelings. But he speaks to her in calmness and serenity of mind. Tagore's hero is eloquent and passionate in expressing his condemnation of Kunti. He is full of moral indignation for her unmotherly conduct and he bursts into fiery denunciation. He subjects her to such critical questioning that he drives her to admit herself a recreant mother. The ancient poet represents the ideal of Matribhakti in his hero. While the hero knows that his mother's action is sinful, he yields to her entreaties to a certain extent. But the hero of the modern poet shows no such softness. He is a rigid moralist of the modern age. He does not hesitate to dismiss his mother in contempt when he finds that she is a base dissembler. Tagore has infused his own stern moral spirit into the hero of his conception.

THE FOURTH DIMENSION

BY SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

Every object we see round us has three dimensions—length, breadth and thickness. The third dimension is sometimes called height or depth. Indeed we consciously live in universe of three dimensions. But that does not rule out the possibility of the existence of more dimensions. Indeed there may be many more. Everyone would admit the existence of many things which we can neither see nor feel with our senses, and science has been daily bringing to light many more things than our forefathers could think of.

A point is said to have no dimension, a line has only one dimension (length), a surface has two dimensions (length and breadth) and a solid has all the above three dimensions. But true geometrical points, lines or surfaces cannot be drawn on paper nor can any be represented by models. But when the shadow of a board is cast on the floor, the boundary between the shadow and the lighted part of the floor may be taken to be a true straight line and the corner where two such lines meet may be taken to be a true point. Again if a glass jar is half filled with water and half with oil, the boundary between oil and water may be taken to be a true plane surface and where it meets the inner surface of the jar may be taken to be a true straight line.

But we cannot form an idea of any dimension beyond the third owing, perhaps, to our defective brain which has only three, but the chain of reason leads us to suppose at least the fourth. Our incapacity of idealising the fourth dimension has been compared with that of a small flat organism crawling on the surface of a big sheet of newspaper. Suppose it has no idea of the third dimension. All that it can do is to move in any direction, but all the time on the paper. Neither it can look above nor dig down. Indeed it does not understand that any side like 'above' or 'below' ever exists. Any thick line on the paper would appear to it the ultimate boundary of its world. Any new object (say an ink-pot)

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dropped on the paper from above would surprise it as a miraculous appearance from nowhere. The object, too, would appear to be a circle or square according to the shape of the ink-pot. If a thick enclosure is drawn round both the organism and the ink-pot, the former would think both entrapped within a box. If now the ink-pot is picked up, the animalcule would be surprised how it could vanish when all sides were closed.

Similarly, this three-dimensional universe which we can perceive is nothing but the outer surface of a 'continuum' of four dimensions in which we see many things in their cross-sections only. It is a closed curve, **a hyper-sphere**, of four dimensions whose radius (forming the fourth dimension) is associated with Time. The radius goes on increasing as time advances causing the universe to expand like an inflated balloon. Sir Arthur Eddington, the noted British Physicist, has written an entire book on the theory of the "Expanding Universe." According to this theory, if we could move in the same direction in a straight line with the velocity of light, we would, after several million centuries, return circumpassing space, to the same spot whence we started. Again a distant star or nebula which shows itselfs in a certain direction in the sky, could be also seen by pointing a super-powerful telescope to the diametrically opposite part of the sky.

The Fourth Dimension is said to be not really Time, but the mysterious form Timexi (the symbol 'i' is used for the square root of minus one). If the units of length, breadth and height are each 186,000 miles, that of the fourth dimension is 1 second xi, from the fact that light and other electro-magnetic waves travel at 186000 miles per second. Time does not flow past us, the space remaining constant; but this three-dimensional space itself moves uniformly and is brought to different time-levels.

A point (0 dimesion) drawn away in one direction traces out a straight line (1 dimension). If it is drawn perpendicular to itself, it will describe a rectangle (2 dimensions). Draw it in a direction perpendicular to it (as in raising a card vertically from the surface of a table) and it will describe a rectangular solid (3 dimensions). Imagine what the solid can describe if similarly drawn. When you draw a plane figure in a direction perpendicular to it even through a very short distance (as in the card raised), the new position occupied by it, is wholly different from the original position. Imagine a big wooden chest drawn away in some direction so that the whole of it is outside its original position (without overlapping).

The straight line has 2 ends (initial and final positions of the original point drawn away). The rectangle has 4 corners (2 initial and 2 final ends of the straight line drawn away) and 4 edges (1 initial, 1 final and 2 traced out by the 2 ends). The solid has 8 corners (4 initial and 4 final of the rectangle drawn away), 12 edges (4 initial, 4 final and 4 traced out by the corners of the rectangle) and 6 plane faces (1 initial, 1 final and 4 traced out by the edges of the rectangle). Similarly, a hyper-solid will contain 16 corners, 32 edges, 24 faces and bounded by 8 solid sides.

Again two lines cut at a point, two planes intersect along a straight line and so two solids (one in the space in which we live, the other outside it) must intersect in a plane. But any solid which we see (say the match-box on your table), when its dimensions are produced indefinitely, will cover the whole space or universe which we perceive or live in and hence the second intersecting solid must be somewhere beyond this apparent universe. Imagine a big book on the table intersecting another such external solid along a particular page of the book having no other part common between them.

Again you can rotate a straight line (rod) about a point in the middle and also can rotate a plane (say, a postcard) about a straight lnie through the middle. Can you similarly rotate a solid (say, a book) with a plane (page) remaining fixed? Put a book on the table and move it and turn it round but all the while on the surface of the table and hence it cannot rotate about a fixed straight line. So when you turn a brick or a box it is never outside the solid which we see and live in. If the card moved on a table is cut in the form of a man, its right hand will remain right until it is bodily lifted from the table and turned upside

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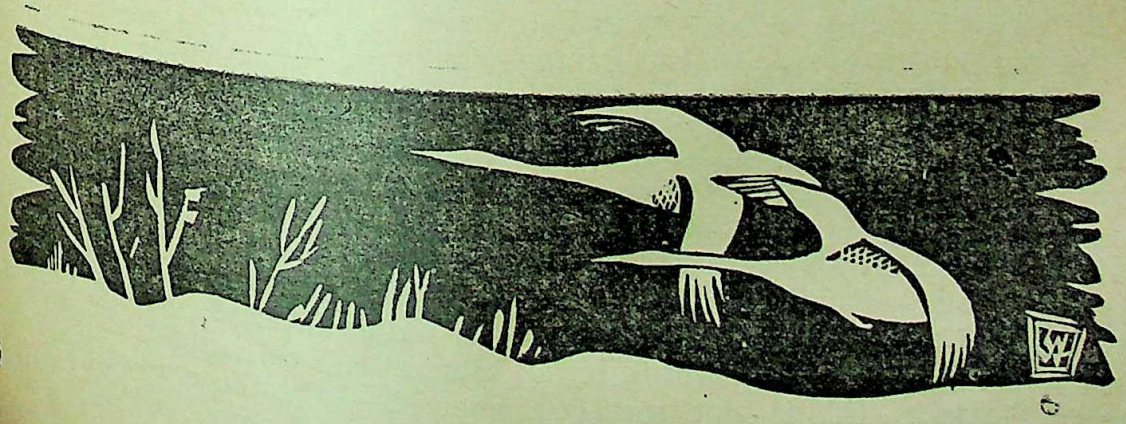
down. Mr. H. G. Wells in a scientific fiction gives us the picture of a man who by taking a turn outside space interchanged his left and right.

I give another example. Here also a book is taken as the example of a solid, each page in it as a surface, each line of print as a line and each printed letter as a point. An ant crawling on the page is also taken as the example of a moving point. The ant from the left or right of a line of print, can read only one letter, others falling behind it. But if the ant moves along the 2nd dimension (breadth), it would read the entire line. But still, it can read only one line, others falling behind it. If the ant can fly and rise in the 3rd dimension (height), it can read the whole page. Similarly, if anyone could rise in the 4th dimension, he would read all the pages without opening the book. The enemy who cannot see anything from outside the wall of a city, can see all from an aeroplane. So it may be the case that disembodied spirits from the 4th dimension would see the contents of a closed box, or take away anything from it.

Again, draw a piece of India rubber, its length increases, but breadth diminishes: pull it both lengthwise and breadthwise (or pour out the liquid contents of a jar onto a shallow dish), the thickness diminishes. When the rubber is pulled (or a gas expands) in all three dimensions what diminishes? Density: and this may be one aspect of the fourth dimension.

Returning to the two-dimensional organism crawling on a newspaper, let us make a hole in the paper and pass a thread through it. The thread should be of varying thickness and colours. When we would pull the thread through the hole, the animalcule which sees only its cross-section on the paper will see a circular object whose size and colour are changing. Similarly the plants and animals on earth that grow, decay and die may have a predetermined Future towards the fourth dimension presenting only their cross-sections to us, which change with Time. Again Mr. H. G. Wells gives us the picture of a man exploring the Future by riding his "Time Machine." And all these threads of individual lives may be bound up with a Frame of Evolution which moves on towards the Past (or better, we are moving towards the Future).

If a heavy lead ball is put on an outstretched rubber sheet, it will bend down the sheet and any other lighter ball will roll down to meet it. So the curvature in space is due to heavy masses causing lighter things to be attracted (Gravitation). But since heavy masses are scattered everywhere in Space, it continually gets bent and closes upon itself. The attraction follows the track of Time and to one who wants to get away from this pull at immense speed, the relative speed of Time slows down until brought to a stand-still. Time may be compared to a very long train running very fast. We standing by it or walking in the same direction will see it passing away. But a cyclist running beside it at higher and higher speeds would see it slowing down until it will not at all pass away from him.



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INDIA : A NEED FOR EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE

In a famous ode to Mother India Rabindranath Tagore once hailed her in his inimitable poetic language as the great ocean of universalism standing at whose shores we bow to Man the Eternal and the Universal. On another occasion he had said "I love India not because I cultivate the idolatory of geography, nor because I have had the chance to be born on her soil, but because she has saved through tumultous ages, the living words that have issued from the illumined consciousness of her great sons."

To-day we stand at the cross roads of history in a strange world, vacillating between deep disillusionments and great expectations amidst strife, strain, struggle and disaster. To-day human mind faced as it is with an imminent doom is hungry for something deeper in terms of moral. aesthetic and spiritual development and anything which raises man above his level gives the human personality a new dimension of spiritual quality and moral depth So when we meet in a Conference of this nature trying to appraise our literary and cultural values we must not fail to take a synoptic view and look to not merely the means but the ends also. Literateurs are not merely photographers and interpreters but seers and creators also. We want to light our little lamps from the Olympic torch they hold and we bow to the creative artists of India assembled here to-day whom we welcome.

I recall that when a few years ago, when the 'Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan' changed its nnme to All India Bengali Sahitya Sammelan, I had welcomed it because it was not only a correct lead but emphasised the true significance of Bengal's literary movement—which was in a way the harbinger of an All India renaissance, the messenger of a hope when spring could not be far behind. This is not merely a poetic hyperbole but a logical deduction from facts which history supports. We have been accused often of a mercurial temper, of an unsteady demeanour of being great as individuals but poor as a collective entity lacking in strength and personality in stability of character and being unnecessarily sentimental and emotional. All these charges may or may not correct within limits, but there is one thing that will not be disputed. Our forefathers had a capacity to dream, had courage to convince and could muster confidence to win. The Codes and conventions of a culture pattern, the ways of life and habits of mind are poised on a dream. Bengal had that quality in good measure. To give an example we can fairly trace these trends in three ages of her growth when she sent her cultural ambassadors across the seas and over the borders and in different parts of India. This cultural co-operation was not in any sense a conquest. Take any age of expansion in her Pala-Sena era, the Vaishnava middle age or the Nineteenth Century movements. There was an impact, there was a flowering. there was rejuvenescence, there was an achievement which others also shared. It was neither imperious nor imperial in any sense. We sent our hermits, we sent our philosophers. Our saints and sramanas went to other lands to the islands of the East, to Cambodia, Champa, to Bali, to Ceylon, to Nepal, Pamir, to Tibet, to Japan. She let the legions thunder past and plunged in deep thought again. We went as servants not as Masters. Taranath, Chandra Goumi, Bodhideva, Atisa Dipankara, Basu, Bandhu, Jaideva, Sri Chaitanya and the stalwarts of the Nineteenth Century conceived of India as a fundamental unit and became "Bharat Parikrama pathik."

This fundamental unity is inherent in the Indian concept of flife, in the Indian integration of thought. To give only one example—take the case of Ramayana. What a cementing factor it has been in Indian

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Throughout India this one theme, this one great story of life have—solaced many, whether we were reading it in Pampa Ramayana, or in Kamban or in Tulsidas or in Kritibas or in Valmiki's or in Puttappa's Ramayandarsanam—a unique work of 1000 pages and 25000 verses as we have Mahabharatam of Sripad Krishnamurti Sastri in Andhra, whether by the side of the Brahmaputra or by the Ganges or by Godavari or Krishna or in the banks of Tapti or Narmada. Rightly did Subrabmanyam Bharati say that Mother India has 300 million faces. She talks in eighteen languages but her mind is one.

Nineteenth Century in India was an age when new wine was being poured into old bottles and the stirring within was translated and transmitted mainly through a progressive outlook towards a creative idealism not divorced from the basic trend of old achievements. The acceptance of the new with the old was the great contribution which Bengal made to India under the inspiring guidance of its stalwarts from Rammohun onwards. It was a galaxy of gallants. The result of this shake up was a political consolidation, an economic readjustment, a sociological upheaval, an agrarian dissatisfaction and simultaneously an intellectual flowering. The nature, import and impact of this renaissance have been debated by scholars. Was it really a rediscovery than a discovery or a nascence? Had it anything to do with the underdogs or have nots? Was the concept of a classless society even an embryo? Did not the forces of counter reformation gain a footing? Were Bankim and Vivekananda not also traditionalists? Sri Aurobindo's estimate of it seems to be a somewhat full explanation of the phenomenon. From this meeting of a foreign art and civilisation with a temperament differing from the temperament which created them, there issues, as there usually does issue from such meeting, an original art and an original civilisation. Originality does not lie in rejecting outside influences but in accepting them as new mould into which our own individuality may seem. That is what happened in Bengal. It was not merely the story of a conscience, but the story of a society electric with thought and loaded to the brim with passion and that is how we created a language, a literature and a nation.

But behind this synthesis was the back-ground of India-consciousness. In this great land of ours, Empires have risen and fallen, different faiths have flourished and declined, we have suffered aggression and oppression. We have spoken in different languages, used diverse scripts. Nature and man have heaped numerous calamities upon us, yet we had been able to maintain a common existence, preserve our common culture and retain our vital and creative powers. Even only yesterday in bondage and slavery we produced such giants of men as Rammohun and Ram Krishna, Gandhi and Tagore, Raman and Aurobindo, Dayananda and Vivekananda, Jagadish Bose and C. V. Raman, Bharati and Vallathole, not to speak of hundreds of others, of eminent scholars and scientists, poets and prophets. It appears that the main reason for our survival is that our collective consciousness rests on a foundation which is stronger, deeper and wider than the mountains, the ocean and the sky. Our collective consciousness i.e., our culture has never remained imprisoned within racial, religious or linguistic boundaries as President Prasad had aptly pointed out. I recall the prophetic words of Gandhiji "I do not want my house to be walled on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the best among God's creation, but it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or culture." Ours is a great country stretching from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari. I come from the north, you come from the south. But we have a common heritage. I pride as much in your Nataraja and Parvati as you do in my Buddha and Abalokiteswara. We are the joint inheritors of a fulfilled renown.

This is our God. That is the Tirubaymori as we say in Tamil the song of songs which will radiate in a thousand tunes fulfilling itself in a thousand ways. That is the unity in diversity. That is 'Oru Chitram'

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our picture. A Panchali Saptham of a Subramanya Bharati or the cry of Viduthlai or the poignant sorrow of a Magdalana Mariam, of a Vallathole or the story of a Pingala or a Tyagaraja's songs or Vireshligam's novels are our joint heritage as a poem of Tagore or a Bankim's romance or a Sarat Chandra's story or a Nripatunga's homily, Durbinita's verse, Madhura Chenna or Bendre's lyrics. As Oswald Spengler or Arnold Toynbee will tell you, history is not so much migration of peoples but a movement of ideas. It transcends local limits and administrative boundaries. The whole of India bears the impress of certain common movement of thought and life resulting in the development of certain common ideals and institutions which distinguish it as Vincent Smith says as an 'Unit in the—history of the social, religious and intellectual development of mankind.' Politically and unlike China it has not been regimented. It has of course lost its unity in variety. That has been her failure as well as success. It is not merely the story of Maurayas, Kushas, Statabahanas, Huns and Sakas or Guptas Pallavas, Chalukyas or Cholas, or Pathans, Moguls, Sikhs, Maharattas or the British. It is something more than that,—something moving and living, more organic than a rigid continuity. There need be no obscurantist tyranny. It has not been sufficiently realised that by the end of the Tenth Century with the so called disappearance of Buddhism or to be more correct its reabsorption in the Hindu fold, the whole of India from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, from Guzrat to Assam, was apart from political fissures here and there, one fundamental unit. Barring local colours, it had the same social organisation on the basis of caste and the Dharma Shastras, it had the same religious outlook in the worship of Siva, Vishnu and Debi or Durga, it had the same background of philosophy which accepted the main doctrines of Paramatma, Jivatma, Maya and reincarnation.

We thus got in the old days an unity of thought and theme in vaishnava lyrics, in Saiva literature, in Ramayani lores, in the pattern of our dramas, in the style of story telling and later in a sense of the same patriotic values, broad humanism, rational and scientific approach to life.

Though there has been this fundamental unity in diversity from the days of Sankara and Ramanuja to the days of Gandhi and Rabindranath, from Tolkappism and Sangham texts, to Gitanjali and Pathe Dabi. Critics have pointed out that the India-consciousness and its expression in literature were more in theory than in practice particularly in view of the many languages in which we speak and its different modes of development and expression. Moreover, all the world over angry young men are "far more interested in producing something hard hitting, something that will make an immediate impact." They are in need of a cause.

To-day when we speak of Indian Literature and its many facets in Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati, Kerala or Hindi versions we have to keep a note of these fundamentals. To-day when we read Gujarati literature we need not think merely of Umasankar Joshi or Sundaram or Kanaiyalal Munshi but also of Narsingdas, Mehta, Valan, Padlipta Charya, Dalpatram Nanalal, Gobordhan Chandra Tripathi. The same is true of other regional literatures. When we talk of Subrahmanya Bharati or his famous songs, such as, Vidhuthlai, Viddhitelai, Viduhlai freedom, freedom, freedom of his Kananpathis or Krishna lyrics, our mind goes back not only to Sangham literature but also to Nayanmars and Alwars. In Marathi, we value not only the old Masters such as, Dhaneswar, Namadeva, Ekanath, Ramdas, but men such as Keralashri Devala, Kolhatkar, Godakiri, Tombe, Barde, Mama Warerkar who was to have presided over this section, has links with Bengal in more ways than one. A prolific writer, a translator of repute, many Bengali authors are known in Maharashtra through his translations. He has made Sarat Chandra a living idol of Maharashtra as in Bengal.

Hindi also is on its march. It is said that it is the language of the region which has borne the brunt of history. In any case being born of Apavramsa it is a language of protest of the people. All its varieties such as Brajabuli, Khoribuli, Ondhi, Maithili are straight from the heart of the proletariat

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Along with Kabir and Tulsidas, we welcome today literatures such as Bharatendu, Harishchandra, Mahabirprosad, Premchand, Nirala, Janendrakumar, Nagarjuna, Subhadrakumari, Pant and many others.

To-day the great problem is the adventure of being human. Life and literature must conform to it. This thought is all the more uppermost today when we stand face to face with a crisis of civilisation where the vanquished man has yet to win back his lost human heritage. Any cultural movement anywhere in the world is not simply the creation of a national art or literature or a national government or the propagation of this or that 'ism or to have a planned economy but to create a renaissance which may synthesise the vital social urges underneath the surface of turmoil with the attempt to create new values where the starvation of the spirit is as much manifest as the starvation of the body, where the plenty promised by science has not yet percolated to the disinherited, lowly and the lost, where the very basis of human co-existence is still in jeopardy, where we are every day mocked by power, pride and prejudice. The world today hungers for a voice which would overleap the frontiers of nations and classes and clans over the din and bustle of tanks and bombers, where one would say with Rolland 'I will not rest', where each will meet with each, country with country, race with race, knowledge with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour, where in the words of our great poet :

"The mind is without fear and the head is held high
Where knowledge is free
Where the world is not broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls,
Where words come out from the depths of truth,
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection,
Where the clear stream of reason not lost its way into the dreary sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led by thee into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom my father let my country awake."

[Summary of an inaugural address delivered at All-India Bengali Literary Conference held at Calcutta in December, 1961.]

PLAN PROGRESS AND NATIONAL INCOME

By KARUNA K. NANDI

One of the usually accepted criteria of progress, achieved as a result of planned development of a national economy, has been claimed to be reflected in the incidence of rises in national incomes. It has thus been asserted that, in India, the national income has risen by as much as 42 per cent during the ten years ending 1960-61.* To the uninitiate not fully versed in the mechanism of computing such statistical data, this might indeed appear as an indication of phenomenal progress. But statistical data represent the truth or otherwise of a given set of circumstances or facts in accordance with the particular technique that may have been pressed to their compilation. The claim that India's national income had risen by 42 per cent, as asserted, has been based on computing the income in question upon current prices prevailing during the period 1960-61. This method of computing the incidence of rise in national income may very well be extremely misleading and might present an entirely false picture of the situation, especially having regard to the fact that price levels have been steadily spiralling upwards during the ten-year period germane to the calculation and that they had moved a considerable altitude upwards in comparison with the base year in relation to which the rise in the national income has been computed. It is safer, therefore, as is the usual practice elsewhere in the more progressive countries of the world, and which would moreover present a

* Reserve Bank Bulletin Statistics, September, 1961, Pp. 1389.

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more correct picture of the situation, to compute such incidences of rise in national income on the basis of prices prevalent at the beginning of the period during which the income has to be assessed. In fact, it is usual in most countries of the world to calculate the national income of any one year upon a base some five to ten years earlier. Thus, in computing the progress in national income in 1960, both the U.K. and the U.S.A. are found to have taken as base the prices prevalant in 1954, with calculations also demonstrating the differences that would accrue when the same were estimated on the basis of current prices. The Indian income calculations, however, are found to have been predicated on the 1948-49 national income both at current and constant prices, thus the calculations at current prices artificially inflating the visible national income on the background of the much lower national income in *real terms* at 1948-49 prices with which comparison is made. This would appear to be quite obvious when regard is had to the indices of wholesale prices (at 1952-53 prices) which is found to have increased to 124.4 by September, 1961 and cost of living indices (with 1949 as base) rising to as much as 128 by August, 1961.

The anxiety for window-dressing the claimed successes of the First and the Second Plans, presumably, has led to the calculation of these incomes at current prices. When, however, the national income is computed on the basis of prices prevalent in 1948-49, as should have been the case if it were intended to present a more realistic picture of the situation, national income instead of having risen at the average rate of 4.2 per cent per annum, as has been claimed, would be found to have risen at the rate of 3.0 per cent (simple) per annum, during the first Four Years of the Second Plan, and the simple average increase during the period from 1951-52 to 1960-61 at 1948-49 prices would be found to have worked out at just about 3 per cent per annum. But calculated at current prices, as has been done by the appropriate Government agencies, the statistical data referred to above, unduly inflate the annual averages as demonstrated. Obviously, this must have been done deliberately to boost the claims for the Plans which would otherwise, be untenable. The following table gives a comparative analysis of movements of national income in India, U.K. and the U.S.A. during recent years:

TABLE I.

Behaviour of Wholesale and Consumer Indices and National Incomes

Country	Period	Average annual increase in Wholesale prices per cent.		Average annual increase in national income at current prices period	per cent
U.S.A.	11 years	1.75% (1947-49=100)	2.42% (1947-49=100)	10 years	7.33
U.K.	5 „	Not available	2.38% (Jan. 1956=100)	10 „	8.55
India	5 „	7.29% (1955-56=100)	6.25% (1955-56=100)	First 4 „ of 2nd Plan	3.03 (at 1948-49 prices)

It would be obvious that when regard is had to the "population explosion" that has occured during the past decade, as revealed by the 1961 Census figures, and along with that the steep spiralling of prices during the past five years, calculation of national income has little significance as an index of the progress of the national economy under the Plans if that be computed on the basis of current prices. Per capita income in India during the years 1951-52 to 1959-60 will be found to have risen, with yearly step at the rate of 1.29 per cent per annum. Table II below will give a break-down of this which will be revealing :

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TABLE II

Annual Increase in Per Capita Income at Yearly Step in India at 1948-49 Prices (Per Capita Income)

Year	According to earlier Central Statistical Organization Figures		According to Figures based on 1941, 1951 and 1961 Census Results	
	Rs.	Annual Percentage Increase	Rs.	Annual Percentage Increase
1951-52	250.1		250.3	..
1952-53	256.6	2.59	255.7	2.15
1953-54	268.7	4.71	266.2	4.10
1954-55	271.9	1.19	267.8	0.60
1955-56	273.6	0.62	267.8	0.00
1956-57	283.5	3.62	275.6	2.90
1957-58	277.1	—2.25	267.4	—2.98
1958-59	292.6	5.60	280.2	4.79
1959-60	291.6	0.35	276.9	—1.18
Annual average Increase during 8 years		2.05	..	1.29

When this is compared with the corresponding figures in the U.K. for instance, which have been calculated to have risen at the average rate of 1.3 per cent, it would not, at least visibly, appear have been substantially more favourable. But when regard is had to the basic differences in the incidences of per capita incomes in the two countries, which has been calculated at Rs. 3,704 as against Rs. 250.3, it would be obvious how dismally inadequate has been the progress in this country which, however, has been sought to be so unduly inflated by resort to admittedly unscientific bases of calculation. To arrive at any reasonable estimate of the incidences of rise in both national and per capita incomes, therefore, these basic factors should be taken fully into consideration as well as adjustments provided for in the light of our net population increases which, according to the latest census figures, has been at the rate of well above 2 per cent per annum. The reversal of the Government's price policy (if, of course, they have any policy at all in this regard) would also be indicated in this context. But of this more will be said in a later stage in this discussion.

A look at conditions in other more progressive and fully developed economies may be somewhat revealing. In the U.S.A., for instance, wholesale prices increased on the average at 1.75 per cent during eleven years with a corresponding rise in consumer prices, during the same period at 2.4 per cent. At the same time, national income at current prices was found to have risen by an average of 7.33 per cent per annum during ten of this eleven year period. In the U.K., on the other hand, the retail price index worked upwards at an average of 2.38 per cent during the last five years (wholesale price indices have not been available) and national income at current prices moved upwards by an average of 8.55 per cent per annum during ten years. In both countries wholesale and retail price indices show a slow and gradual rise which indicate either ample supplies or more successful controls or, perhaps, both at the same time and the much higher rate of rise in national incomes at current prices indicate a substantial improvement in per capita incomes in *real terms* after allowing due margins for the calculated upward tilts in prices and costs of living.

The situation in India would appear to be quite the other way about. The claims to stupendous are obviously more imaginary than real. The price indices are found to have shot up during the last five years by 7.29 per cent (wholesale) and 6.25 per cent (retail)

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respectively, although authority still brazenly insists on its claim that prices would be held at their current levels. They would not take any account of the fact that these two indices were at 92.5 (base=1952-53) and 96 (base=1949) respectively in 1955-56 and the latest figures now are 124.4 and 128 respectively. Economic growth without price stability would be quite as illusive as, for instance, endeavouring to hold the moon in one's mirror and will lead merely to a false sense of exultation without any substance whatever to sustain it.

When regard is had to the rise of the Indian national income at constant prices, our performance in this country would appear to have been not merely unsatisfactory, but even positively dismal. The average rise in national income during the years 1955-56 to 1959-60 as already demonstrated works out (at constant prices) at only 3.03 per cent per annum, while the corresponding rises in the price level and cost of living indices have been at the rate of 7.29 per cent and 6.25 per cent respectively. It should not be entirely surprising if, on this background, there had not been an actual net decrease in per capita *real income* during the same period when regard is had to the fact that during the years 1955-56 to 1959-60 there has been a very substantial additional burden laid upon the people of the country by way of additional taxation both direct (which has been really comparatively inconsiderable) and indirect (which, on the contrary has, in fact, been quite overwhelming.)

This particular aspect should also be viewed in the light of the great deal of discussion that has been recently held on the need for "holding the price line at the present level." Government's assurance that the price line would be held would, however, appear to be largely wishful speculation in the context of their obvious indifference to the continuous spurts in consumer prices that has been in evidence and which they are apparently unable to deal with adequately. They seem to be satisfied that they had, by merely holding out such assurances, done all that could during expected of them and, if prices nevertheless spiral way to mounting heights, there is nothing calcu they can do about it. It is significant that canc

the Third Plan has not taken into account probable further upward rises in prices. In context especial note should be taken of the prognostications of a school of thought that very probable that during the Third Plan period that is, during the years 1961 to 1966, prices cost of living may rise by as much as even further 50 per cent, envisaging in current movements the incipient beginnings of a gallop inflation.

In fact, it would appear on a closer analysis of the processes and consequences of development planning in this country over the last ten years more, that Government's estimate of resources fixation of priorities and targets and the revision of the taxation structure to conform to the needs of these processes, have all, from the very inception, been oblivious to the corresponding needs of enunciating adequate price-wage policies and their practical implementation as an essential condition of successful development planning. On the contrary, a glib endeavour has been lately evidence to justify the current and mounting inflationary pressures on the price structure the plea that they are inevitable concomitants of a progressive economy. This is a dangerous attitude for it predicates either crass ignorance of the disastrous potentials of such run-away economic forces or a helplessness to deal with them to the extent of holding their operations within rigidly predetermined boundaries. There may be some justification for looking upon a certain measure of price rises as an inevitable index of wider activity in a developing economy. But the measure of such rises must be confined within certain limits or they would be bound to destroy the very basis of the progress aimed at in development economics. The Government's economic advisers and counsellors should may be pertinent to observe in this context note of a very significant pronouncement by great Prof. A. C. Pigou in this context. He that although price rises of between 1 and 2 cent in a developing economy may be considered as being congenial to economic activity, and in this line of beyond 2 per cent, must be as a harbinger of galloping inflation which the most deadening effect of all known upon a developing country.

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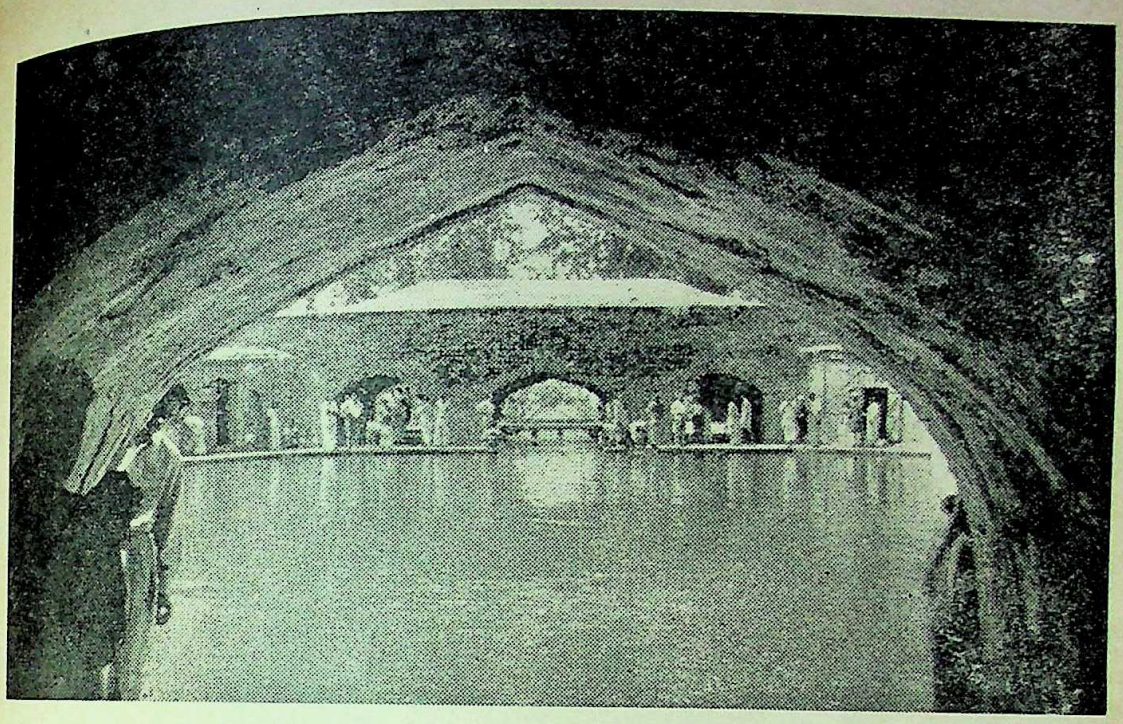

Verinag, the source of the Jhelum

Snow and rushing stream on way to Sonmarg

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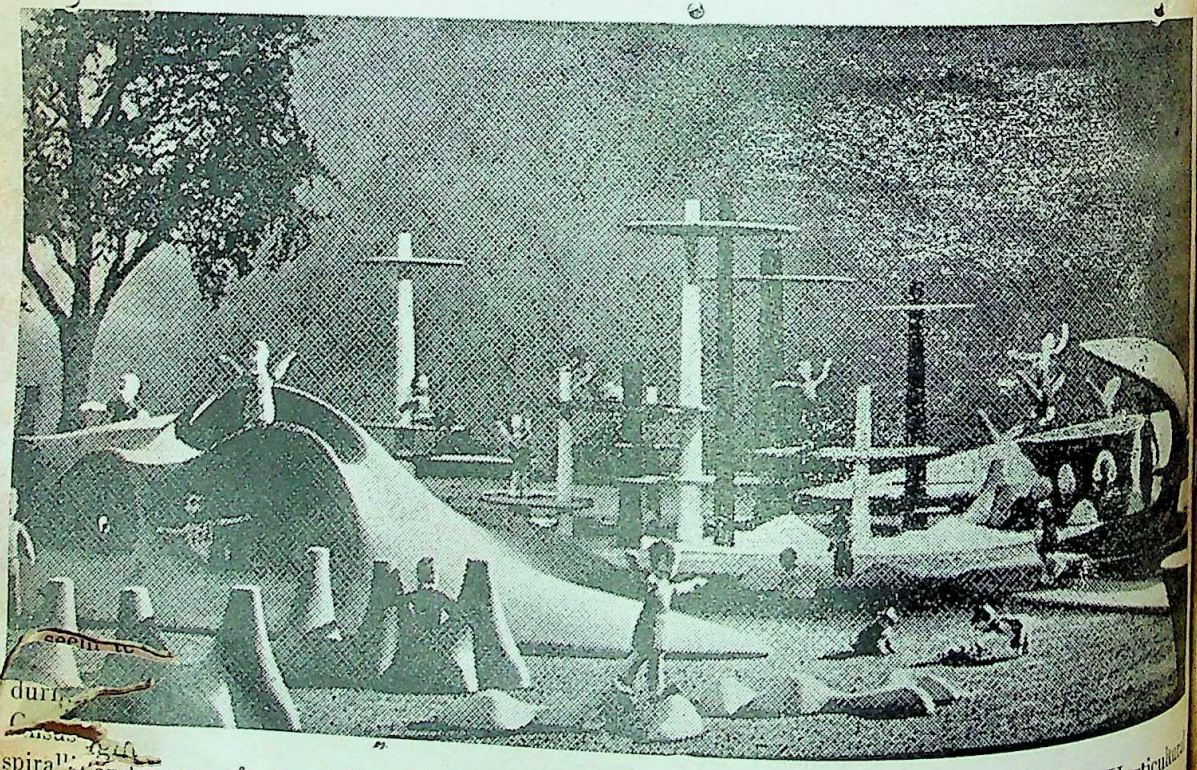
Shri B. K. Acharya, Indian Ambassador to Morocco, presenting his credentials to King Hassan II in Rabat



Landscape of a novel playing ground for children at the International Horticultural Exhibition in Hamburg

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INDOLOGY AND THE EASTERN PEOPLE : A Short Note

By PROSENJIT SINGHA, M.A.,

Adhyapaka, History and Social Studies, V. B. University, Santiniketan

THE science of ethnology defines and classifies various physical types in mankind and helps us a to know the actual relations of the different races existing among the great families of the nations, mainly on the basis of physical characters, linguistic peculiarities, etc.

This article contains a general and brief discussion on the ethnological character of the habitants of *Prachya Des'a, i.e.*, Eastern India.

Sir Herbert Risley, in the census report for 1901, propounded the theory of the seven geographical regions on the basis of the ethnological classification of the people of India, which had been accepted by most of the scholars those days.

It is interesting to note that from a very remote antiquity India had attracted those tribes from outside, who later settled in different corners of the country and developed distinctive types of culture with peculiar traits that can be detected even at the present time. Dr. B. S. Guha in his learned article 'Indian aborigines and who they are', says, "speaking very broadly, they may be divided into three groups according to their distribution, namely, the tribes living in the Northern and North-Eastern Zone in the mountain valleys and Eastern Frontiers of India. There is a second group which occupies the central belt of the older hills and plateaus along the dividing line between Peninsular India and Indo-Gangetic plains. In addition, there are tribes scattered over the extreme corners of South-Western India, in the hills and converging lines of the Ghats. These groups are distinguished from one another in language, culture and physical characters although within each group there are affinites in these respects to a large extent."

It is assumed that the North-Eastern part of India was invaded by a particular group of invaders belonging to a Southern Group of the Mongoloid race, most probably, the inhabitants of North-Western China. According to Rapson, they came into India partly from Tibet, down the valley of Brahmaputra and partly from China, through Burma by the Mekong, the Salween and the Irrawady. It is said, their progress was checked for the time-being by the original dwellers of the invaded Eastern India and partly by the dense wild forest. Later history shows, the struggle between the newcomers and the original settlers began on a violent note and in course of time through mutual understanding and compromises gradually the cleavage was converted into friendliness. Thus, marriage and other social intercourse began to take place between the two different groups. Lastly, it may be concluded that there came into existence a new group of mankind in Eastern India which played an important role in Indian history.

In Eastern India, scholars think, before the Mongoloid and Mongolo-Dravidian types existed, the existence of the Proto-Australoid group can be traced out. The science of ethnology says, there are two kinds of physical characters, namely Indefinite and Definite. The former class, usually called descriptive, includes the colour of the skin, form of the eyes, the colour and type of hair and finally the shape of face and features. The second class is concerned only with the examination of skulls. 'Heads with a proportionate breadth of 80 per cent and over are classed as broad or Brachy-Cephallic; those with an index under 80, but not under 75, are called medium heads or Mosati (Meso)-Cephallic ; long or Dolicho-Cephallic heads are those in which the ratio of breadth to length is below 75 per cent (Imp. Gaztt. Vol. I).

In the Eastern region of India, we got two separate classes, one predominating Burma, Assam, the sub-Himalayan tracts (which includes Bhutan and Nepal) and the other in Bengal-Orissa. The Mongoloid type exists in Burma, Assam and in the sub-Himalayan tracts. They are represented by the Kanets of Lahul and Kulu, the Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim, Limbus-murmis and the Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodos of Assam and lastly, the Burmese. The main characteristics of their feature are as follows :

The head is broad, complexion dark with a yellowish tinge, hair on face scanty, stature is short or below average, nose fine to broad, face is characteristically flat and eyelids are often oblique.

The second class, *i.e.*, Mongolo-Dravidian and Aryo-Dravidian, exists in Bihar, Bengal (West and East) and in Orissa. The speciality of the features are thus :

The head is broad, complexion dark, hairy

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the face usually plentiful, stature medium, nose medium with a tendency towards broadness. This type is stated to be an intermixture of the Dravidian, Mongoloid and the Indo-Aryan blood. Rapson opines that the region in which it prevails, lay beyond the geographical ken of the earlier literature. 'The epics' and 'the *Puranas*' have mentioned it for the first time, when it was occupied by a number of people among whom the Vangas (from whom Bengal has inherited its name) and the Kalingas of Orissa were the Chief. However, this brief analysis shows that the Eastern People of India are Brachy-Cephallic or broad-headed.

A study of the linguistic history of India, as already hinted, shows that the mid-land languages and outerband languages are separate. This happened, perhaps, due to the invaders, who came later, having had a clash with the *Rig-Vedic* Aryans. Thus, in the East, the languages of Oriya, Bengali and Assamese—all outerband languages, remained unaffected in their essence by the speech of the mid-land or Madhyadesa. In the East (Prachya), the Magdhi-Apavramsa was divided into three groups. The southern group 'Bengali' and in the exrteme North-East the group turned into 'Assamese'.

Prof. Levi and Dr. Suniti Chatterjee have shown the existence of Austro-Asiatic languages in Eastern India besides the languages of the above-mentioned groups. Schmidt has proved the relation between the Munda language and the Nicoborese, the Khasi and the Mon-Khmer and established the existence of a linguistic family, called Austro-Asiatic. It comprises, according to him, of the following groups—

1. Mixed group
2. Non-Khmer
3. Senoi (Sakai)—Semang in Melacca
4. Palong-wa-Riang
5. Khasi
6. Nicobarese and
7. Munda or Kol.

Prof. Jean Przyluski in his learned essay, 'Non-Aryan loans in Indo-Aryan' says that a good number of words of the Sanskrit vocabulary are loans from the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. C[illegible] names some Austro-Asiatic words found in spira[illegible] Malaya, like Kadali, Linga, Tambula, cal[illegible] which are also found in the Sanskrit language. canc[illegible] Prof. Jules Bloch, in an article on Sanskrit and Dravidian, criticizes those, who are in fa[illegible] of the Dravidian influence only and tries to p[illegible] the strong influence of the Munda language on [illegible] languages of the Indo-Aryan group. In respe[illegible] the geographical studies of North-Eastern I[illegible] the Proto-Austroloid elements can be traced [illegible] in names like Anga-Vanga or Kamarupa-Na[illegible] etc.

Dr. Chatterjee opines, the presence in [illegible] Indo-Aryan speeches of a considerable member [illegible] Austric words (allied, it would seem, more to [illegible] Mon-Khmer than to the Kol or Munda group [illegible] of very great significance in the study of the [illegible] gins of the Hindu people and Hindu culture [illegible] Northern India. According to him, the Gang[illegible] plain was flooded by the Austric speaking pe[illegible] and gradually they merged into the Aryan a[illegible] Dravidian masses of Northern India and [illegible] verted themselves into the Aryan speaking c[illegible] and groups.

As regards the Munda language, Dr. Sten Ka[illegible] says that, it, most probably, was spoken in Ce[illegible] India and all over the Gangetic plain of India. T[illegible] geographical names Pulinda-Kulinda, Mek[illegible] Utkala (with the group Udra-Pundra-Munda [illegible] Kosala-Tosala, Anga-Vanga, Kalinga-Trilinga, e[illegible] belonging to the Austric group, form a long ch[illegible] from the East of Kashmir to the plateau of [illegible] Peninsula. Prof. Levi holds the opinion, in e[illegible] such ethnic pair, the twin bears the same na[illegible] differentiated only by the initial V and T, K a[illegible] P, Zero and V, Possibly, this process was fore[illegible] to the Indo-Europeans as well as to the Dravidian[illegible] It may be concluded that, these words came fr[illegible] the Austro-Asiatic languages mentioned form[illegible] Pulinda-Kulinda, Anga-Vanga and Kalin[illegible] Trilinga may be grouped together. It is interesti[illegible] to note from the philological point of view, e[illegible] has got a usual sound in the interior which can [illegible] an infix. An assumption can be made that [illegible] geographical names of India those which begin w[illegible] Kam, Kal, Kar, Tam, Tar, Pal and Par, occasion[illegible] preserved the indications of the Austro-Asi[illegible] past.

In this way, surveying the philological and anth[illegible] pological changes that occured from the ear[illegible] times, the students of linguistics and anthropo[illegible] may be interested in the history of the social [illegible] reilgious evolution of the present population li[illegible] in the Eastern or Prachya division of India.

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LORD CURZON'S PARTITION

A Retrospect

By S. CHAUDHURY

In view of the recent happenings in Assam, it is interesting to recall the speeches delivered by Lord Curzon at Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh on 15th, 18th and 20th February, 1904, explaining the reasons why he advocated the creation of an Eastern Bengal and Assam province and trying to allay the fears and suspicions of the people of Bengal.

Lord Curzon was fully conscious that his proposals were not popular. He said at Chittagong—"I do not by any means brush aside the objections that have been raised to the transfer, some of which appear to me to possess weight. I shall have an opportunity of saying something about them when I proceed to Dacca and Mymensingh where the arguments in question possess perhaps a greater force."

At Dacca he said—"It is beyond dispute that Bengal must be relieved. . . . No other local government in India administers much more than half the number of people than there are in Bengal. No argument indeed can possibly get over the fact that the charge is too heavy and those who are pleading most strongly for the essential unity of the Bengal nation, as they call it, and the cruelty and hardship of ever sundering do not see that they are doing the worst possible service to their cause for they compel us to look ahead to a time when the numbers must be swollen by the laws of nature to a figure which would produce a complete administrative breakdown and when the partition, which they now decray, will be forced upon Bengal in circumstances of infinitely greater pain and hardship than any that are now in contemplation. . . . ."

"I shall not, I think, be far wrong if I say that almost the whole of the suspicion or opposition rests on two apprehensions. The first is that part of Bengal is about to be handed over to a backward and inefficient administration; the second is that the people are going to be deprived of valuable rights and privileges which they at present enjoy. . . .

"But even supposing that the fear was well-grounded, does it not argue the most extraordinary lack of self-confidence to urge that these enlightened districts, priding themselves as they do on their culture, their education and their advancement and counting millions of people, are going to be annexed by a province which is like an infant to them in respect of development and stature? Gentlemen, the population of the entire area of Bengal which it has been proposed to transfer amounts to 11½ millions of people; the entire population of Assam is only 6 millions as it is and of these, nearly 3 millions are Bengalees already. Do you mean to tell me that this 14½ millions of Bengalees, representing as you tell me the flower of the race, are going to be absorbed, obliterated and destroyed because it is proposed to amalgamate with them for administrative purposes only less than 1½ millions of a race, *i.e.*, the Assamese, whom you declare to be in everyway, inferior to your own? Such an apprehension would be the most lamantable confession of weakness in the future of the Bengali race which it is possible to conceive. Surely I need not point out to an intelligent audience that no administrative arrangement can possibly turn one people to another or make 14½ millions of people speak any language but their own."

At Mymensingh Lord Curzon again discussed this question. He said—

"Your address also spoke of educational losses as resulting from the change. If I thought for a moment that this would be the result, I should hesitate greatly in recommending it. Here again it is rather difficult to gather what is signified by a mere generalisation for when it is said that Calcutta is the centre of light and learning to which all educated Bengal naturally turns, the answer is that, of course, it will continue to be so in the future, and that parents, if they choose, will send their sons there as before. . . .

There is one source of local objection to which I may allude in passing. The hostility to the proposal is said to be largely fomented by people of Bikrampur who supply a number of

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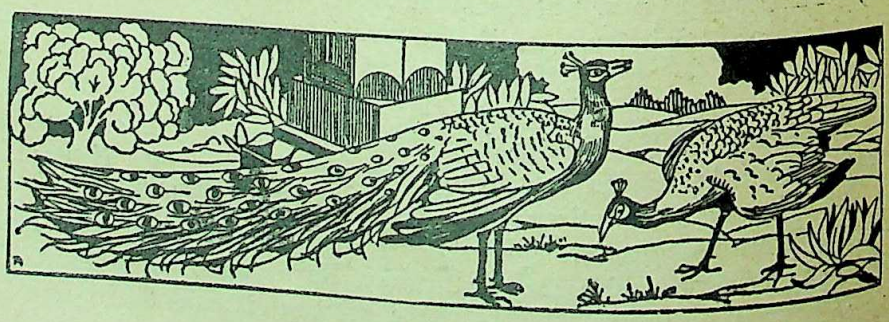
very admirable subordinate native officers to the Government offices in Calcutta and who think they might lose the field. I suppose I might answer that the fate of provinces can hardly be decided by the interests of small individual classes within them. But I prefer to point out that the excellent Vikrampur men who are found, I am told, as far as Shillong on the east and Behar on the West, are not at all likely to lose the openings which they have won by their abilities and that as good native officials are a continual necessity in this country, so where they are produced, they may rely upon their continual employment. . . . ."

"As regards the loss of language, that is a criticism, which I have sought without success to understand. Why a Bengali should cease to speak Bengali because a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor came to reside at Dacca, or why, 14½ millions of Bengalis should abandon their own tongue because they enter into a partnership with 1½ millions of Assamese, I cannot see, nor has anyone succeeded in explaining it to me. Probability would seem to point entirely in the opposite direction and to suggest that Assamese, whether it be a dialect of Bengali or whether it be a separate language (as to which the experts appear to differ), will be the one to disappear."

"I come to the sentimental objection which is based upon the conception of nationality and which expresses dismay at the partition of what is called the Bengali nation. Pray do not think that I wish to disparage in the smallest degree the force of sentiment in human affairs and still less that particular form of sentiment that springs from the pride of race. On the contrary it has spurred mankind to some of the noblest and purest deeds and the man who is not attached to his country and his race is not fit to exist at all. There is no reason why Bengalis should entertain this sentiment less warmly than any other people. But I cannot see how the argument applies in the present case. If a Scotsman crosses the Tweed and comes to England, he does not cease to be a Scotsman. If a Sikh comes to Bengal he does not cease to be Sikh. But here the case is not even one of crossing a border. The from a single Bengali being taken away from his present place or town or district or division. He would remain there precisely as before with the sole difference that the Bengal people, instead of being the predominant element in one local administration, would in future, become the predominant element in two. We offer to the Bengali nation the opportunity of forming a second centre round a second centre, and if a reduplication of its political existence is to be regarded as injurious to its future, Bengal nationality, must, I think, be very distrustful of its own powers. It is curious that among the appeals that have been addressed to me, frequent allusion is made to the fact that Eastern Bengal once constituted an independent kingdom, the people of which I believe still call themselves Bengals and not Bengalis, and yet when the offer is made of a resurrection of that unit, the objection is raised that history and nationality are both being flouted and ignored.

There can be no doubt that the partition agitation is a very important landmark in the struggle for independence. At the same time judged by the experience and various developments of the last 56 years, one cannot help wondering if Lord Curzon's proposals were as bad as they were considered at that time. Many persons are now inclined to believe that Lord Curzon's partition was better in many respects than the territorial redistribution of Lord Hardinge, and that it could possibly have averted the partition of the country. But this is a question which requires a separate treatment and on which opinion may differ.



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STUDENT-TEACHER DELINQUENCY—A CHALLENGING PROBLEM

By S. K. DAS

A Pervasive complaint is in the air that, in the present decade, the students, barring very few exceptions, are found showing a deplorable lack of interest in their studies with the consequence that, ill-equipped as they are, they often find themselves at sea when confronted with question papers at examinations. A general consensus of opinion also prevails that the troubles that are often seen at examination halls are engineered by the delinquent students with a view to cover their drawbacks and the grim consequences of apprehended failure at examinations which loom large behind them. They are found to fritter away time and energy by engendering strikes not only over their own real or imaginary grievances, but also over other issues with which they are not directly concerned, viz., teachers' grievances, etc; they are as well seen to take part in turbulent and obstreperous activities detrimental to their interest as students, such as, political agitations, strikes over political issues, etc., by enlisting their allegiance to one or the other political parties. What is worse and forebodes ill for the country, they are seen even to indulge in unsocial acts and behaviour that have drawn wide denunciation and condemnation. It is also alleged that unlike the teachers of yore, most of the teachers in the present generation maintain a very tenuous link with the students and are found abusing their position as teachers; they have practically flung to the winds the sacred duty of teaching and have abdicated the role of the guide and philosopher to the students. They have virtually succumbed to a schizophrenia of mad lust for money and are found running at breakneck speed to exploit every opportunity of earning money without the least consideration, as to how far and to what extent such activities might be pursued without detriment to the sacred task with which they have been charged. The present generation of students and teachers might say that such a dark picture and pessimistic view are unwarranted and should be dismissed as being the outcome of a morbid mind and palsied decrepitude with which a moribund society has been seized; they might as well contend that for a nation, if it were to transcend living death, activities at all levels must proliferate in different directions so as to impel it to a dynamic life in a world throbbing with activities. But it should be remembered that a dynamic society, by the very term, implies a society impatient of any delinquency and from which delinquency has been banished. There is no gainsaying that the delinquency that is now being seen in the students and the teachers is sufficient to cause alarm. The leaders as well as the general public have, therefore, ample reason to regret such aberrations leading to degeneration of the students, the future scopes of the country, and of the teachers on whom rests the onerous responsibility of turning out able men of character in whose safe hands the ship of the state might, in due course, be handed over without the least hesitation. They hold that the present drift presages nothing but darkness and confusion for the future of the country, and that the situation must be tackled with strong and firm hands for retrieving the position.

It is, however, an encouraging and healthy sign that the spotlight has been thrown on the present challenging problem of student-teacher delinquency, and that it has evoked wide interest. The utterances in public meetings, the ventilations in the newspaper-columns, etc., throw practically the entire blame on the students and the teacher community. The students who do not attend to their studies and indulge in undesirable acts and behaviour and the teachers who fail to discharge the sacred duty entrusted on them are no doubt at fault. But the thoughtful section of the public, conscious of the stark reality, wonder whether this by itself gives the entire story; if not, they enquire what has gone awry and what are the other causes for this delinquency. Where lies the Pandoras' box and what defies solution?

It should be remembered that mere placing the blame on one section or the other will not serve any useful purpose and improve the situation. For finding out the solution, it is first of all necessary to check in the aetiology of the trouble;

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it should be inquired why the students in the present age have developed such a mentality and have been caught in the saturnalia of agitations, and what have led the teachers to ignore their primary task of teaching and indulge in activities detrimental to the sacred duty of guiding the students to the cherished goal. It is worthwhile to remember that no stroke of genius can stay the trend and wean away the students and the teachers from the unholy and desperate course; what is of paramount importance is that the origin of the cancerous growth should be traced, its prognosis studied, and determined action taken to uproot the evil with all ruthlessness, so that the nation might live and march unhampered on the road to healthy progress.

But one should beware, of the ominous sign that has appeared on the horizon; it is unfortunate that those who are publicly expressing horror at the student-teacher delinquency, have thrown a veil over their own responsibilities,—the responsibilities of the leaders of society, the guardians of the students, and of the general public in this connection. It should be borne in mind that reports of rampant corruption, bribery, nepotism, and other unsocial acts by the adult members of the society, irrespective of the position they hold or the social strata form which they come, which meet the eyes of the students every morning when they open the daily newspapers, and the surfeit of anomalies with which they find the atmosphere supercharged, cannot but have a disturbing effect on the young and sensitive minds. It is a truism that the character, conduct, and behaviour of students in the impressionable age are greatly influenced by the milieu in which they live their lives. When the students find that they are living in an atmospher when the elders who are expected to show the way, are indulging in questionable behaviour, thousand and one questions naturally crop up in the young minds and clouds of doubt descend on them. It would not, therefore, be surprising if, in such circumstances, a sense of despair should drive them to the unhappy conclusion about the futility of devoting time and energy to studies. In such an unhealthy and unwholesome atmosphere, where scant respect is shown for human values, where empty preaching and cacophony of conflicting ideologies have become the order of the day, and where indulging in temper tantrum is an every day occurrence in

public meetings, deliberations in the legislatures, local bodies, etc., it is idle to expect from the students any behaviour other than an ecological one.

Students in the past had the opportunity of attending to their studies in a calm and sober atmosphere unruffled by extraneous influences. They had also before them men of impeccable character with high ideals and progressive ideas who remained steadfast and unperturbed before outside influences, and dominated different spheres of public life. It was such characters that provided the inspiration and urge to the student community to shape their character and conduct. In the present disturbed age, retributive action, moral suasions, or ladling out sermons cannot be expected to produce any beneficial effect unless that calm and sober atmosphere can be resuscitated and the norm of public behaviour and morale at all levels raised to a standard commensurate with high ideals and progressive ideas. In this connection it is pertinent to note that at present there prevades a tendency for exhortations to follow the high ideals and ideas advocated by different authorities in the past, viz., those laid down in religious texts, such as the Hindu Shastras, the Quoran, the Holy Bible, etc., or those prescribed by the thinkers in social, political, economic or other fields, viz., Mill, Locke, Adam Smith, Marx, Engels, and others. It should be understood that it would not be profitable to ask the present generation to follow those ideals and ideas without adjusting the same to the needs of the times, as the economic, social, political, and other conditions as well as the milieu have since undergone immense change. It is worthwhile to recall here what Dajislas said about "ideals" and "Ideas" in his "Anatomy of a Moral": "an ideal stems from the inner difficulties and contradictions of man and society ....The rise of ideals, of 'ultimate goals', does not depend, or rather depends very little, upon human will, because ideals arise out of objective exigencies, out of life and reality. Ideals too are mortal and ephemeral. They arrive and coexist with the reality which produced them and disappear with it in order to make room for other Ideals'.....In reality, there are no 'ultimate ideals' which can be fully realised because their realisation would mean an end to progress and the life of society." As regards "ideas to inspire

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thrown all comtemporary forms and ideas into a veracious wheel which incessantly grinds them between its stones . . . . Every new idea, if it is really new, reflects some new reality, some change either in the material world or in scientific discovery or artistic creation. Restless, relentless reality constantly impinges on human mind which must react to it in order to explain, adapt and lead it."

In this connection it may be pointed out that the introspective section of the public place a considerable amount of the responsibility for the students' unrest and disorder on the political parties and on the *upas* injected by political leaders who are unremitting in their exhortation to the students to join political activities. The bizarre attractions which such activities hold out have an irersistible charm ; there can, therefore, be hardly any mitigating factor which might even partially absolve the political leaders from responsibility. The general consensus is that participation by students in political activities where different political parties with warring creeds viz., with each other, cannot but have a deleterious effect on discipline, and distract attention of the students from their main objective. They also state that the recreational and other diversions before that are at present being provided by government, and other private and quasi-private organizations, and which mostly pass off as "culture" (!), *viz.*, music, dance, theatre, radio, cinema, football, cricket, etc., aid and abet the development of undesirable behaviour patterns. Such a glut of diversions, moreover, hardly leave the students any opportunity for undisturbed serious study. It is also disquieting to find that, even in the midst of such a noisy atmosphere, should any student prove ingenious enough to manage to snatch a few hours for serious study, his efforts are likely to be nullified by the ubiquitous enemy, the amplifiers, whose owners appear to possess scant respect and consideration for others' convenience.

When such is the situation, the teachers would naturally find themselves helpless against the forces in action. To protect themselves from a sinking sense of insecurity they would not risk sticking their neck out and would rather wisely play the dumb; they would studiously avoid the protection of the guide and philosopher to the students when they know that it is the men in position, power, and authority, who are behind the move for creating such a senseless and thoughtless milieu. Moreover, if the teachers, hag-ridden over fighting the present-day rocketing high prices, find little energy left for giving proper attention to the students, and as men of moderate means get exacerbated at the innumberable and seemingly insurmountable problems facing them for establishing their children in life under the present conditions where, it is generally feared nepotism is fairly and widely prevalent, it is useless to put the entire blame on them. That such a fear is not without foundation is anybody's guess. When one finds that such an undesirable situation prevails in the advanced and enlightened countries of the West as well, a fact whose corroboration one might find in an interesting incident recorded by Vance Packard in his book,—"The Status Seekers"—one need hardly wonder should one find that nepotism has also taken its roots in this country. The incident recorded is : "Herbert Kubly recalls his astonishment when he went abroad to serve as a Fulbright Professor. Sixteen Fulbright Professors were on board his ship. One of their objectives, while in Italy, was to present a strong case for American Democracy. Kubly recalls : "our first lesson in democracy came quickly, even before we left New York. When we embarked we discovered that some one in Washington had booked professors from Harvard and Yale into first-class cabins and those of us not in the Ivy League into second-class cabins". When, therefore, the various difficulties which the teachers are, perforce, required to face are considered, any reasonable man should arrive at the inescapable and unhappy conclusion that in the prevailing atmosphere, they have mostly become victims of circumstances over which they have hardly any control.

The arguments in the foregoing paras have been advanced not with the purpose of absolving the teachers from responsibility but with a view to bring out the situation in bold relief. Unless proper conditions and a proper atmosphere can be created, it cannot be stated how far and to what extent the blame may squarely be laid on their shoulders. The reasons why the leaders of society, the guardians of the students, and the general public are vociferous in placing almost the entire blame on the teachers and the students and why they are trying to shirk their own responsibilities are not far to seek. One should think that, apparently, they have as well been caught in the

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maelstrom and they find themselves either helpless or too involved. Such a situation has arisen, as many believe, because of the overwhelming economic and other problems of the day which are throttling the very existence of the common man, and the existing climate where it is money that talks and has become the predominant determining factor for buying prestige, influence, and recognition. The thoughtful sections of the public express the view that it is these factors which have impelled the teachers to keep themselves busy and fully engaged in a drive for earning as much extra money as possible by tapping all possible sources. The *raison d'etre* for such a mad rush, they contend, lies in the fact that the normal income yielded by any occupation is too inadequate either for meeting the present-day ever-rising cost of living or for buying increasing luxuries now-a-days considered indispensable for establishing prestige and influence; they also lack the purchasing power for buying position as socialites in the hierarchies of high societies, etc., or for utilising opportunities for seizing power with its concomittant advantages. They fear that the present generation have, in all probability, arrived at the unhappy conclusion that it is useless to strive for attaining those qualities that counted in the past, *viz.*, learning, knowledge, modesty, etc., and to persevere with them in this industrial age where cadillac-civilization rules supreme, since those qualities have lost their old values and are now given little recognition because they are not deemed requisite and sufficient for earning the necessary money.

When the country has been entangled in such a predicament, the people must realise the portentous situation and without the least delay plunge themselves into a relentless fight to save the nation from the impending disaster that is threatening the country; it brooks no delay. When the welfare of the students, the country's future hopes, are in jeopardy, the leaders must rise to the occasion, put their heads together for contemplation, and find the answer. Such a desperate situation as the present one, may only be attributed to somnolence by atrophy of philosophic impulse by which, it is generally feared, the nation has been overtaken. In order to rescue it from the present morass and save the nation from decadence, it is urgent to communicate a sense of purpose to the national life, make a determined drive for purging it of undesirable tendencies, and stir it to healthy activities. Unless a placid atmosphere can be created, a new era ushered in by a complete reorientation of human relations, and the constellation of interests and pressures uprooted, so that the teachers may carry on their sacred duty honourably without serious distraction and the students get proper opportunity for undisturbed serious study, all devices to meet the challenging problem of student-teacher delinqency, it is regretted, cannot but be expected to end in smoke.

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CHRONOLOGY OF HINDU ASTRONOMY

By A. N. CHANDRA

ALMOST all the Astronomical references in the *Vedic* literature are expressed in a mystic language and through allegorical legends, as this was the usual practice with these poetical people. At such a distant date, therefore, when both the *Vedic* age and its culture have become a matter of legend to us, it is very difficult to interpret the proper significance of these allegorical hymns and to find out the extent of their astronomical knowledge. During the later Brahmana period, however, their knowledge of astronomy advanced to a great extent and this branch of science became a part of the curriculum for the students. In fact, both Jyotisha (ज्योतिष) covering Astrology and Astronomy and Nakshatra-Vidya (science of stars) were taught. In the *Upanishadas*[1] it is written that once upon a time Narada approached the holy saint Sanatakumara and begged Supreme Knowledge from him. On being asked what he has already learnt, Narada replied that he has acquired knowledge in various branches of Arts and Science, one of which is Nakshatra-Vidya, which literally means knowledge of stars. Another branch of knowledge

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which he mentioned was Brahma-Vidya which comprises five subjects, one of which was Jyotisha.

In the ancient days Ganita (Mathematics), Nakshatra-Vidya (Science of Stars) and Jyotisha (Astrology and Astronomy) were held in very high esteem as these were necessary for performing Yajna (sacrifices) which ultimately, it was believed, led to realisation of Soul. The alter (वेदी) where these Yajnas or sacrifices were performed had to conform to specified shapes and sizes. The actual rituals also had to be undertaken under certain particular combinations of the heavenly bodies.[2] Thus, they had to watch the heavens and find out the movement of these bodies which ultimately opened further sources of knowledge to them.

The process of development of Astronomy in ancient India mainly passed through three periods, *viz.*, (i) the *Vedic*, Brahmana and the *Upanishadas* periods (ii) the post-*Vedic* or the *Vedanga* Jyotisha period, and (iii) the later or the modern period upto about 11th or 12th century A.D. The first period dates back from about 11,000 B.C., to about 1,500 B.C., the second from then onwards to about 500 A.D. and the third for the succeeding period.[3]

In the *Rig-Veda*,[4] in the later Brahmanas and in the *Upanishadas*, it is written that the Universe is comprised of the Earth, the Sky and the Heavens. The Earth was known to be spherical in shape[5] and was believed to be suspended freely in the Air. In the Satapatha Brahmana, it is stated that the Earth is Parimandala, (परिमन्डल) that is, round in shape. The area of the Earth has also been discussed in the *Ri-Samhita*. The factors of axial rotation and orbital motion of the Earth caused by the Sun[6] was also known to the *Vedic* Indians.[7] Prof. Ludwig found evidences in the *Rig-Veda* that the annual revolution of the Earth round the Sun was also known to them.[8] The Sun was believed to have seven horses, probably indicating the seven colour spectra of the Sun's rays and it was said that the Sun caused winds. In Aitteriya Brahmana[9] it is stated that the Sun never sets or rises and the Sun was also supposed to hold the Earth and other heavenly bodies in their proper places. The existence of the Zodiacal belt was also known to them,[10] and it was held that Varuna constructed this broad path for the Sun. Prof. B. B. Datta is of opinion that they knew that "the ecliptic is divided into twelve part or Signs of the Zodiac, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, the Sun moving through the successive signs during the successive months. The Sun is called by different names at different parts of the Zodiac and thus has originated the doctrine of the twelve Adityas or Suns." The fact that Moon shines from borrowed light of the Sun was not new to them. Although opinion in this respect differs, some scholars hold that five Planets were known to them. Planet Sukra or Vena and Manthani are mentioned by their names. The twenty-seven Nakshatras (Asterisms) were also known and it was said that the Moon was wedded to these Nakshatras. In the *Yajur Veda* a complete list of the Nakshatras is given. At that time Krittika used to top the list instead of Aswini. During the time when Aitteriya Brahmana was compiled the calculation of Tithis was known. It was mentioned that the Tithis are to be counted from the setting and the rising of the Moon.

Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta[11] has stated that the *Vedic* Indians depended more upon the observed positions of the Sun and the Moon and calculation was often discredited. It has been stated in the Taitteriya Brahmana[12] that the *Vedic* Astronomers knew the method of making celestial observations and could ascertain the motion of the Sun by observing the Stars rising and setting with the Sun. Observation in respect of Solar eclipse is also found in the *Rig-Veda*. It is stated that Atri observed a total eclipse of the Sun, caused by Swarvanu, covering the Sun. He also knew the calculations and could predict the occurrence, duration, beginning and the end of an eclipse. The lunar eclipse is also mentioned.[13] Equinoxes and Solastices were known to them and they knew how to determine the four cardinal directions by means of the gnomon.

Apart from Atri, Briddya Garga was one of the oldest Astronomers. In *Mahabharata*, his name has been mentioned in two places.[14] It has been stated that he lived by the river Saraswati and was proficient in the knowledge of time and the motion of Planets and Stars. Many *rishis* used to come to him for learning this science. Later, it is said, he became the Court Astrologer and Astronomer to Pithu the son of Vena. At the time when *Mahabharata* in its present form was com-

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piled, he was considered to be one of the oldest Astronomers. According to Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta[15] Lagdha, who was the author of the Yajusha Jyotisha, comes next. He found that the summer solastice passes through the Nakshatra Asleshya and the winter solastice through the first point of Dhanista. The next names in order of antiquity are that of Garga II and Parasara. Other Astronomers of comparatively less fame were Rishiputra, Kapilacharya, Kashyapa, Devala, etc., and they were also astrologers. No idea can be made accurately when they lived and what they achieved in the field of Astronomy or Astrology.

In the field of post-*Vedic* Astronomy, the record that can help us is the Panchasiddhantika and Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira (550 A.D.), in which he has summarised the materials obtained in the old Surya, Paulisha, Romaka, Vaisista and Paitamaha Siddhantas. As regards these, his opinion was that the Paulisha Siddhanta was accurate, Romaka Siddhanta stood near to it, and the most accurate was Surya Siddhanta; the remaining two are far from truth. The original period of these siddhantas cannot be determined accurately but some scholars time these to the period dating from 100 A.D. to 500 A.D. Anyway, these were quite well-known during the time of Varahamihira. Romaka Siddhanta bears a distinctly Greek name and is perhaps the sum total of the then Greek Astronomical ideas transmitted to India through the invaders. Opinion has also been offered that the old Surya Siddhanta, as existed before Varaha, was extinct and he made it up-to-date by borrowing the Astronomical constants from Aryabhatta 1's Ardharatrika.

The period from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. can be called the dark age of Indian Astronomy as during this period no important discovery was made. The knowledge that was gathered previously was believed to have been compiled during this period. The scientific study of Astronomy in India dates back to the year 499 A.D., when Aryabhatta I, of Gusumpura (near Patna) began to teach Astronomy to his pupils at the age of 23. We find Latadeva, Nassanka, Panduranga-swami and Bhaskara 1 as his direct pupils. The next Astronomer of renown is Brahmagupta, who was born in 598 A.D. He was the author of *Brahma Sphuta-Siddhanta*, which he wrote at the age of 30 and his other work Khandakhadakya was written when he was 67 years old. This second book gives a simpler method of computation of the longitude of the Planets according to Aryabhatta's theory.

Aryabhatta was the first Astronomer who believed that the Sun was stationery and the Earth moved round it.[16] He proved that the Planets are moving in an elliptical path. Varahamihira started to count the year when the Sun entered Aswini instead of Krittika. He also found out movements of some of the Comets and foretold when these will reappear. Next Astronomers of renown are Manjal (932 A.D.), Prithudakaswami (928 A.D.), Bhattatpala (960 A.D.) and Sripati (1039 A.D.). Manjal wrote a book on Astronomy (Laghumanasa) and found out the process to determine the precession and even Bhaskaracharya had to accept his theory. Bhaskaracharya was born in 1114 A.D. and compiled a book named Siddhanta-Shiromani and this is the last renowned book compiled in modern times. Most of the important and difficult theories of Astronomy, such as, determination of parallax, conjunction of Planets, etc., were discussed by him. Prithudakaswami, another Astronomer, used to observe the Stars and the Planets from Peihowa a place near Kurukshetra. He wrote a note on Brahma-Sphuta-Siddhanta.

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1. *Chandogya Upanishada* (7|1|1 and 7|1-2) :

ॐ । अधोहि भगव इति होपसाद सनत्कुमारं नारदस्तं होवाच पद्वेत्थ तेन मोपसीर ततस्त ऊर्ध्वं वक्षामिति स होवाच ॥

"Oh Lord, teach me" said Narada and presented himself to Sanatakumara. Sanatakumara said, "Be my disciple with what you know. I shall teach what more there is to know". Then Narada said :

ऋग्वेदं भगवोहध्येमि·····ब्रह्मविदयां···नक्षतत्रविदयां···सर्प-देवजनविदयामेनद् भगवोहध्योमि ॥

Here Narada tells what he knows and in it is included Bhramha-Vidya and Nakshatra-Vidya.

2. *Taitteria Samhita* (7|5|9), *i.e.*, the full Moon of Chaitra is the beginning of the year and the *Yajnas* should be started on that day.

चित्रा पुर्णमासे दिक्षेरेण मुखं या सुनद समवसरस्व यत् चित्रा पूर्णमासे मुखत सब....

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3. Some references to the Astronomical data in the Brahmanas and the *Samhitas* have enabled eminent Indian scholars to fix the periods of certain occasions mentioned therein to about 3100 B.C. References to the month Tapas in the *Vedic* literature identifies it with the Lunar month Phalguna but in *Vedanga* Jyotisha period, this is referred to as the Lunar month of Magha. This change is ascribed to the precession of the solstices between the period from about 3100 B.C. to 1400 B.C. So the period of *Vedanga Jyotisha* has been fixed at or about 1500 B.C., by the scholars. Also from the following verse found in *Vedanga Jyotisha* (reproduced from Panjika Samskara—by Dr. K. M. Bose, D.Sc.), it has been found that the period of *Vedanga Jyotisha* was at about 1413 B.C.

दवराक्रमेते सोमार्कौ यरा साकं सरासरौ ।

स्यान्नदाहहदियुतां माघस्तपः शुक्रोहयनं ह्युदक् ॥

4. *Rig-Veda* (1. 115. 1; ii, 11, 40, etc.).

5. *Rig-Veda* (i. 33.8).

6. "The reckoning of the Sun's daily journey cited by Sayana, perhaps from some text of the *Vedas*, is much nearer the truth than that of the *Puranas* being something more than 20,000 miles, and being, in fact, the Equatorial circumference of the Earth."—Bently—*Hindu Astronomy*.

7. Dr. Ekendra Nath Ghosh in his "Studies in *Rig-Vedic* Deities—Astronomical and Meteorological", published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1932.

8. *Vedic Mathematics*—Prof. B. B. Datta, M.Sc., P.R.S., D.Sc., In Ramakrishna Centenary Issue also, *Rig-Veda* (viii, 2, x, i). The Earth revolves round the Sun in its own orbit is also mentioned in *Yajur Veda* (iii, 6).

9. *Aitteriya Brahmana* (iii, 44).

10. *Rig-Veda* (i. 28. 8).

11. Ramakrishna Centenary Issue—*Hindu Astronomy*.

12. *Taitteriya Brahmana* (i. 5. 2. 1).

13. "Eclipse Mathematics is based on the *Veda* itself. It is described as the Aruna-Ketu-Chayana in the Taitteriya Aranyaka. That there was continued observation of Astronomical phenomenon in India can be easily admitted when we find ancient Indian Astronomers speak of the motion of the *Sapta-Rishis*. This is the apparent forward motion of the Great Bear with respect to the solstitial colours (Indian) considered fixed. Two great circles through the pole of the ecliptic passing through the first and last stars of the Great Bear constitute an angle of 36 degrees. The time taken to sweep this angle is given to be roughly 28,000 years, which is approximately the value given in the *Ri-Veda, viz.*, 2,800 years, this phenomenon must have happened between the years 5,900 B.C. and 3,100 B.C.—*The Astrological Magazine*—Editorial, June, 1955, issue.

14. *Mahabharata* (ix. 37—14-17; xii. 59.-111).

15. *Hindu Astronomy*—by Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta, in the Cultural Heritage of India (R. K. Centenary issue).

16. i.

चला पृथ्वी स्थोरा भाति, भुगोलो वेाम्नि तिष्ठति ।

ii. "Aryabhatta was the first who affirmed the daily revolution of the Earth on its own axis." Dr. Kern—in "On some fragments of Aryabhatta."

iii. "The sphere of the stars is stationary and the Earth making a revolution produces the daily rising and setting of Stars and Planets." Colebrook—Miscelleneous Essays.

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A VISITOR'S REMINISCENCES OF KASHMIR
The Paradise on Earth

By ARVIND MALAVIYA

SINCE Kalidas opened his immortal classic, "Kumarasambhava," with the verse* referring to the Himalayas as a measuring-rod spanning the wide land from the East to the Western Seas, a metaphor suggesting that the culture developed in the Himalayan region could serve as the measuring-rod of the world culture, the Himalayas have formed a part and parcel of our literature and culture. From the very Vedic era the Himalayas have been a source of inspiration to the poets and painters, sages and saints alike. The beauty of the Kashmir valley situated in the lap of the Himalayas—has enthralled artists and nature-lovers since time immemorial, Poets, painters and writers have sought to capture, through their respective media, its blossoming splendour of myriads of multi-coloured flowers, the verdant pastures and hill-slopes, the blooming fruit orchards, the snow-clad peaks, the swift-running streams and green meadows and towering pine trees.

After climbing 10,000 feet and soon after entering the Banihal pass—now called Jawahar Tunnel—which serves as the gateway to Kashmir valley, one is in what the Persian poets have called the "Paradise on Earth." Eighty miles long and about twenty-five miles across at the widest point, Kashmir is separated from the rest of India by the Pir Panial range. North and east of the valley stand the snow—capped peaks of the Himalayas, with Nanga Parvat (26, 660 ft.) somewhere in the centre, beyond which lies Tibet, China and Soviet Turkistan. Curling its westernly way lazily down the valley is the river Jhelum which flows through a narrow gorge into Pakistan. Situated at a mean height of some 6,000 ft. above sea level, the valley of Kashmir, with its scenic grandeur, affords opportunities for a holiday unrivalled in Asia and perhaps in the world.

Towards the centre of the valley stands the capital city of Srinagar built on both sides of the river Jhelum, spanned by seven bridges. Srinagar is, indeed, the Venice of the East, for, apart from the river, the city lies on the edge of the Dal lake, five miles long and some two and a half miles wide. There are well-equipped modern hotels, picturesque houses and house-boats which represent the *sine qua non* of living in Srinagar. Well-fitted, some of them even exquisitely furnished, the house-boats can be moored on the river or some shady spot on the edge of the lake and thus give one a thrilling experience of "living on the water."

The Manasbal Lake

Gone are the lovely lotus from the Dal lake. Instead, golden, yellow and brown rushes abound and reddish tinged willows overhang the water ruffled waters of the innumerable canals. On the surrounding heights, in the late autumn, like silent sentinels of dark green against the early snows stand the towering pines—heralding the time, not long off, when hoary winter will blanket everything under its snowy carpet.

On the Dal lake itself, there is the Chinar (the four trees of Chinar situated on an island in the midst of the lake) and the Nehru Park (an embodiment of the French sea-side riviera) which can be reached on a Shikara—an altogether unforgettable experience.

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* अस्त्युत्तरस्यां स्यौ दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वास्य स्थितः पृथिव्याश्च मानदण्डः ॥

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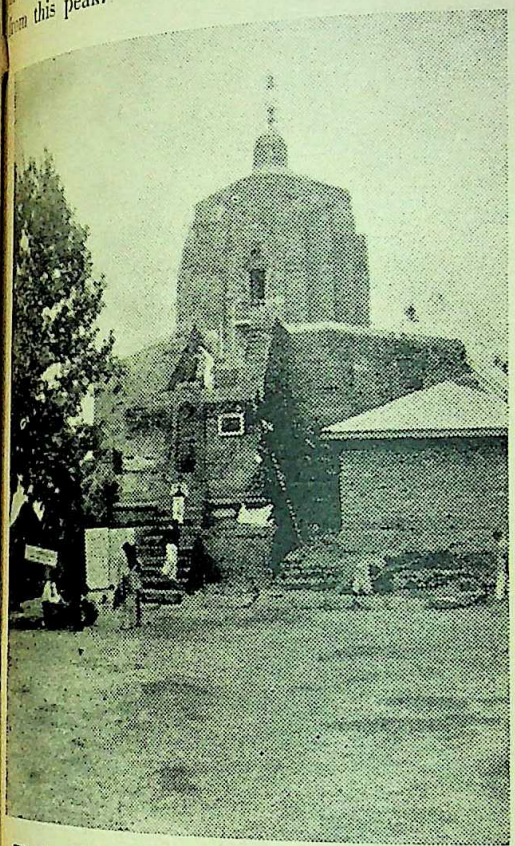
It is indeed a great pleasure to recollect the spiritual enjoyment that one derives by a climb to the Shankaracharya peak in the city, by having a "darshan" of the deity and by having a view of the Dal lake and the Char Chinar in the lake from this peak.



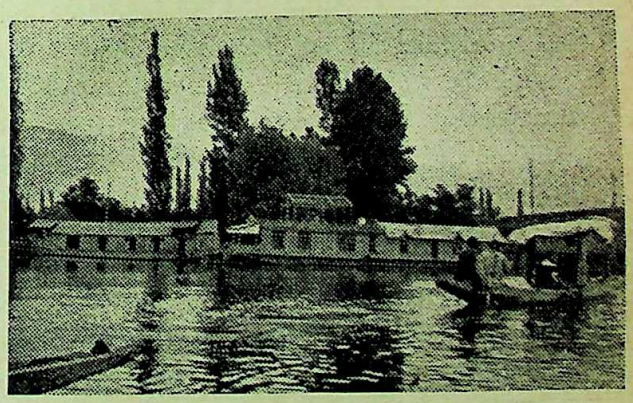
The Temple of Shankaracharya, Srinagar

The tourist can indulge in a lot of sight-seeing in Srinagar. More or less on the Dal lake and only a few miles from the city, are the famous Nishat and Shalimar Gardens and the Chashma Shahi. These gardens have been laid out by the Moghals in imitation of patterned Persian carpets; they proudly display all the hues of the rainbow at their most gorgeous. Framed against the background of the hills and commanding a fine view of the lake, the gardens are a feast of colour from spring to autumn. With their majestic Chinar trees, they are favourite picinic spots.

Not only are there places worth a visit in Srinagar itself, it abounds with attractions around too. Verinag, the octagonal-shaped stream, supposed to be the source of the river Jhelum, Gulmarg, the "Golfer's paradise," Sonmarg, the valley of glaciers, Wular lake, the largest fresh water lake in Asia through which the Jhelum passes, Khir Bhawani, the temple of the Goddess Bhawani situated amidst a tank, the changing colour of whose water is believed to determine the destiny of Kashmir, the Martand temple, the temple of the Sun God, Anant Nag, and so on and so forth.

A visit to Kokarnag, on way to Pahalgam, with its invigorating and bracing climate, captivating scenic-beauty, cool and refreshing water-stream is an altogether novel experience.

The visit to Kashmir is never complete without at least a week's stay in Pahalgam. In the Lidder valley, 60 miles by road from Srinagar, it is situated at a height of 7,000 ft. The meeting point of two snow-fed rivers, the Sheshnag and the Aru, over-hung by forests of blue-pine and fir, not even a day's march from perennial snows, Pahalgam is surely one of the loveliest spots in the whole of Kashmir. Tourists with a taste for adventure will want to visit the sacred Cave of Amarnath, 28 miles into the hinterland of ice and rock. The angler will find several excellent beats on the Lidder—incidentally, Kashmir's record catch of a 14 lb. brown trout has been bagged on this river. There is a sporting nine-hole course for golfers who do not take themselves too seriously. Most visitors live in tents in Pahalgam but there are modest hotels too. A trek on pony-back to the Chandanvari, the snowbridge, is a must for a visitor here.



Dal Lake with its Kashmir Houseboats and Shikaras

The Kashmiris are fine craftsmen and their wood-work—Kashmir can boast of excellent walnut wood—papier-mache, embroidery and silverware will invitingly attract the attention of visitors. Kashmir shawls are known the world-over, and shawl-makers have lost none of the fineness of execution of their famous forebears. Kashmir is also well-known for her pure saffron

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and honey and rich and juicy fruits and dry-fruits. A visitor to this valley is eagerly waited for bringing these gifts for his near and dear.

The people of this valley make an interesting study. Peaceful by nature, they are singular by virtue of their simplicity, unsophistry and industriousness. They are poor but honest, hard-working and men of character. They are hospitable—if ever you be stranded in an out-of-the-way place, you can be sure of being well looked after. Nature in its beauty has inspired in the Kashmiris a sense of aesthetic beauty which finds expression in their numerous art works. Their children are conspicuous by their sweet charm, health and innocent smile. Poverty compels them to beg but they are not profes[illegible] beggars: Beauty "begs" in Kashmir but be[illegible] there is in every nook and corner.

Kashmir's beauty is at its zenith in a[illegible] —a season which has been called "the sea[illegible] the falling fruit and the long journey to obli[illegible] One lives through days of persistent mellow [illegible] xication. "All that is beautiful drifts away [illegible] the waters," we might well mourn with the [illegible] Old Man," of Yeats. Never mind if it does [illegible] "a thing of beauty is joy for ever," Keats [illegible] minds us. The thing that matters is that the [illegible] xication of beauty lingers, even after the [illegible] mism engendered by such thought is [illegible] forgotten—even for the good.

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AN ABSTRACT PARADISE FOR CHILDREN

REVOLUTIONARY park planning to release children into the realm of imagination and phantasy—Novel developments to be shown at the 1963 International Horticultural Exhibition in Hamburg

BY BERND W. WESSLING

Gardens and parks, green areas and grounds where children can play are things that belong together. They have a psychological effect on people, *i.e.*, they give pleasure, full rein to imagination, they promote and develop a certain feeling for shapes and forms. The psychological effects of playgrounds on children, the importance of which has been allowed for in paedagogical and educational methods, had already been recognized by Spinoza, Pestalozzi, August Hermann Franke (the famous founder of the Institutes at Halle) and Froebel himself. Children are to be released from any compulsion, are to get out of dark and unsuitable homes, the gloomy life of sunless backyards, and they are to be prevented from their dangerous playing on roads. Moreover, the modern educational, paedagogical and social-hygienic ideas are being realized in these modern playing facilities for children.

The sponsors of the International Horticultural Exhibition to be held in Hamburg in 1963, have given wide scope to the idea of children being allowed to play in open nature. Part of the old city wall of old Hamburg is being re-arranged according to the plans of well-known architects into a kind of playing ground [illegible] scape for children, which will not only be un[illegible] of its kind, but which will also be layed [illegible] according to basic educational, psychological [illegible] aesthetic aspects. The total area of 4,000 s[illegible] feet will have a playhouse for children, a [illegible] playing field for ball games and roller skat[illegible] a lawn, playing ground, sandpits, facilities [illegible] playing in shallow basins filled with water, [illegible] open air stage, a dolls corner, a clim[illegible] mountain, a marble hill, water mills and s[illegible] gates. An attraction for playing, no doubt, wi[illegible] be an abstract landscape from pre-fabri[illegible] concrete parts, which has been designed by [illegible] Aaron of the Creative Plaything Inc. of [illegible] York.

Children want to have free scope for [illegible] phantasy and imagination. That is why educ[illegible] psychologists and gardening architects think [illegible] the bizarre branches of the surrealist clim[illegible] trees, the modern abstract landscape, shutes [illegible] sculptures because of their vagueness of form [illegible] a much wider rein to the imagination of chil[illegible] than does conventional equipment. In his re[illegible] able book "Small Cultural History of Games [illegible] Playing" published in the series to be sold [illegible]

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occasion of the International Horticultural Exhibition in Hamburg, Gerhard Aick says that modern playing equipment by its very adaptability to the imagination of the individual child has something magic about it; it gives rein to child-like phantasy, to the search and triumphant feeling of children when they have turned these objects into real things in their imagination. Children do not want prescribed and straitjacketed forms, for any object attains its beauty solely from the imagination of the child. It is a reflection of a thing which the child projects into the object. Modern playing equipment in an excellent manner gives the child the opportunity of enjoying beauty."

What the International Horticultural Exhibition in Hamburg will show are the latest developments in this field. The sponsoring organization will not only endeavour to show novel equipment, but fully equipped playing landscapes, but will with its revolutionary planning also help to contribute to "releasing of children." "The East Bloc in its educational theory returned to the cramming of knowledge into any people as was usual during the Age of Enlightenment. The West is under the pressure not to be outweighed by robots, and surrounded by dangers on all sides. And yet, in our world of ever growing data, facts and figures that have to be mastered, and of compulsion to learn as a prerequisite for survival, games and plays have retained their paramount significance for life in modern society." Thus the organization sponsoring the Exhibition describes the spiritual and cultural background of its endeavours. Doubtless it will be successful in rousing international educational and psychological expert circles to take up the discussion on contemporary principles of education and the psychological theory of games and plays in their effect upon children.

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GEORGE THOMPSON—A FORGOTTEN

Political Teacher of Nineteenth Century Bengal

By Prof. D. L. NATH, M.A.

वाचनालय, कांगड़ी गुरुकुल

Few do, perhaps, remember George Thompson (1804-1878) whose speeches on Indian affairs held in England and India roused political consciousness amongst the educated people of Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, he was regarded in the last century by some of his country men as the father of political education in India. Thompson's speeches on Indian political problems were collected in a small volume and published at Calcutta in 1843. As the political aspirations of the enlightened Bengali mind found expression in his speeches they became very popular and the volume shortly went out of print. It is well-known, a new political era began in our country with the establishment of the Indian Association. National feelings were intensified due to the activities of the above association. The "Hindoo Mela" of Nabagopal Mitra assumed a form of emotional nationalism which was sometime carried to a ridiculous extreme. It is perhaps, for these reasons that the most valuable utterances of George Thompson regarding Indian problems received little attention during the latter part of the Century.

Fortunately, in the nineties, the political ideas of George Thompson were again brought to light by one Shri Raj Jogeswar Mitra. After about half-a-Century he reproduced the "intellectual treasure-trove" of George Thompson (Published in 1895 by S. K. Lahiri & Co.), and dedicated it to Rashtraguru Surendranath Banerjee. In course of his dedication Shri Mitra expressed great admiration for George Thompson whom he described as the "Father of Political Education in India".

This is no doubt very significant. Bholanath Chandra while giving an account of the speeches of George Thompson in the *Calcutta University Magazine*, Nov. 1895, said : "Time has not lessened their value. Progressive enlightenment has not affected their interest. They exercised a potent charm on a generation which heard them in elo-

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quent utterance. To the generation of the present day they will prove an interesting as well as profitable reading. There is bullion in the lesson of our first political teacher that will last long. Every young man ought to have a copy of them."

The intelligentsia of our country entered a still new phase of political thought after the partition of Bengal in 1905. The anti-British feeling which was already running high reached a very high pitch after the partition. A few yars after the partition the political ideas of Mahatma Gandhi began to be strongly felt in Bengal. He launched political movements more than once—the motive of which was not only to offer passive resistance to Imperialist rulers but also to love everything 'National'. In the process of this nationalisation, contributions of some foreigners which were of immense value, began to be forgotten by our countrymen. It was only Rabindranath, who, in some of his essays wanted to draw our attention to the noble lives and high philanthropic ideals of these foreigners.

Much emphasis has of late been laid on David Hare, Derozio and Richardson's zeal to bring about a renaissance in modern Bengal. Their efforts in this direction were of no mean order indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that their attention was confined to the cultural sphere only. The ralistic problms of the country at large were not much touched upon by them. Even the patriotic note in Derozio's 'Fakeer of Jungheera' is mainly a vague emotion. He was a free-thinker no doubt, but it must be admitted, his free-thinking did not evoke much interest in practical politics and the general condition of the country which was groaning under the misrule of the East India Company. It was George Thompson, who for the first time, attracted in a very effective manner, the attention of enlightened "Young Bengal" to the practical political problems of the day.

As the most prominent member of the British India Society of London, George Thompson became acquainted, to some extent, with the problems of India. Even with that limited knowledge he travelled widely in Great Britain to make the British public acquainted with contemporary Indian problems. As a humanitarian he not only loved India but wanted her all-round progress. When he was invited by Dwarakanath Tagore to visit India he did not hesitate to accept the invitation as it would give him an opportunity to gather first-hand knowledge of a country [illegible] he loved so much. He travelled with Dwarakan[illegible] in the same steamer and landed at Calcutta [illegible] December, 1842.

After his arrival in Calcutta he tried to [illegible]spire reforming "Young Bengal" with a [illegible] of speeches. He told them to be thoroughly [illegible]quainted with the actual problems of the co[illegible] and to undo the wrongs (of course through co[illegible]titutional means) committed by their r[illegible] George Thompson's spirited political utterance[illegible] although reasonable were considered as "[illegible]tious" and he was nick-named "Thompson—[illegible] grievance-monger" by the European and [illegible] Anglo-Indian Press. The enthusiastic political [illegible]ciples of Thompson who already started a [illegible] weekly, *The Spectator*, to discuss the contempo[illegible] social and political problems converted it to [illegible] weekly when they came in contact with him. T[illegible] also formed the first political organisation [illegible] Bengal, "The Bengal British India Society" [illegible] 1843 with George Thompson as its first Presi[illegible] The aim of this political association was to d[illegible]cuss and adopt as far as practicable such measu[illegible] as could improve the condition of the co[illegible] Within the short space of an article it is not p[illegible]sible to give a full description of this Associat[illegible] But one thing most worthy to note is that w[illegible] the teachings of Derozio created a taste for [illegible] thought in the enlightened Bengali youth, [illegible] teachings of George Thompson created a taste [illegible] politics among them when they were mature [illegible] age and experience.

While recalling the contributions of [illegible] group of reformers who brought about a c[illegible] in the first half of the nineteenth century, [illegible] Bholanath Chandra writes in the *Calcutta Un[illegible]sity Magazine* in 1895 :

"Raja Rammohan Roy, Raja Radhak[illegible] Dev, Baboo Russomoy Dutt, Baboo Motty [illegible] Seal and Baboo Prasanna Commar Tagore [illegible] it within them and the light came out of [illegible] with more or less brilliance. Then came the [illegible] of public teaching with David Hare's exc[illegible] fruiting in the Institute of Hindu College. [illegible]zio's teaching turned out the first batch of [illegible] forming Young Bengal. Let us see what T[illegible]son's teachings have turned out. Indeed, they [illegible]duced a generation of political "Young Be[illegible] —a set of men who presented a very di[illegible]

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"The duteous and knew-crooking Baboo,
That doting on his own obsequious bondage,
Wears out his time, much like his master's ass".

According to Bholanath Chandra these spirited "Young Bengal" who were imbued with a new political outlook belonged to the "Thompsonian School". Prominent among them were Tarachand Chakravarti, the Bengali Cato, Chandra Sekhar Deb, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Ramgopal Ghosh, Peary Chand Mitra, Dukhinaranjan Mukherjee, Digambar Mitra, Shyama Charan Sen and Kalachand Sett. They were the brave persons who had sown the seeds of first political consciousness in Bengal. 'The Friend of India' tauntingly compared their 'thundering Balakhana' speeches with the actual thunderings then going on at Bala Hissar at Kabul.

There is no denying the fact that the influence of "Bengal British India Society" was not very effective as the political programme chalked out by this Association could not be carried to the end. Time was not yet ripe for giving practical shape to the progressive political ideas of George Thompson. Yet it must be said to the credit of the "Thompsonians" that they were the first political-minded persons of Bengal who tried to determine the actual condition of the ryots and made an attempt to redress their grievances. Ram Gopal Ghosh, one of the most prominent "Thompsonians" 'with his noble swelling public spirit and sufficiency of means', carried on active propaganda and made vigorous speeches to uphold the rights of the poor peasants whose sufferings were boundless owing to the oppression of the cruel Indigo-planters. Babu Bholanath Chandra comments : "To this first seed (Bengal British India Society) sown by George Thompson, M.P. may remotely be traced the outcome of all other associations, including the very Congress itself".

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INDIA'S CRIMINAL TRIBES

By P. S. SHARMA

It would be expedient at the very outset to demolish the misconception in the mind of the average reader that criminal tribes are the same as aboriginal tribes or at least belong to the same racial or cultural stock. This misconception seems to arise from nomadism of the primitive tribes—a characteristic which blurs the distinction between them and the criminal and vagrant population. Besides the Mongoloid element in the Cis-Himalayan region, the criminal tribes of northern India have a mixture of races, cultures and social status in varying proportions from the purest Brahmin to the hybrid Kahar or down to the Korwa of Uttar Pradesh.

According to Dr. D. N. Majumdar, "the attractive features of the women and their easy virtue help in their tempting overtures to men of substance and leisure and thus consciously or unconsciously they have canalised alien blood into the veins of the tribe, so that the racial purity of the criminal tribes like that of the castes, is a myth."

Relics of mediaeval feudalism and mercenary associates of adventurers and disgruntled claimants, each criminal tribe has evolved a distinct **modus vivendi** for committing crimes like cattle-lifting, crop-stealing, pick-pocketing and dacoity.

Origin and Crime Specialisation

Beyond a certain point, the origin or continuous history of any of the criminal tribes is lost in obscurity. The relevant information is, therefore, based upon legends and hearsay. Most of the criminal tribes claim Rajput descent but due to frequent miscegenation of these tribes with outsiders, they can safely be described as of mixed origin and composition. So also, specialisation in certain crimes by a tribe depends greatly on local conditions, surroundings and environments. Let us discuss the principal criminal tribes one by one.

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Bawarias

In Platts' opinion, the word 'Bawaria' is taken from Hindi Baola or Baora meaning crazy. Dalton traces its origin to Sanskrit Barbar—a barbarian. Ibbetson connects them to Bawar or leather noose for ensnaring wild animals and John Shakespeare to Shagalkhore—or jackal-eaters.

Legend goes that once Emperor Akbar demanded a dola from King Sandal of Chittorgarh. On a point-blank refusal, a battle was fought near a baoli. The Rajputs were defeated and began to be called Bawalias or Bawarias.

Bawarias also trace their origin to Chandra and Jora who had served Fattah and Jaimal of Chittor as musketeers.

Whaterfield believes that a Rajput chief of Gujerat once presented a royal princess to the Emperor. The Princess did not like the idea and on the way, under pretext of drinking water, drowned herself in a baoli. Her disconsolants began to live a nomadic life near the baoli and became known as Bawarias.

In the past, Bawarias were notorious for committing daylight robberies, but have now adopted shrewder and less violent methods and are adepts in languages and code words. They are expert camp-robbers and nakabzans, pose as **fakirs** and **sanyasins** and carry weapons underneath their clothes. They put on masks and can imitate voices of rats and cats. Their chief weapon Gyan (used for boring holes) they call Gyandas so that it may pass for one of their odd associates. They use a regular system of signs for the guidance of fellow tribals.

The Bhatus

Bhatus belong to an aboriginal tribe, follow Hindu customs, though some of them are influenced by Christianity and Islam. William Crocke holds that Bhatus are a branch of Sansiyas, while others connect them with Bhats or Bards and poets. Belief is also current that the word Bhatu is derived from the Hindi word Bahutor (arm-breaker) referring to their favourite device of incapacitating opponents.

The men are wiry and muscu[illegible] women fair and good-looking. They are ve[illegible] dangerous criminals and go on crim[illegible] expeditions invoking their deity Maha[illegible] They keep in touch which goldsmiths a[illegible] unscrupulous persons by offering them g[illegible] and even their womenfolk. They encourag[illegible] their womenfolk to have immoral intim[illegible] with rich people so that the commission [illegible] crime is facilitated. Their favour[illegible] weapon for breaking open doors and w[illegible] is a gahdala.

Doms, Haburas and Sansiyas

Doms, Haburas and Sansiyas are am[illegible] the most dangerous of criminal tribes [illegible] India. Low-statured and dark-complexion[illegible] Doms were formerly known as blood-thir[illegible] executioners and murderers.

Legend has it that Doms are degener[illegible] ed Brahmins who worshipped malevol[illegible] goddesses and accepted alms at cremati[illegible] grounds. Webster describes them as "a tr[illegible] hopelessly wild and savage in their nature as noted for aversion to work. Th[illegible] women pose as hawkers and gain necess[illegible] information. They are adepts in Tapp[illegible] Bazi or passing brass for gold. They h[illegible] no organised gangs.

Haburas are offshoots of Sansiyas a[illegible] profess to be descendents of Rana Pratap [illegible] Chittorgarh. They wander in gangs a[illegible] waylay caravans and wedding parties. Th[illegible] generally carry a bludgeon.

Haburas take on the guise of Brahm[illegible] on pilgrimage, constables, professi[illegible] mendicants and beggars.

The origin of Sansis is traced to Mew[illegible] Alwar and Bharatpur where they w[illegible] minstrels to Jats. Sansis claim Sahasma[illegible] notorious dacoit, as their ancestor. Oth[illegible] regard them as descendants of Sansi, ill[illegible] timate child of an unmarried princ[illegible] Sansis are skilful camp-stealers. They [illegible] proficient in passing on base coins. [illegible] special feature of Sansi dacoity is the s[illegible] denness of attack and rapidity of [illegible] blows. They stay at river banks [illegible] boundaries of two stations. They dis[illegible] of stolen property through kalals or g[illegible] smiths.

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Among other criminal tribes are Mahatams, Karwals, Minas and Kanjars who even rear up their females for purposes of prostitution.

In fine, criminal tribes are of composite origin; their modus operandi in committing crime vary; their anti-social activities are mostly against property and they rarely resort to violence. They take elaborate precautions against being caught and connive at—even actively encourage—immoral intimacy of their women folk for achieving their nefarious ends.

The criminal tribes have continued as nomadic professional criminals since generations past, but are gradually adjusting themselves to growing civilising influences.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH*

By S. C. MITRA

Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta

I was born on the 28th October 1895 in Calcutta, the last of 7 brothers and 3 sisters. My father was an eminent lawyer of his times and a devoted scholar having won academic distinctions and a gold medal from the Asiatic Society of Bengal. History and literature were his special subjects. My mother was one of the earlier batches of the pupils of the school established by J. E. Drinkwater Bethune in 1849 for the education of the girls of Bengal. She had full faith in the teachings of the religious texts and never failed to fast and follow other injunctions prescribed for different religious ceremonies. She was vigorant but at the same time a strict disciplinarian, sympathetic and always ready to help others in distress. Herself having a keen desire to learn she set a high value to educational attainments and placed it next only to moral development. Both my parents had that in their character (how should one describe it) which made not only their children but others also look upto them with respect, love, confidence and also fear. Without making any attempt to discover reasons or find faults, may I just mention that it is this type of disintegration of personality traits that we miss in the parents of today and which in my opinion is one of the factors responsible for the numerous individual and social problems that surround the youths of our country now.

I was a sickly child and on account of my frequent illnesses did not join school before the age of eight. There was, however, an intellectual atmosphere in our home as all of my brothers were reading in schools and colleges, some specializing in sciences and others in arts. My curiosity to know and learn was sharpened by listening to the intellectual discussions on various topics they used to have amongst themselves and amongst their friends also who used to gather almost everyday at our house.

My father died prematurely immediately after my admission to school. I passed all school examinations creditably and was due to appear at the Matriculation Examination in 1911. But sometime before that I began to have troubles with my eyes, very soon I lost my power of vision completely, became absolutely blind and was kept confined in a dark room for six months. My family members naturally began to think that I was not destined to have the usual school and college education. My brothers, therefore, took an unusual step, which was considered to be rather bold and unorthodox too at that time. They noticed the presence in me of some musical

*Prof. S. C. Mitra who is one of the senior-most Psychologists was requested to contribute an autobiographical article for inclusion in the present issue of the Journal of himself. It provides glimpses into the growth, development and expansion of Psychology in Indian Universities and this would be one of the authentic source materials for one who ventures to write the history of Psychology in India.

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abilities and made all arrangements for my regular training in music. Neighbours foretold an ugly and gloomy future for me and accused my brothers of spoiling me and giving me up to the devil. Thanks to my brothers' endeavours, however, I still retain some capacity for playing on the violin which I learnt at that time. Gradually and very slowly, however, I began to recover my sight but study was absolutely forbidden by the eye-specialists—a prescription which, however, I secretly and consistently violated.

In 1912, on of my brothers was posted at Cuttack and he took me there with him. It was at Cuttack that I had one unique experience of my life. I met there Subhas Bose who was then a student and was preparing to sit for the Matriculation evamination of the year 1913. We soon became close friends. His extra-ordinarily high intellectual calibre, his wide and penetrating studies even at that early age, of Sanskrit, Bengali and English literature, and philosophy too, his intense love for his country, and above all his eager and earnest quest for religion created a bond between us which remains as firm today as it was fifty years ago. Swami Vivekananda's writings used to inspire and guide me and when these were introduced to Subhas he thought he got in them just what he had been seeking all along. Certainly it can be said today that while others read those writings he lived them.

After losing two years of my academic career, I passed the Matriculation examination in 1913 and got myself admitted to the Scottish Churches' college. Subhas joined the Presidency college. It was, however, agreed between us that after graduating, both of us would take up the Experimental Psychology course for our Post-graduate study because we expected to find in that course the scientific foundation of all that we have learnt about our Yoga system and Yogic practices. That was the motive for my joining the Experimental Psychology Department after graduating with Honours in Philosophy in 1917. The Department had recently been created by Sir Asutosh. I may mention that all through my graduation course I won many prizes and medals for proficiency not only in Philosophy but in Mathematics too, a subject for which I have still the liveliest interest. I recall how the Professors of Mathematics tried their best to dissuade me from taking up Honours in Philosophy and insisted that I should join the mathematics Honours course. I take this opportunity of paying my respects to my teachers of the Scottish Churches College, Profs. Urquhart, Mill, Ewart, Douglas, Cameron, M. M. Bose, many of whom are no longer in the land of the living and our late Kali Pandit Mahasaya always bubbling with witty remarks and humorous anecdotes.

I learnt much from Experimental Psychology but the primary motive was not fully satisfied. My revered teachers, late Dr. N. N. Sengupta and Late Dr. G. Bose, however, opened up new lines of thought for me and revealed to me the immense possibilities for the practical utilization of the results of scientific experiments in Psychology. Dr. Sengupta's lectures on General and Social Psychology and Dr. Bose's on Abnormal Psychology, particularly on Psychoanalysis made profound impressions on me and I became keenly interested in pursuing these branches of psychology. The late versatile Professor Hariti Bhattacharyya was one of my ideal teachers. His thorough mastery over different Philosophical systems, Eastern as well as Western, his acquaintance with modern systems of psychology, his brilliant discourses, his lively gait and always smiling face and his ever-ready wit inspired any serious student who came into contact with him.

I passed the M.A. examination in 1919. On account of financial conditions of our family at that time I had to find some ways of earning money. After submitting many applications here and there I accepted a job of clerkship in the Finance Department of the Central Government at Delhi. When I had served there for some time and was preparing to appear at the Accountantship examination, on the passing of which my promotion depended, Sir Asutosh enquired whether I would be willing to accept a post of Lecturership in the Psychology Department. He could not, he said, guarantee my future prospects as he was then in a rather violent conflict with the Government over his scheme of Postgraduate studies in the University. I eagerly accepted the offer, gave up the permanent Government post for an uncertain position in the University and joined the department as a teacher in 1920. I married in 1921 and our only issue, a daughter, was born in 1922.

It was Sir Ashutosh, again, who took the initiative in sending me over to Germany to visit the first Psychological Laboratory of the world at the University of Leipzig. I went to

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in 1924. Wundt had died a few years ago. Prof. F. Kreuger was then the Director of the Laboratory where I was privileged to work under the direct supervision of Prof. Kirschmann. Prof. Sander, one of the modern leaders in Psychology, now at Bonn University, was at that time in Leipzig and so also was W. Wirth who has enriched psychophysics with his valuable contributions. I had an opportunity of meeting J. M. Cattell who for a short time had been revisiting the University where he had previously worked for so many years with Wundt though often differing from the latter. Carrying out successfully an experiment on monocular and binocular perception of brightness I was admitted to the Doctorate Degree of that University in 1926. Among my examiners, apart from these of the Psychology department, were Prof. Hans Driesch who introduced the idea of Vitalism and Theoder Litt whose contributions to pedagogy were rich and varied. I was the first Indian student who got an opportunity of working in the pioneer psychological laboratory of the world and perhaps still continue to be the only one.

I shall refrain from describing other aspects of life there besides the academic, partly because it will be completely out of date and would not be of any interest to modern students and also because it would unnecessarily lengthen the article. What struck me most was the extremely cordial and sincere way in which I was taken in there by the Professors and my fellow students as one of them. On my return, I took up my duties at the Department and devoted myself to the task of teaching and spreading the knowledge of psychology amongst the educated and the laity. I joined the Indian Psychological Association which had just been started and tried to serve it to the best of my ability in various capacities, as Secretary, as the Editor of its Journal, The Indian Journal of Psychology, and till lately as its President.

As it would be apparent to any one who has cared to read some of the articles that I had published both in the English and Bengali languages and the papers that I read at different Congresses and conferences, Laboratory experiments in psychology never satisfied me wholly. While the experimental method is certainly one of the most fruitful methods of exploring the capacities and aptitudes, trends and tendencies, of individuals and groups, one should not limit his studies to these topics alone for understaning the ways of the mind's functioning. There is more in the mind than laboratory experiments can discover. Dr. G. Bose, a medical man by profession, an ardent student of psychology and of Indian philosophy, the formost psychoanalyst of India, pointed out to us another way of approach which promised a deeper understanding of the subtle and intricate workings of the mind. That path was the path of psychoanalysis. I had myself analysed by Dr. Bose and that experience was an unique one for me for I found in it the real foundations of all that was taught theoretically in the class-room and preached through the medium of the text-books. I became an active member of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society founded by Dr. Bose in 1922 and have since written much on the subject. One of the articles, I am happy to mention, attracted the notice of Freud himself who communicated his appreciation to Dr. Bose. I was elected a Fellow of the National Institute of Sciences of India in 1943.

The department of psychology had been in the meantime steadily growing. Not only was the number of students increasing but the syllabus also was being modified from time to time. I had my share in bringing about these modifications and was responsible for introducing Indian Psychology as an optional paper in the Post-graduate course. Late M. N. Banerjee, the first M.Sc., in Experimental Psychology in India, teacher of mine and later one of my Senior colleagues had in his Presidential address to the Section of Psychology in the Indian Science Congress and myself too in a similar Presidential address in 1938 tried to draw the attention of all concerned to the fact that the knowledge derievd from the study of the new subject was being wasted for want of an organization and suitable opportunities to utilize it in the practical fields of life. At the Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress, we had the good fortune of having Prof. C. Spearman, Prof. C. Myers and others amidst us and Dr. G. Bose, the then Head of the Psychology Department, lost no time in drawing up, in consultation with them, a scheme for starting an Applied Section of the Department where Educational and Vocational guidance would be given. The Section became very popular and

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soon educational and vocational guidance became one of the regular activities of the Department. Individuals and factories approached us for advice and guidance. A Certificate Course in Applied Psychology, a one-year postgraduate course, was started soon after, where students received their theoretical and practical training in the various branches of Applied Psychology. In 1955, a scheme for further expansion on the basis of the recommendations of a committee formed by the Syndicate of the University during Late Dr. J. C. Ghosh's Vice-Chancellorship, was submitted to the University Grants' Commission through the University, the final outcome of which is still being awaited.

It is easy to point out the gradual growth of the department but it must be remembered that every small step of dvelopment could only be taken after successfully overcoming resistances from various quarters, expected and unexpected. Open hostility, innuendos and insinuations had to be faced by those championing the cause of the spread of modern psychology. I do not regret it. On the contrary, I am convinced now that conflict is one of the inevitable facts of life and no one can by-pass it.

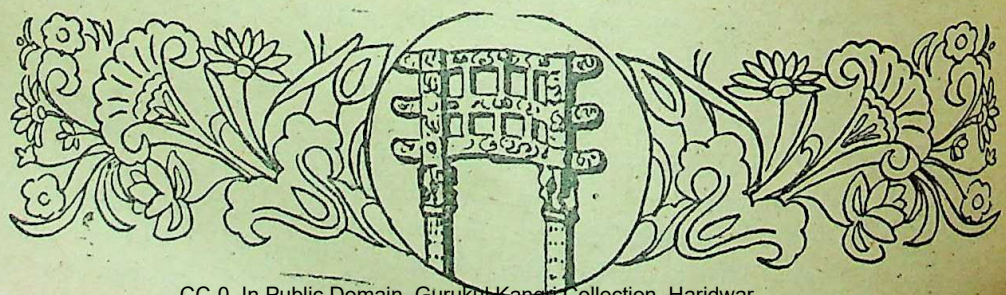
On the death of Prof. G. Bose, who had been the first to occupy the chair of Professorship in Psychology in the University of Calcutta, I was appointed in his place in 1953. I served to the best of my limited capacities as a teacher of Psychology for about 40 years and finally retired from the University in 1959.

Let me mention here that it had been my privilege to be in personal contact with all the leading psychologists of India. They had not only been my colleagues helping me always with their ideas and discussions, but they have proved to be my sincere friends and have expressed their feelings and sentiments towards me in no uncertain terms. It pleases me to find that some of the Professors of Psychology in the different Universities of India had been at one time students of mine. They had always kept contact with me. I am proud of the notable achievements of some of the students of mine in different fields of Psychology. Some of them have been able to create very good impressions about Indians and of the status of Psychology in India amongst the authorities of the subject in England and America. Above all the best reward of my life had been the love and esteem, which my students—*generations of them*—have always showered on me. For a psychologist it is not difficult to understand that pride and prejudice, feelings of inferiority and frustrated ambitions would keep some of my students away from me, but even they have never failed to extend to me the usual courtesies of life.

I would like to repeat here what I had recently expressed in my felicitation address that I had never been able to consider my teaching work as a money-earning profession but I have always taken it as a mission of my life. There is so much talk of establishing rapport before starting a psychological experiment or beginning a counselling interview; my feeling is that even an academic subject cannot be well taught to a student by anyone who has no personal ties with him. At least that has been my life's experience.

One word more. After I retired from the University service. *I was requested to take up the post of Professorship of Psychology in the Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta,* with which I had been connected since its foundation in 1942. So I am serving now as an Honorary Professor of Psychology and Head of the Department of General Social Welfare at the Institute.

Once more. Let this article of mine convey to all my senior colleagues my heartfelt gratitude, to all my friends my sincere affection and to all young workers in the field of psychology my best wishes.



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HOW DO THE POLES SPEND THEIR MONEY?

By ANDRZEJ HODOLY

Research worker of the Home Trade Institute

The structure of the individual needs of an average family or consumer in Poland does not differ in any great degree from that in other countries of Europe. Before an analytical study of the spending habits of Poles is attempted, a brief review of the material improvements in the living conditions of the population is considered necessary, for these factors have an essential place in determining the size and structure of the expenditure of the population.

Predominantly agricultural in pre-war period, industry now plays a decisive role in Polish economy. Taking 1950 output as 100, in 1960 the industrial output was 337.7, in building 332 and in agriculture 135.9. These and other changes have doubled the national income in 1959 and the share of national income earmarked for consumption had gone up to 170 per cent of the 1950 consumption fund.

Food Purchases

The Polish people earmark 46.2 per cent of their income for the purchases of foodstuffs—according to the results of research into the family budgets of industrial workers conducted in 1960. This is somewhat more than in other European countries—in West Germany, the respective percentage was 39.2 per cent in 1959, France 38.6 per cent in 1958, and in Great Britain 31.3 per cent the years 1957-59. The demand for foodstuffs was satisfied as regards the quantities supplied, the nutrition value of food being increased as the consumption of cereals and potatoes dropped. At the same time, the consumption of valuable hydro-carbons—fat and sugar products—increased threefold and that of meat and fish showed a two-and-a-half-fold increase over the inter-war years.

The consumption of animal protein in Poland does not differ very much from that in the prosperous West European countries, and the demand for meat is by no means decreasing. This indicates a further rise in the consumption of meat and meat products in the future.

The economic authorities are endeavouring to stimulate the demand for articles containing the more easily assimilated protein, *e.g.*, poultry, veal and fish and also milk and milk products, particular efforts are being made to increase the consumption of vegetables and fruit which still play a much too insignificant role in our diet.

According to the known rules of consumption development, the percentage of income earmarked for foodstuffs drops as incomes go up, and this is the case now in Poland. If this drop is rather slow, this is mainly due to an improvement in the structure of food consumption, the percentage of better and more expensive foodstuffs having increased.

But in spite of this, the relation between the quantity of foodstuffs purchased by the population and that of other goods is now changing to the advantage of general consumer goods.

Other Expenditures

Apart from food articles, the Poles spend quite a lot on clothing and footwear, the share of these expenditures in the total family budget being 15.2 per cent, as compared with 13.5 per cent in West Germany, 12.4 per cent in France and 9.3 per cent in Britain. During the last decade, purchases of clothes and footwear have increased almost twofold.

Expenditures on health protection and hygiene are rather insignificant—4.3 per cent, comparing with 4.8 per cent in West Germany, 7.4 per cent in France, and 7.5 per cent in the United States—, and also for cultural and educational purposes—6 per cent, as compared with 9 per cent in West Germany, 7.1 per cent in France and 6.1 per cent in the United States. The reason for this is that the basic costs of medical care, recreation and education are paid by the State from the Social consumption fund.

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The network of health centres, hospitals and sanatoria guarantee free medical care to working people and their families, and the price of medicines for the working people is only 30 per cent of the actual price. Similiarly, the cost of child care in creches and nursery schools is covered by the local State organs. Schools on all levels, from primary to university schools, are free, the completion of primarly school being compulsory. Parents only have to pay for school aids, which are very inexpensive.

About one million children and young people spent their 1960 holidays in summer camps and holiday centres free of charge. Over 600,000 working people and their families went to workers' holiday homes—run by the trade unions, factories and institutions—situated in the most picturesque localities, only having to pay a small part of the cost of their stay.

Thus, the expenditure figures for health protection and hygiene include payments for medicines, fees paid to doctors with private practice and to the doctors' cooperatives supplementing the State Health Service, and, lastly, expenditures on personal and family hygiene.

Expenditures on culture and education not only comprise the cost of education and recreation but also money spent on books and periodicals, and on concert, theatre and cinema tickets.

Apart from outlays on food and clothing, household expenditures are also increasing. The share of rent in these expenditures is insignificant, as rents in Poland are extremely low and so are payments for municipal services—gas, water, power supply, etc. Thus, the main items in this group of outlays are furniture and other durable articles, cleaners, etc., and also record players, radio and TV sets, tape-recorders, etc.

In this field the demand is ahead of supply. The State is making every effort to increase the supplies of these goods to the market.

And now a few words about expenditure on transport. This is only a small item in the budget for the public transport fares are very cheap and only a small percentage of the population bear expenses connected with keeping a car of their own.

Speaking of transport, the demand for motor cycles and scooters is growing at the same rate as that for other durable goods.

As individual incomes go up, there is much more interest in individual and cooperative building. This indicates stabilization and a tendency to plan ahead, a tendency which is being encouraged by the State. According to the existing possibilities, every effort is being made to supply would be builders with the necessary materials and labour.

Summing up, consumption is on a medium level, with a certain tendency to keep to old traditions as regards food expenditure, though recent changes, namely the growth in outlays on consumer goods, indicate a change for the better in the Polish pattern of consumption and demand.

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PADDY CULTIVATION IN THE ANDAMANS

By DEBABRATA GHOSE, M.SC.

THE poutation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is increasing rapidly with the implementation of Colonialization Schemes. Naturally the rural population increases with more speed than that of the urban and this is most essential for the safety of a typical community cut off by hundreds of miles of Sea from the motherland. But still the seemingly vast land cannot feed her own people even at the present moment for so many hindrances and most of the necessaries of life including paddy are imported regularly from the mainland. Any shortage is seriously felt by the Islanders. If these Islands are to prosper, a balanced economy is essential.

But to achieve a balanced economy in the future is completely out of point because Paddy and Cocoanuts are the only major crops in these Islands. The population of these Islands at present is 63,433 whereas in the year 1951, it was only 30,971, *i.e.*, it has become more than double during the last decade. The total area of these Islands is 3,215 sq. miles and out of which 78 per cent of land is completely under dense forest and the rest we have explored only a portion and

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our settlements there. With the heavy influx of settlers in these Islands total area under cultivation is increasing very rapidly. During the year 1931, the area under Paddy was 4,100 acres, by the year 1951, it rose up to 5,566 acres, whereas the area became 16,504 acres in 1960-61, *i.e.*, nearly three times that of 1951. The area and production of Paddy are shown below :

Year	Acreage	Production in tons
(1)	(2)	(3)
1950-51	5,566	2,900
1955-56	9,255	4,626
1956-57	10,261	4,620
1957-58	12,081	5,613
1958-59	11,967	6,163
1959-60	14,472	7,802
1960-61	16,504	8,771

Attempts to increase the agricultural production have been made with the help of implementation of Plan Schemes, creation of Community Development Blocks, etc., as attention has been focussed on the seriousness of the low internal production of these Islands. Due to these moves, the agriculturists have shown keen interest in the Paddy yield competition conducted by the South Andaman Community Development Block. During the year 1960-61, altogether 176 entries were made in the crop competition whereas in the year 1959-60, 85 entries were there. This is really a very healthy sign.

Under the Plan Schemes demonstrations in intensive cultivation are organised on cultivators' plots. A number of Demonstration Centres according to Indian Council of Agricultural Research's pattern are set up and Japanese methods of paddy cultivation duly modified to suit local conditions are popularised by laying out demonstration plots.

There are usually two ways by which production can be increased, *i.e.*, by extensive and intensive cultivation. Due to Colonization Schemes we are arriving at more or less a saturation point though it is expected that some more cultivable area would be available and for this a Soil Conservation Party is exploring in the Middle and North Andamans. So main emphasis should be to increase Paddy production by increasing the average yield through intensive cultivation. The increase in yield is to be achieved specially by nourishing the Soil with the help of proper manures and fertilisers. Owing to inadequate manuring the land has become devitalized, suffering generally from Nitrogen deficiencies. Manures and fertilisers can rejuvenate the soil, and soil fertility of the land. An All India Fertiliser Demonstration Trials Scheme under a Joint Indo-American Project was conducted in the year 1954-55, to demonstrate the effectiveness of the commercial fertilisers such as Urea, Ammonium Sulphate, Ammonium Sulphate Nitrate and NP mixtures in increasing crop production and thereby to encourage the extensive use of these fertilizers by the cultivators. Although those experiments were not conducted on the soils of Bay Islands, still some of the observations will be quite applicable for this place. It was observed that "very good response to nitrogen was obtained in all states and on all the soil types, and application of phosphate in addition to nitrogen gave good extra response in all States".

There are other measures too for the increase in the paddy production, *viz.*, supply of improved seeds, as we know that good crops will require quality seeds, measures for plant protection, irrigation facilities, propagation of improved agricultural practices, Land Development and Soil Conservation measures and popularising of improved agricultural implements. If all goes well, it is definite that these Islands will be self-sufficient at least so far as the requirements of paddy are concerned.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati* :**

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

I MEET RAJAJI : *By Monica Felton, published by Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1962 : price Rs. 15.00.*

Mrs. Felton came to India in 1956 to attend a peace conference in Calcutta. She heard 'many people' say that Rajagopalachari 'was the greatest living Indian and perhaps the greatest man of the whole world'. Such an estimate, by the way, is as baffling to justify, as it is easy to make in a mood of convivial excess. The author, however, has been rather wrestling with an unwearied zeal to draw out worth-while biographic notes from Rajaji, constitutionally reluctant to talk about himself. The result is the book under review and a biography she intends to complete some day.

Ideologically, non-ideological Rajagopalachari is a controversial figure in Indian politics. At strategic points he refused to trim his sails to the wind that blew. His consummate statesmanship and courage of conviction were nowhere more strikingly in evidence as when in 1942, he said with regard to the 'Quit India' resolution : 'In 1919, we (The Congress) refused our co-operation, and though this refusal may have helped to vindicate our national self-respect, it did not help us in any positive way'. Unless public memory accepts itself to be scandalously short, there is, in the pages of history, Surendranath Banerjea urging the country to work the Reforms in the right spirit and never to inflate Pan-Islamism by mixing up the Caliphate with Indian politics. Will the prospective biographer of Rajaji look up What he told the author with regard to Gandhiji **vis-a-vis** the division of India read distressing. "If Gandhiji," he says, "had been against partition the others would not have agreed to it." It places Gandhiji in a very unfortunate position, regard being had to the fact that he had all along, right up to May 1947, emphasised that he considered the division of India a sin and that it was only over his dead body that it could be effected. My conviction is that some light is being withheld. The popular belief, however, is in tune with the view point of Pyarelal, as stated in his **Mahatma Gandhi.** "The impossible old man," says he, "was put on the pedestal, admired for his genius and for his 'unerring hunch,' consulted, listened to with respectful attention and by-passed." We gather that Rajagopalachari claims that his suggestion for the division of India were accepted in time, we would not have witnessed such an orgy of cannibalism. A bold statement like this without his reaction to Jinnah's phased exchange of population and then the most staggering episode of humanity uprooted, the bloody trail of which is not yet in these fifteen years stopped flowing with frightful potentials, leaves a gnawing sense of inadequacy. Would he equally consider that he intended to consign the entire non-Moslems of Punjab and Bengal

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the rule of Pakistan and what it implies. After all, Nehru has this much of honesty to confess at New York in October, 1949, that he would have fought to the end against the establishment of Pakistan if he had foreseen the dire consequences which flowed from it.

It is painful to accept Rajagopalachari's verdict that 'self-government has not yet produced good government.' There is a piquant touch in having had to accept it from one, who was Union Minister in the interim period, and then, under the new auspices, who was in turn Governor of West Bengal, Governor General of India, Chief Minister of Madras, and again Union Minister. He has also to be accepted on his face value that public service has very much deteriorated in efficiency and integrity compared to the British regime and this under pressure from their political masters to do favours'.

The author has beautifully said that 'Rajaji mocked at nobody ; and wisdom was offered lightly as something within the grasp of everyone who chose to understand.' One such quintessence of wisdom is when he said, 'The hardest and most important thing that every human being needs to learn is that he is not the centre of the universe'. The author may, as well, note what Rajagopalachari said of Tilak that 'No great man was less troubled with a memory of himself or the thought of how he figured in anything'—Foreward to Karandikar's biography of Tilak. It applies in all fours on Rajagopalachari himself.

In the intimate, revealing manner of Boswell, Mrs. Felton has given us a lot of things regarding Rajagopalachari that we were hitherto denied. Her style is racy and conversational ; and with freedom from cant, her impact is quite pleasant all along. The book is a valuable addition to literature relating to the rise and functioning of the Republic of India.

Joges C. Bose.

ADULT LITERARY MOVEMENT, PAKISTAN : *By H. C. S. Bivar, I.C.S. (retired), 1961.*

The thoughtful pamphlets remind us of the sudden and melancholy death of (23rd March, 1962), Mr. Bivar, born (28th Nov., 1897), in his father's Tea Garden in Assam. Educated in England, Mr. Bivar joined the I.C.S. (1921) and served India till the Partition, when he opted for Pakistan. With his executive and judiciary experiences (1921-47) in undivided India, Mr. Bivar finally retired in 1955 as Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, East Pakistan.

Then he took up social uplift work as an old colleague of our Bengal Social Service League founded by Dr. D. N. Maitra (1915). So in 1955, Mr. Bivar began visiting us in the Bustee House of the League (1|6 Raja Dinendra Street), where he shared our simple meals and small rooms to co-operate with our workers in the "liquidation of Illiteracy". He planned and wrote some books on the subject with the co-operation of Dr. Laubach and his Literary Fund financing partly the Adult Literary Movement in Pakistan and West Bengal through the Bengal Social Service League.

The almost half a century of social service was pioneered by our National Poet Rabindranath and his doctor-friend Nilratan Sarkar. Their centuries (1861-1961) reminded us of the social and educational reforms supplying the very foundation of Indian Democracy. Above colour and creed here co-operated with us Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. Karve and our friend Mr. Bivar, the "Reformer": He notified us from Dacca (before falling ill) that he would not go to any Hotel but enjoy the simple hospitality of the League ! We remember him with gratitude and send our condolences to his family. May his writings unpublished or published be collected in a volume and translated into Bengali so that the students and teachers of our rural schools may benefit by his wide experiences and deep sympathy. Mr. L. P. Jack, I.C.S., wrote a valuable book on Faridpur and now if we collect and publish Mr. Bivar's writings they may bring into fraternal co-operation, the teachers of East Pakistan and West Bengal dedicated to the uplift of our neglected rural masses.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA : *Vol. II, 1962. Published by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture.*

In 1937, the Sri Ramakrishna Birth Centenary Publication Committee, published the First Edition in 3 vols. which have been enlarged to include wider topics of the Cultural Heritage of India. It is to the credit of the Institute to have succeeded, in the face of difficulties of editing and printing, to have published Vol. I : The Early Phases (pages 716) Vol. III, (pages 718) on. The Philosophies and Vol. IV (Pp. 796) on. The Religions enlarged by a fairly exhaustive Bibliography and a full Index.

The Vol. II under review is welcomed for

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filling up the gap by covering admirably our vast literatures on *Itihasa-Purana* (History and Ancient Chronicles) together with law and allied texts grouped under *Dharma-Artha-Kama* and social sciences. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (learned President, Asiatic Society), Prof. S. K. De, (Jt. Editor of the *Mahabharata*), Dr. A. D. Pusalker, (of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona) and Prof. R. C. Hazra, (Sanskrit College, Calcutta) worked hard to make their surveys as exhaustive and up-to-date as possible. While the *Vedic* studies were *Indo-European*, the Epic period is dominantly covered by our Indian scholars handling, now for the first-time, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and the *Puranas*, not only in classical Sanskrit, but also in their significant *variants* in the various *living* languages of this vast subcontinent. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, completing the edition of the *Mahabharata*, appears here with his epoch-making review of the *Bhagavad-Gita*—its History and Character. A former President, Swami Suddhananda, and General Secretary, Ramakrishna Mission, Swami Vireswarananda discussed the teachings and the synthetic character of the *Gita*. Dr. Pusalkar ably surveyed the History of the *Ramayana* (since the early studies of Prof. Jacobi). So, our friend Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee of the Greater India Society, discussed happily the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* in South-East Asia which should open our eyes to the need of publishing our Indian Cyclopedia of Asian Religions and Cultures, so often distorted by the Western Christian zeal.

The *Puranas* and *Upa-Puranas*, for the first time, were ably presented by Prof. Rajendra Chandra Hazra, a pioneer in the field.

On the "Hindu Judicial System" and its six stages—the Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. B. Mukherji contributed a valuable monograph. So our erudite researcher, Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya wrote on *Puranas* as also on the important Nibandhas of Hindu Law—studied by Judge-Orientalists like Sir William Jones (1746-1794) and Sir Henry T. Maine.

The last part (v) is devoted to Artha-Sastra, Niti-Sastra and other sources of Hindu Political and Social Organisation. This section is very ably edited by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, an authority on the subject, who writes also on the Monarchical States and on the ancient Indian Republics. So Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (who introduces this volume) writes on the Socio-Political Evolution in India. The Index is very helpful but the Bibliography might have been improved. We wish all success to the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture now directed by Swami Ranganathananda of vast experiences in Mysore and Karachi, New Delhi and Belur. This majestic volume of 738 pages is offered at a modest price of Rs. 35|- only; and we recommend it to all learned institutions of East and West.

KALIDAS NAG

A CRITICAL STUDY OF GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT: *By Dr. Shiva Nath Jha. Published by Educational Publishers, Delhi. Pp. 276, Price Rs. 12/-.*

Gandhiji did not write a book postulating his economic ideas. He did not propound any theory of economics although he spoke and wrote on various economic questions on different occasions covering a long-range of his life-time. Gandhian Economic Thought is essentially spiritual and as such it is opposed to the materialistic economics of today. In the absence of a historical example of a non-violent society it is very difficult to understand the Gandhian Economic Thought although theoretically Gandhian thought is so perfect in itself that it is precisely critical of present-day economics.

The book has been divided into seven chapters: Historical background of Gandhian Economics, Fundamentals of Gandhian Economic Philosophy, Modern Economic Frame—some basic facts, Gandhi on Production System, Distribution, Justice, Gandhian approach to Exchange Economy, Planned Economy on Gandhian principles. In the Appendix, the author compares and discusses Gandhi's ideas with classical and modern economists such as Sismandi, Freidrich List, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Malthus, Ricardo, Saint-Simon, J. S. Mill, Marshall and Keynes.

Gandhi was for small and cottage industries and for decentralization; he was against big machinaries and large-scale production as we understand it but not against machinery as such. He was for economic co-operation between rural and urban economy none exploiting the other. Rural and ultimately national self-sufficiency was the cone of Gandhian Economics and international trade was to be very limited. According to him present-day economic trends lead to competition, conflict and class war and international quarrels and world war and his method based on co-operation, rural self-sufficiency and non-violence would lead to peace and prosperity to individuals, families, nations and to the world as a whole. This is idealism but Gandhiji believes it to be possible and practical and in no way utopian. According to Gandhi economic theories and laws as laid down by modern writers cannot be universally applicable and every country has its own economics.

The book presents Gandhian thought in clear language which any student of economics will find interesting and illuminating.

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THE MURDER OF MAHATMA GANDHI : *By Dr. J. C. Jain. Published by Chetana Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 5/-.*

The greatest tragedy in the history of India after the attainment of Independence on 15th August, 1947, was the murder of Mahatma Gandhi the Father of the Nation on the 30th January, 1948. It is unfortunate that no historical record has been maintained of this national tragedy. Therefore, a book throwing light on the factual reasons, as well as the ideological background that led to the disaster, is welcome. However, the present book which covers a wider-ground is written with a historical perspective. It deals with genesis of communalism in India, leading to the country's partition and depicts the thorny problem of disintegration with which the nation is faced today.

The book is divided into three parts and two appendices (Judgments) are added to it.

The author being the Chief Prosecution witness of the Gandhi Murder trial, his presentation is not only deserving of attention but lively. The greatest son of India died a martyr for the cause of communal unity which India is still to attain. The book deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

BRAHMANA-SARVASVA : *By Halayudha, Edited by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Series No. 29, Published by Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, 168/1, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta-4, 1960, Pages, i-xlv + 335, Price Rs. 25/-.*

Prof. Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya deserves the highest congratulation from the academic world for this scholarly edition of Halayudha's Brahmana-Sarvasva, a pre-Sayana commentary on Select *Vedic mantras*. Halayudha adorned the Court of Lakshmana Sena of Bengal in the 12th Century A.D., and his works have for decades enjoyed much popularity to the lovers of *Vedic* lore. The Brahmana-Sarvasva contains expositions of *Vedic-mantras* which are generally used in our Kriya rites and thus it has been treated not only as a *Vedic* commentary but also a ritualistic digest. Being entrusted with the office of *Dharmadhikara* (Directorate of Religion) Halayudha had a first-hand knowledge of the condition of Religion in mediaeval Bengal and the work under review bears ample testimony to the fact. The introductory portion of the work contains a faithful account of the condition of *Vedic* study in mediaeval Bengal which would certainly interest a serious student of social history. However, that Halayudha's *magnum opus* enjoyed unalloyed admiration in later periods may be substantiated from the fact that it has been utilised and cited as an authority by such noted *nibandhakaras* of later period as Sulapani, Raghunandana, Vacaspati Misra, Mitra Misra, etc.

In view of such wide popularity and importance of the work a critical edition of it was a long-felt desideratum. It is most gratifying to find that the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, has completed its publication. The earlier publication of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat series have already won appreciation from scholars in India and abroad and we are sure that the present publication will add to the glory of the commendable research series initiated by the Parishat.

In preparing the present edition, Professor Bhattacharyya has utilised about twelve manuscripts in different scripts procured from different parts of the country. In fact, the learned editor has left no stone unturned to make it a really useful one. The introduction is highly informative and inspiring and has the stamp of genuine scholarship. We should express a deep sense of gratitude to this veteran scholar who has already to his credit a good number of noted publications. We believe that the present work will certainly lend lusture to his old record and will win admiration from the lovers of *Vedic* learning.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

MANASMIKSHAN : (*Bengali*) *and other papers (English) of the late Dr. Suhrit Mitra of the Science College, Calcutta University.*

A worthy colleague of Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose, Prof. Dr. Suhrit Mitra (1895-1962) prepared himself for the rare distinction of a Pioneer, like Dr. Bose in the realm of psycho-analytical research in India. He graduated from the Scottish Church College as First class first in Psychology which he studied with Sri Subhas Bose (later I.C.S. and Netaji) his very close friend and relation. He stood first also in M.A., and joined the Calcutta University (1920) as a Lecturer. Joining the University of Leipzig (1924), he won the Ph.D. (Leipzig) title in the land of Freud famous all over the world. Dr. Freud not only appreciated Dr. Mitra but urged him to apply Psycho-analysis to improve the social conditions of India once famous for her psychic

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(Yogic) researches. Dr. Mitra served till his 'last day as a member of the Indian Psychological Association which should write on Dr. Mitra's contributions. He was invited to preside over the Psychology section of the Indian Philosophical Congress (1932-33). Behind that signal honour was his continuous study research and publications: His German thesis was published in 1926 (Psychological Archive in original German not translated yet.) He wrote on the "Indirect perception of Forms (1927) and on the Concept of Instincts (1928). His Presidential address was on a New Theory of Emotion (1933). On the Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress (1938), he wrote on the "Contribution of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology". In 1945, he wrote on "Freud and his Discoveries"—(East-West Philosophy, Ed. by Dr. Radhakrishnan). He was Editor of the *Indian Journal of Psychology* (1942-47) and President, Indian Psychological Association (1948-57), Dr. Mitra was member of the Board of Ediotrs, *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, and of the *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* (London). We are also grateful to him for his [illegible] exposition in Bengali of the Mental Sciences, [illegible] made his own. His essays like *Anichakrita* and *Manasamikshan*, etc., enriched our literature [illegible] philosophy and psycho-analysis, the subject nearest to his heart which he devoted to relieve the sufferings of so many of our men, women and children who would bless him. I was invited by him to visit his Bodi-Pith a model of Economy in Social Service based on scientific guidance! ভালবাসা ও [illegible] পারিবারিক অশান্তি and such of his papers entitle him to our permanent gratitude and remembrance. He reviewed technical books on mental sciences in *Modern Review*, *Prabasi* and other leading periodicals of Bengal. So, we hope that his [illegible] and friends will bring out soon a complete Bibliography and also perpetuate his lovable memory by founding, in Calcutta, the Suhrit Mitra, Clinic of Mental Sciences neglected so far, yet challenging the attention of all men and women interested in that Science and in Social service in our Welfare State.

KALIDAS NAG

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Indian Periodicals

Patent Pitfalls In Planning—The Indian Experiment

Writing in the *Indian Libertarian* in its issue dated April 15 last, Prof. S. Kesava Iyengar, Director, Indian Academy of Economics, says:

"Time and again, even to the point of nausea, it is claimed that at 1960-61 prices, the national income of India rose by 42 per cent during 10 years ending 1960-61 (page 1389, R.B.I. Bulletin of Statistics, September, 1961). All over the world, it is usual to compare national income, in any one year, with a base of 5-10 years earlier. For example in the U.S.A. and U.K. national income for 1960 has been calculated at 1954 prices as also at current prices. The calculation in India is with 1948-49 national income, both at current and constant prices. Obviously, a calculation at current prices inflates the national income figure artificially although the national income in *real terms* is much less at 1948-49 prices. The indices of wholesale prices (at 1952-53 prices) and cost of living (with 1949 as base) went upto 124.4 on September 30, 1961 and 128 in August, 1961, respectively.

"The only explanation possible for unduly publicising comparison at current prices is the anxiety of the authorities for window-dressing. At 1948-49 prices, national income increased at 3.03 per cent per annum (simple) during the first 4 years of the Second Plan.....The simple annual average increase during 1951-52 to 1960-61 at 1948-49 prices works at about 3 per cent but the annual average at current prices has been particularly publicised.

"In view of the population 'explosin' in this country as revealed by the 1961 population figures, and the steep ascent of the runaway prices during the last 5 years, national income at current prices is of little significance. *Per capita* income rose in India between 1951-52 and 1959-60 with yearly step at the annual average rate of 1.28 per cent.....Colin Clarke estimated that the corresponding figures in the U.K. has been about 1.3 in recent years, but 1.3 per cent of Rs. 3.890 ($ 778) is quite different from 1.28 per cent of Rs. 250.3. This fact should be recognized all round and Third Plan *per capita* income targets should be re-adjusted in the light of net population increase at more than 2 per cent per annum accompanied by a radical reversal of price policy.

"Of late there has been a lot of discussion on 'holding the price line at the present level.' The Government benches appear not to worry about the spurt in consumer prices. They seem to think they have already taken adequate steps to arrest prices and stabilise them more or less at present levels: the Third Plan has not taken into account probable further soaring of prices. On the other hand, the authorities are inclined towards maintaining floor prices for agricultural crops! There are others who prognosticate that during 1961-66, the indices of wholesale prices and cost of living may be raised by at least another 50 per cent, indicating even now the beginning of galloping inflation, in view of the fact that the authorities failed miserably in controlling prices between 1955-56 and 1960-61.....

"Wholesale prices increased on the average annually at 1.75 per cent in the U.S.A. during eleven years, consumer index by 2.42 per cent during the same period and the national income at current prices by 7.33 per cent per annum during 10 years. In the U.K., the wholesale price index is not available, the retail price index works out at 2.38 per cent per annum during the last five years, and the national income at current prices increased annually on the average by 8.55 per cent during 10 years. In both these

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countries, wholesale and consumer prices show a slow rise of 2.3 per cent indicating adequate supplies or successful controls or both. But the national income at current prices increased at the much higher rate of 7.9 per cent per annum, signifying that the *per capita real incomes* of the two countries improved substantially after allowing the due margin for slight upward tilts in prices and cost of living. The situation in India is quite the other way, and the authorities cannot deny that they have been trying to hypnotise themselves and the people into a halo of imaginary stability. The price indices have shot up during the past five years annually by 7.29 per cent (wholesale) and 6.25 per cent (consumer), and yet the Proconsuls at New Delhi have been trying to hypnotise themselves that they would be held 'more or less at the present levels!' They have forgotten that the two indices were at 92.5 (1952-53 base) in 1955-56 and 96 (1949 as base) in the same years, and the latest figures are respectively 124.4 and 128! So far as the national income at constant prices is concerned, the Indian Performance has not only been unsatisfactory but positively despondent.....The average annual increase in national income between 1955-56 and 1959-60 works out at 3.03 per cent (at constant prices) while corresponding rises in the price and cost of living indices have been at 7.29 and 6.25, respectively. It should not be surprising if really there was a net decrease in *per capita* income between 1955-56 and 1960-61. A rise of 1 or 2 per cent per annum in price indices is generally passed as congenial to economic activity, but Prof. A. C. Pigou thinks that anything beyond 2 per cent per annum must be considered as a harbinger of galloping inflation which has the same deadening effect as galloping consumption.

"According to official figures, average annual investment was 8.5 per cent of the national income (including capital inflow), between 1950-51 and 1958-59, while the average saving rate during the same period was 7.1 per cent. Even after allowing a broad margin for increase in domestic saving, would it be practicable to raise the percentage of Plan investment to 12.89 per cent per annum between 1961 and 1966..... without a predominant share contributed by deficit finance and capital inflow? What are the measures contemplated for ensuring the required capital inflow? The Third Plan, on the contrary, emphasizes the importance of domestic resources and allots a minor place to the private sector 'and, on its showing during the Second Plan, it should do so quite easily,' and the 'private foreign investor, despite recent encouragements is not counted on to provide more than a marginal fraction of the necessary foreign exchange."

Exports in Doldrums

Writing in the May 1962 issue of the *Asian Economic Review*, K. Anantram, Field Research Officer, Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad, says :

World exports, which doubled during the fifties, touched in 1960 the high water mark of $125 billion. An impressive increase in the exports of the Western European countries and the phenomenal rise in the E.E.C. exports contributed, in a large measure, to this peak performance of global exports. India's exports over the same period remained, despite two Five Year Plans, virtually stagnant and her share in world exports declined from 2.1 per cent in 1950 to a mere 1.1 per cent in 1960.

The Planning Commission have set before the country as part of their perspective planning the supreme task of doubling the exports and raising them to Rs. 1,300-1,400 crores per annum by the end of the Fourth Plan. It is a task fraught with immense difficulties and uncertainties.

A decade of planning (1951-1961) has hit Indian exports very severely in the doldrums. The First Plan annual average of Rs. 609 crores might have been much less but for a spurt in exports in 1951-52 on account of the war in Korea and the high export prices of jute goods. The Second Plan annual average of Rs. 614 crores is not significantly higher. It is futile to argue that this would have been much higher but for the recession in the U.S.A. and Europe in 1958. In volume exports, however, were higher in the Second Plan by 9 per cent; but on account of lower unit values, this increase was not reflected in larger export earnings.

The impact of stagnant exports on the balance of payments position has been disastrous. The deficit in the balance of payments over the First Plan as a whole was Rs. 318 crores while the heavy adverse trade balance of Rs. 462.8 crores on an average every year, during the Second Plan period contributed to a grave worsening of the position.

Since foreign exchange, a factor which is vital to the development of an under-developed

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economy, is usually scarce, the balance of payments effects assumes an importance as a criterion for the allocation of investment resources and the determination of priorities. The balance of payments effect has two different aspects,—the effects during the investment phase which are always negative, and the operating effect. The economic development plans of our country were, obviously, not based on a due consideration of these points. Consequently the Plans were not oriented towards creating an ever increasing export surplus as the prime need of economic development of the country. A persistent and ever-widening gap in our balance of trade compelled us to draw heavily on our sizeable sterling balances. Our sterling assets which stood at the impressive level of Rs. 1,650 crores at the end of the Second World War, and which provided all along a cushion against the impact of deficit in the balance of payments of the country, are now a meagre Rs. 130 crores.

Though imports have been severely curtailed, the import bill is still of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores per year, while the value of our exports is much less than Rs. 700 crores. The prospects of further reduction of imports substantially are remote, but the need for earning more foreign exchange will certainly be increasingly felt. The rise in exports in 1961 to Rs. 668 crores, making them the highest in the last decade, barring the exceptional year 1951-52, is no doubt encouraging. Yet it would be prudent to bear in mind that the larger part of the increase of Rs. 34 crores over the previous year was made up of a chance rise in the export price of jute goods. In this uneasy context the target of Rs. 740 to Rs. 760 crores a year envisaged in the Third Plan does seem rather difficult of achievement, while doubling the exports by the end of the Fourth Plan period would be a Herculean task indeed. There is, however, no denying the existence of considerable scope for expansion of exports provided appropriate measures for the purpose are properly devised and efficiently enforced. Over the five years of the Plan (1961-66) the aim is to increase exports to a total of more than Rs. 3,700 crores, an estimated annual average increase of Rs. 150 crores over the Second Plan average. It is a challenge which has to be accepted. Hence it is essential that, by the end of the Fourth Plan, the annual exports would have to rise to about Rs. 1,300 to Rs. 1,400 crores, *i.e.*, at least twice the present level.....

Fundamentally, increase in exports as a corrective to development disequillibrium is a long-run possibility dependent on the dynamism and buoyancy of the home economy. The challenge of exports is global and is an index of the growing dependence of both advanced and under-developed economies on world trade. In the circumstances no national development plan could be realistic unless prepared in international context and, particularly, in its regional setting.

The outstanding feature of the organization of world trade at the present time is the emergence and growing importance of regional arrangements for mutually beneficial economic co-operation. The most significant and successful experiment in this direction has been the European Common Market. This pragmatic development in international economic co-operation is revolutionizing world trade; for it is being increasingly realised that expansion of exports can no longer be secured on competitive lines, but can only be assured on the basis of regionally co-ordinated policies.

The countries of the ECAFE region, to which India belongs, cannot escape the logic of events. The emergence of economic communities and common markets elsewhere lends a measure of urgency to the need for co-ordination, if not integration, of the policies of economic development of the countries of the region. The paper on the "Scope for Regional Economic Co-operation in Asia and the Far East" recently prepared by the ECAFE Secretariat is a scholarly elucidation of the complex issues involved in the difficult task of bringing about a closer partnership of the countries of the region.....

Whatever be the arguments or difficulties, 'economic regionalism' has come to stay. It is, in fact, a major goal of economic policy of our times. It is even said that "regional arrangements are no longer a matter of choice. They are imposed by the requirements of technology, science and economics" of the world today.....

The traditional methods of international financing of economic development are loan, aid and grant, more generally loan than aid and grant. It is loans that initially fill and later necessitate the 'payments gap.' The growing gap between export prospects and import needs of under-developed countries is bridged by external assistance. Interest and repayment servicing of these loans calls for a vigorous and enduring export drive to fill the payments gap in reverse. Such a gap is no doubt a stimulus to economic development, since the planned effort to raise exports to level the gap will necessarily put the home economy on a progressively higher plane of activity. Even so the 'payments gap in reverse' will create certain problems. The universal accent today on exports as a requisite to economic

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growth and stability, augers an era of spiralling global exports. The creditor countries would, as experience shows, find it increasingly difficult to absorb the exports of the developing countries to the extent necessary for servicing their obligations to them without their economies being adevrsely affected. The possibilities of exports as the conventional method of servicing external obligations will not thus be easy or satisfactory. The prospect of 'creditor currency gap' throttling world trade must make us realise that a review of the orthodox methods of international financing of economic development and servicing of foreign loans would become increasingly urgent. Unconventional methods would then be deemed imperative, if only to obviate conventional complications. The need is for perspective planning in a consciousness of economic fraternity of international financing of economic development. Orthodox and traditional techniques belonging to the spirit and times of a by-gone age not only are out of tune with the climate of socialism fast enveloping the world today, but leave a difficult hang-over for all. Moreover the advanced countries must necessarily bear the responsibilities of under-writing planned economic progress of the under-developed regions. Perhaps, a pragmatic approach to international economic relationships might eventually become inevitable. Anyway, the problem of an integrated international economy, allergic to conventional treatment, would pose a severe challenge to economic statesmanship in the coming decade.

Village Industries in Third Plan

Writing in the Annual Number of the *Khadi Gramodyog*, Shri Shriman Narayan says :

As a result of experience gained during the last 10 years of economic planning in India, it is now recognized on all hands that it would be impossible to make any sizable impact on the problem of unemployment or under-employment in the country without planning in a big way for the establishment of village, small and cottage industries in the countryside. The Third Five Year Plan has accepted the basic objective of creating an agro-industrial pattern of society in which, alongside with agriculture, there would be provided the maximum opportunities for developing rural industries, more specially processing Industries which manufacture consumer goods out of the raw materials produced in the villages. Recently it was agreed that rural industrialization should not be confused with the setting up of a few large industries in the rural areas; it should connote an even-spread of industries throughout the countryside in the form of co-operatives. It was aslo agreed that rural industrialization should not be confined to the village industries of the traditional type; this term should include an infinite variety of small industries which could be established in the rural areas for improving the living conditions of the villagers.

During the Third Plan period, a total outlay of Rs. 264 crores has been provided for various programmes of village and small industries, as against the total outlay of about Rs. 180 crores in the Second Plan. In addition, there is a provision of about Rs. 20 crores for the development of rural industries in the Community Development programmes. Some provision has also been made for such industries in the programmes for the rehabilitation of displaced persons, social welfare and the welfare of the Backward Classes. The private sector, including banking institutions, is expected to invest about Rs. 275 crores on village and small industries during the Third Plan period. The Planning Commission has also made it known to the Khadi and Village Industries Commission that if it is found possible to spend these amounts usefully by the 3rd or 4th year of the Third Plan, every effort will be made to provide additional funds for this important programme.

Improvement in Techniques

But the programmes of village, small and cottage industries cannot succeed merely by providing for subsidies, rebates and sheltered markets in an artificial manner for a long period. Although the need for helping such industries in the initial stages is quite obvious, it must be recognized that the ultimate success of this programme can be assured mainly through a continuous improvement of production techniques employed in running rural industries. The Evaluation Committees appointed by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission have themselves pointed out repeatedly the urgent need for the introduction of improved techniques through constant research and vigilance. It is, however, quite evident that the desirability of improving the techniques of production has to be constantly balanced with the equally, if not more, important consideration of providing gainful employment to all those who ask for work. After all, economic planning must constantly keep in view the human factor which naturally overrides all other considerations.

Electrification

The increasing supply of electric power in the rural areas will be helpful in enabling

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rural industries to improve their techniques. By the end of the Third Plan it is envisaged that about 45,000 villages will have been electrified. All villages above a population of 5,000 and 50 per cent of the villages having a population of 2,000 to 5,000 are expected to enjoy the benefits of electric power by the end of 1966. While electricity would, undoubtedly, help in increasing the efficiency of production, it is quite likely to throw a good number of artisans engaged in traditional industries out of employment. This problem is, indeed, quite difficult and complex. But efforts will have to be made to find a satisfactory solution by encouraging the establishment of rural industries either on a co-operative or on a panchayati basis. Orissa has decided to start small-scale and village industries through the agency of the panchayat samitis so that the surplus profits are used for furthering the economic development of the area. In other words, these panchayati industries would be in the nature of an extension of the public sector into the rural areas. If electricity, instead of being supplied to individual business man is regulated by these village bodies, it would be possible to prevent to a large extent the economic exploitation of man by man. If some persons are thrown out of employment, it would be the duty of the panchayats or co-operatives to find some other avenues of gainful work for such people. The problem of unemployment could be solved on a lasting basis only through such decentralised or local planning by democratic institutions of the people.

কৃত্তিবাস রচিত

সচিত্র

সপ্তকাণ্ড রামায়ণ

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়

সম্পাদিত

জ্যাকেটযুক্ত উত্তম পুরু বোর্ড-বাইণ্ডিং

মূল্য ১০·৫০, প্যাকিং ও ডাকব্যয় ২·০২ নঃ পঃ

ফোর্ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশবর্জিত মূলগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ। ইহাতে বিশ্ববিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন ষোলখানি এবং একবর্ণের তেত্রিশখানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীনযুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অন্যান্য বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ উকিল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়-চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধুরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতির সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড ১২০।২, আচার্য প্রফুল্লচন্দ্র রোড, কলিকাতা-৯

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Medical Care for the Aged

The following excerpts from the *Jewish Frontier*, April, 1962, would be interesting if only because of the rather sorry picture of the practices of the medical profession in the U.S.A. which would seem to bear close resemblance to conditions in this country.

Secretary Ribicoff has described medical care for the aged as the most important domestic issue before the country at the present time. Ironically, the King-Anderson bill which proposes to finance medical care for those over 65 through Social Security, remains bottled up in the House Ways and Means Committee, and there is no assurance that it will be pried loose. Despite the evidence of overwhelming popular support for the measure a combination of regular Republicans and reactionary Democrats on the Committee appears determined to flout the wishes of the electorate and to prevent that bill from reaching the floor of the House. This is as crass an instance as any of the manner in which the will of the people can be impudently ignored through the willfulness of its chosen representatives.

The specter of socialized medicine which has been raised by opponents of the bill is a convenient spook, but it is hard to believe that even the quaking members of the American Medical Association are genuinely frightened. Their substantial fees are safe. The King-Anderson program would provide hospital and nursing-home care without in any way affecting the relationship between patient and doctor. The patient would still choose his own physician and his hospital. It is therefore increasingly difficult to understand the irrational panic of the AMA.

Though some influential physicians have disavowed the unblusing campaign of the AMA against medical care for the aged financed through Social Security, the well-heeled AMA lobby in Congress shows no signs of anemia. In addition to pressuring Congressmen directly, the reourceful organization has enlisted doctors' wives in "Operation Coffee Cup." The ladies gather to write letters to protest against the invasion of "private freedom" through Federal programs. One trusts that these defenders of liberty will, with equal vehemence, protest the use by their husbands of Federal grants for medical research or other benefits to the profession.

The members of the AMA, better than any group, know how catastrophic hospital bills may be in the case of prolonged illness. It has been calculated that the cost of one day in a hospital is now approximately thirty-two dollars. This means that many men and women no longer of working age can be pauperized by a month of illness. The average savings of the ordinary individual (less than $500 for most of those in the over-65 group) are not adequate for the coverage of extended medical care. Is the final act of a working life then to be recourse to the mercies of a charity ward? Is that how "private freedom" and "private initiative" are to be best preserved?

The "American way" which the AMA and its cohorts pretend to cherish suggests another course. Instead of dependence on philanthropy, the King-Anderson bill offers the dignity of independence through insurance. Americans insure themselves for every contingency under the sun. Those over 63 have found private medical insurance companies understandably reluctant to insure them except at self-defeating prohibitive rates. Incorporating medical care for the aged in the Social Security program would enable every individual throughout his working life to collect the funds required to assist him at the time when he can no longer earn and when his medical needs are most acute. An increase of one-fourth of one per cent in the Social Security tax would finance the plan—that is to say, an annual payment of about $1 for every worker and for his employer or less than four cents a day. These amounts are based on fiscally sound calculations which would keep a balance between income and outlay for benefits—particularly in the early years.

Thanks to increased longevity due to medical progress the proportion of the aged in our population has steadily risen. There are already fourteen million in the over-63 group who are covered by Social Security. Despite this, more than half the aged have incomes of less than one thousand dollars annually. Even if they can eke out a spare existence under normal circumstances they have no backlog of resources for prolonged or serious illness.

The chief hope that the King-Anderson bill will be placed before Congress during this session lies in vigorous action on the part of the Administration and in equally vigorous pressure from the voters. Sustained "grass-roots" agitation expressed in personal letters from the millions of citizens vitally affected may convince some recalcitrant legislators that it would be better politics to let Congress consider the issue.

Editor—**Kedar Nath Chatterji**

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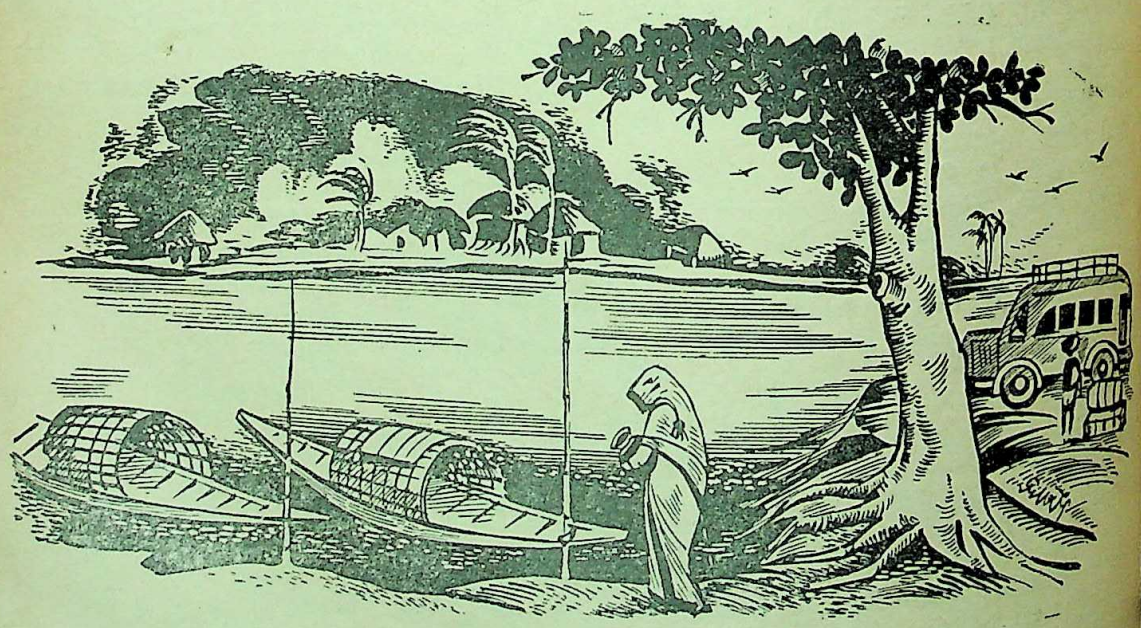

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৮৪৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ বিরাটায়তন

প্রবাসী

ষষ্টি-বার্ষিকী স্মারকগ্রন্থ

এতে আছে আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, শান্তা দেবী, প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, বনফুল, শৈলজানন্দ মুখোপাধ্যায়, শরদিন্দু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, বিমল মিত্র, জরাসন্ধ, সরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী, পরিমল গোস্বামী, প্রেমাঙ্কুর আতর্থী, নারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, রামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ খ্যাতিমান কথাসাহিত্যকদের রচিত বিচিত্রমধুর বাইশটি গল্প।

সীতা দেবী ও মণীন্দ্রলাল বসুর দুখানি মনোজ্ঞ উপন্যাস।

প্রবীণ ও আধুনিক সকল শ্রেণীর কবিদের কবিতা।

মনোজ বসুর রোমাঞ্চকর ত্রিঅঙ্ক নাটক।

রবীন্দ্র-প্রসঙ্গে আছে: হিরণ্ময় বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, দিলীপকুমার রায়, প্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, প্রভাতকুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, পরিমল গোস্বামী এবং আরো অনেকের প্রবন্ধ।

ষাট বছরের বাংলা এই পর্যায়ে সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, ইতিহাস, চিত্রকলা, ভাস্কর্য্য ইত্যাদি বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে বিশেষজ্ঞদের রচিত প্রবন্ধ এই গ্রন্থের সর্বপ্রধান আকর্ষণ। এই বিভাগে লিখেছেন: ডক্টর সুকুমার সেন, ডক্টর কালিদাস নাগ, ডক্টর সরোজকুমার দাস, ডক্টর নীলরতন ধর, ডক্টর দেবেন্দ্রমোহন বসু, ডক্টর আশুতোষ ভট্টাচার্য, ডক্টর নন্দলাল বসু, দেবীপ্রসাদ রায়চৌধুরী, বিষ্ণু দে, অর্ধেন্দ্রকুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি।

এই ছাড়া আছে স্মৃতিকথা, মহিলা মজলিস, ছেলেদের পাততাড়ি প্রভৃতি বিভাগ।

এই গ্রন্থের আর এক সম্পদ্ অবনীন্দ্রনাথ, গগনেন্দ্রনাথ, নন্দলাল, যামিনী রায়, দেবীপ্রসাদ প্রমুখ ভারত-বিখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা তেইশটি রঙীন ও কয়েকটি একবর্ণ চিত্রের মূল্যবান্ আর্ট পেপারে ছাপা প্রতিলিপি।

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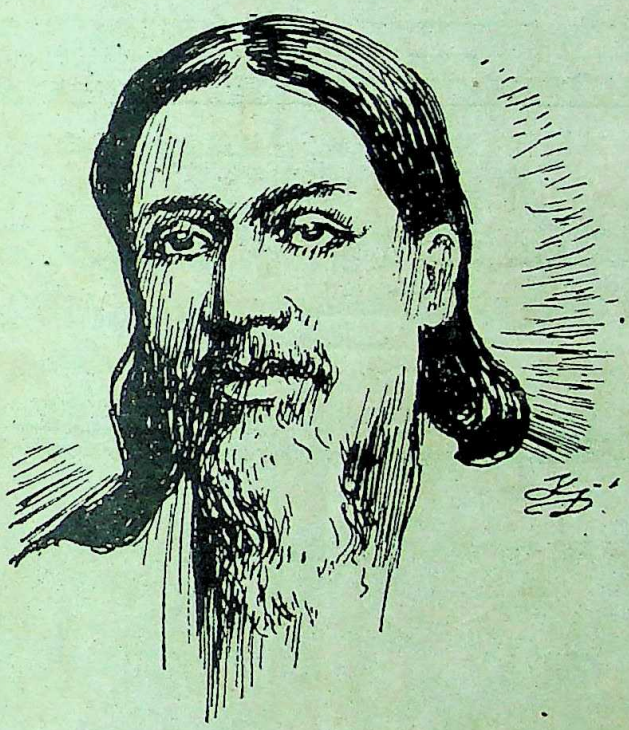

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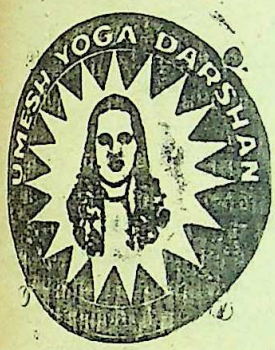

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THREE DEITIES

LORD JAGANNATH of Puri is regarded as an incarnation of Sri Krishna of Gita Govinda. The idols of the Puri temple are of Lord Jagannath popularly known as "The Lord of the Universe", his brother Balabhadra and sister Subhadra. All of them were once venerated as jungle deities by the Saoras, a tribal community of Orissa, and through the ages their worship has spread far and wide. The 192 ft. high Puri temple is surrounded by a cluster of smaller shrines and is one of the most impressive ancient monuments in India which has assumed overwhelming holiness since the days of Chaitanya, drawing a large number of people from all over the world.

Puri is one of the greatest pilgrim centres in India. Puri is also known as Srikshetra, and is synonymous with the temple of Jagannath and is famous for its Car Festival. The Temple of Puri is one of the places in India which is a "must" for any tourist in this country.

SPR/JEE/6-62

INDIAN RAILWAYS

SOUTH EASTERN RAILWAY

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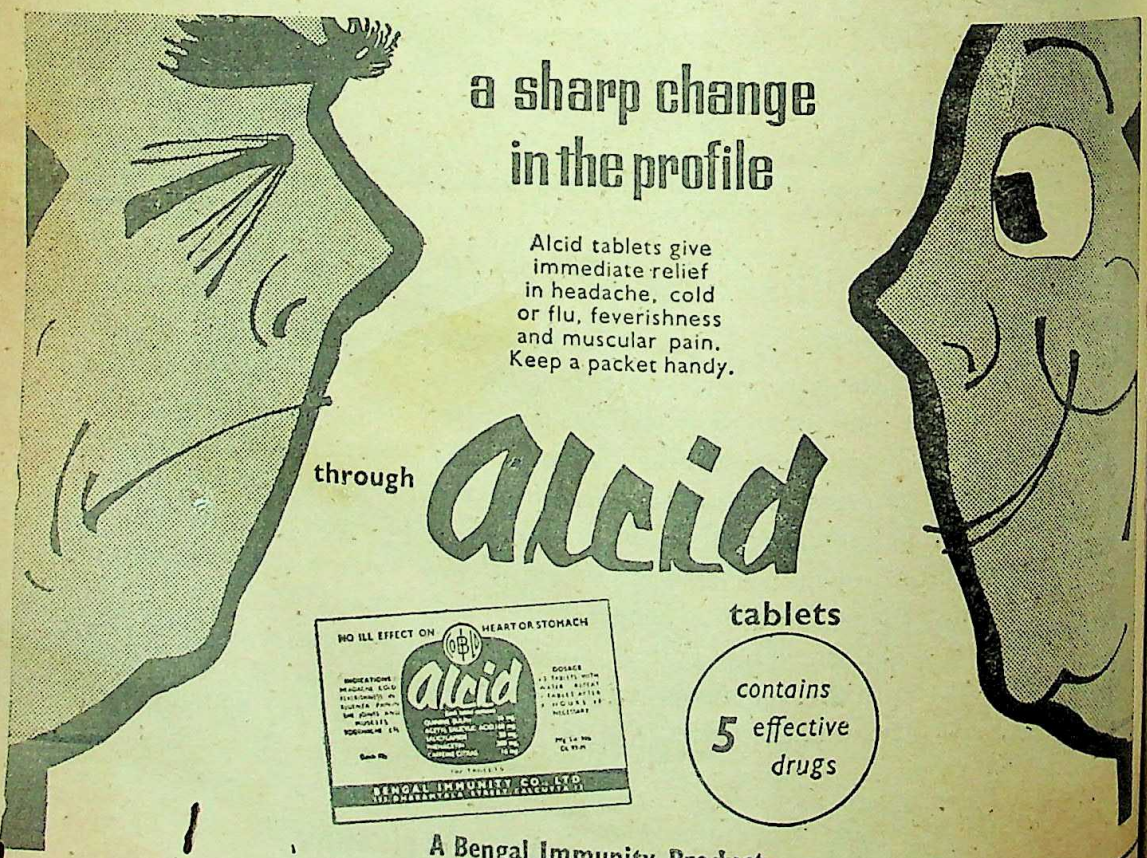

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6 AUG 1962

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Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY

Died : 1st July, 1962

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Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

6 AUG 1962

AUGUST 1962

वाचनालय,
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

VOL. CXII, No. 2 WHOLE No. 668

NOTES

Bidhan Chandra Roy

Last month, on the day the July issue of this Review was put on the news stands and bookstalls of Calcutta, the city was plunged into grief at the news of the passing of that great son of Mother India, who had done more than any four other persons in Post-Independence India to revive and restore a province of the Union that had been ravaged by the exigencies of World War II, which included the Great Famine that followed the "denial" policy of a panic-stricken government, the ruthless conversion of smiling fields of corn into war-camps and the breaking down of the Municipal services and arrangements of the City of Calcutta by the continuous tearing-up of the roadways and shattering of numberless light-posts and water hydrants and pipes by the reckless military Jehus.

In the wake of the War came the communal riots that converted Calcutta into a Calgotha and after that came the Partition with its mainfold problems, not the least being the influx of hundreds of thousands of uprooted humanity into a province that was badly in need of resuscitation and restoration, where its own children and their properties were concerned.

The State of West Bengal was beset with complex problems of appalling intensity and dimensions from the day it was carved out of the Bengal of olden days. There was an acute shortage of all the essentials of life, all over the State, which was further aggravated by the activities of, perhaps, the most rapacious and pernicious set of black-marketeers and profiteers in India. There was a very large number of anti-Social elements already present in the great industrial complexes around Calcutta and Asansol, which was further augmented by the influx in large numbers of social parasites that came with the refugees. There were the unscrupulous political adventurers and disruptionists who exploited the people's wants and the miseries of the refugees to further their own and their party interests, regardless of all that the people or the State might suffer as the consequences. And lastly, there was the acutely frustrated and bewildered state of the people's mind, distracted and strained as it was by want and the vicious spiral of rising prices. Distress was written large on the face of the common citizen and his brother in the fields.

The condition of the State and its people was bad enough to cause alarm in the minds of all who were interested in their welfare. With the influx of the refugees and with the large-scale migration of people from the country-side into the urban areas due to want, the situation became precarious

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enough to daunt the stoutest heart. The problems seemed too complexly tangled for unravelling and too colossal and menacing to face and overcome. Chaos seemed to hover over the stricken State of West Bengal.

It was at this critical juncture that Bidhan Chandra Roy appeared on the scene, to take charge of this vitally afflicted State of West Bengal, as Chief Minister, Chief Executive, political leader and administrator. It needed a veritable Titan in mental and physical stature to assume charge under such conditions, and it was the great good fortune of the people of Bengal that the Hour produced the Superman, in the person of this Gerat son of Bengal, dauntless in courage, inflexible in determination and tireless in his efforts to pull the State and its people out of the mire of distress and despondence onto the road to prosperity and well-being.

The debt of gratitude that the people of West Bengal—and indeed the people of India in general, for what other city besides Caliutta is so all-India in character and what other State has provided so much for all Indians, in the shape of work and emoluments as West Bengal?—owe to the departed leader is too immense to be described in even the briefest summary in this editorial. We would only lay emphasis on the taking into account of not only what he achieved as positive assets for the State and the Union of India and its people, but also what he prevented from further afflicting the people, in the terms of disruption and degradation.

He bore all criticism and cavil with infinite patience and forbearance and whenever convinced of an error in judgement or mistake in plan or action, he was always ready to arrange for rectification. We were apt to forget that he had only two hands to come to grips with a myriad of problems. Now that we have lost this heroic figure that was a legacy to us of the Indian Revolution, let us remember in sorrow mixed with pride that he, with all his achievements, represented the spirit of resurgent Bengal and India, truly and gloriously.

The World

Tensions have lessened perceptibly in most parts of the world excepting in the Ladakh region of the Kashmir Himalayas. It is eight years since Red China broke all the suave and friendly undertakings given by her on the question of the Kashmir problem and benefiting by the trusting temperament of Pandit Nehru encroached on Indian soil to the extent of nearly 12,000 square miles now in the Ladakh section of Eastern Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru first of all ventured on confidential exchange of protest notes which were not only ineffective but also enboldened the treacherous Chinese into further intrusions in the Eastern Himalayas on the Assam frontier. The whole affair was made public at a very late hour, after some Indian frontier policemen were attacked by Chinese army patrols who had penetrated deep into Indian territory and some killed and some others taken prisoners. In India public indignation flared up and questions were asked as to why the whole affair was kept closely shrouded out of public ken. Pandit Nehru made some lame excuses and published the protest notes sent by him and the mendacious replies sent by Premier Chou En Lai in reply.

There was an attempt to gloss over the whole affair made by the Chinese, who thought that India was too weak to take up arms in defence of her territories and would be only too glad to hand over the entire area encroached upon and more if only a face-saving gesture could be provided by the Red Chinese sending a "Peace-Mission." Chou En Lai did come but was told firmly that no negotiations were possible unless the Chinese retired to their side of the McMahon demarcation line. The Chinese went back much incensed. The ambassador at New Delhi had openly hinted that India could not fight on two fronts viz., against Pakistan and against China at the same time.

India has taken the hint and has stepped up the defence programme to the further extent of her resources. She was badly handicapped by the attitude of the U.S. and Britain, who practically tried to starve her

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of warlike supplies until she submitted to their will and gave up non-partisanship. The Soviets proved far more friendly and the necessary armament, mountain climbing tractors and heavy-duty helicopters vitally needed for the defence of an inaccesseble and inhospitable area were supplied by her.

The U.S. further complicated the matter by giving Pakistan as a gift, a number of supersonic jet fighter planes, superior to any possessed by India. The origins of the impulse that led President Kennedy into this act that was grossly unfriendly to a hard-pressed India, and was equally helpful to Red China, is not clearly known to us but it has not been helpful to Indo-American relations, but that is another matter.

In the eight years since the first detection of Chinese intrusion into Ladakh over 400 protest notes have been exchanged between the two governments, without lessening the tension in any-way on either side.

In the month of July the tension mounted following the attempted encirclement by Chinese forces of an outpost in the Galwan valley of Ladakh. Orders were given to Indian troops, who were cut-off from supplies, to shoot if they were shot at. Accusations were not late in coming from the Chinese, whose system is to intrude first and then to accuse India of aggression. This time the Indian reply took a sterner tone. Since then the situation has remained unchanged in that area excepting for the Chinese side, where the aggressive forces have retired to a distance of about 400 yards. On July 24 India sent another Note to China which is summarised in the following news-report:

While the situation on the Sino-Indian border in Ladakh continued tense, India today bluntly told the Communist Chinese authorities that they were "either themselves confused or were deliberately confusing" the question of the international frontier in the Karakoram-Shyok-Kongka pass region of Ladakh to find an excuse to establish an aggressive base there.

In a Note handed to the Chinese Embassy, the Indian Government presented a point by point rebuttal of Chinese allegations of "new aggressive" moves by India in Ladakh.

The Indian Note said that the only frontiers India recognized in Ladakh was the international frontier that had been "clearly established and indicated in the maps that were handed to the Chinese Government by the Indian side at the meetings of the officials of the two Governments in 1960."

Explaining how the Chinese Government was covering up its aggressive activities by "confusing the issue," the Note pointed out that on July 13 the Chinese Government had said that the delineation of the western sector of the Ladakh boundary was in conformity with the 1956 map of China that Mr. Chou En Lai had endorsed, as well as with the map the Chinese had produced at the conference in 1960.

The Note said that such a contention had been clearly rejeceted by the Indian officials at the 1960 conference.

At that time the Indian officials had said: "The Indian side noted that the Chinese side was unable to explain the discrepancies between the alignments shown in the sector in the 1956 map, and authoritatively confirmed by Premier Chou En Lai in 1959, and that shown in the map provided by the Chinese at these meetings. The latter map had shown an alignment which ran due east from the Karakoram pass rather than south-east as in the 1956 map, and then making a sudden turn southward, it cut across the upper Shyok or Chip Chap river, the Galwan river and the Changlung river to reach the Kongka pass. It did not run between the Shyok and the Qara Qash as the 1956 map had done." It was in this context that the Indian Government asserted that the Chinese were "deliberately confusing" the location of the frontier.

The Note once again expressed the hope that Chinese interference in Ladakh would cease.

The other area that is as yet an indirect sphere of Chinese Expansionist moves, is in that land mass formely known as Indo-China. Here, in the two states where tensions are still present namely Laos and South Vietnam, the Western Bloc is trying to contain the Communist forces in Laos, after the blundering U.S. strategy and direction had all but delivered the country

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to the Communist aided Pathet Lao forces and in South Vietnam where the Malayan strategy is being tried in order to isolate the Vietcong guerrilas from their supply routes and from their hide-outs in the isolated villages of the forest lands which gave them shelter and food supplies and provided them with information about the movements of the Government forces of South Vietnam as well.

The South Vietnam Government forces aided by U.S. military planes, helicopters and trainers drawn from highly-skilled jungle-fighting troops of the Western Powers, are slowly building up a barrier against the guerrillas by removing villagers from the jungle into well-barricaded villages equipped with wireless and reinforced with block-houses manned by jungle-fighter troops. The progress of this scheme has been slow and has not been an unmixed successful venture so far, as the Vietcong fighters know the terrain, have the sympathies of the jungle-dwelling villagers and are tough and determined gurrillas who draw arms supplies and reinforcements from North Vietnam.

It was stated that the pro-Communist Pathet-Lao forces, who are in control of a considerable area of Laos territory along the North Vietnam and South Vietnam borders, have been allowing infiltrators from North Vietnam free movement over Laos territory, so that they can go without any opposition, down along a trail inside Laos parallel to the North and South Vietnam borders, until they are behind the South Vietnam forces and in a position to launch a sudden rear-attack and to disperse back into the shelter of the Pathet Lao controlled areas.

This is the reason why the U.S. Government has been pressing for a merger of the three separate groups of armed forces that are present in Laos under control of the pro-Communist, neutralist and Royalist (pro-West) factions that have come to a settlement after long negotiations between the three Princes. **The New York Times** of July 8, summed up the U.S. view of the situation thus :—

A coalition Government, with neutralists in the majortty and an equal balance between ministers of the right and left in political control of Laos. But military control over Laos' terrain is still divided among rival armies of the factions. There are neutralist troops loyal to Premier Souvanna Phouma ; pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces of Deputy Premier Souphanouvong, backed by North Vietnamese troops and technicians, and rightist forces of Deputy Premier Phoumi Nosavan.

What to do about the rival armies is the major problem confronting the fourteen East, West and neutral nations that have agreed to guarantee Laotian neutrality. The nations met at Geneva last week to grapple with the problem, which bears heavily on their last remaining task—agreement on a Laotian declaration of neutrality.

At stake is not only the future of Laos but to some degree the outlook for South Vietnam. The Pathet Lao controls the vital Laotian border areas through which runs the Ho Chi Minh trail, main supply route for Communist Vietcong guerrillas in South Vietnam. The need to eliminate Laotian territory as a supply route—and haven—for the Vietcong was one of the factors influencing President Kennedy's decision to support Premier Souvanna Phouma in forming a neutral coalition regime.

To enable the coalition to assert de facto control over all its territory the U.S. wants the neutrality declaration to include an undertaking by the Government to merge the three forces. The Communists want the future of the armies left open presumably to assure freedom of movement for its infiltrators along the Ho Chi Minh trail.

The situation in Laos is no longer as tense as it was at the beginning of the year but there is still a certain amount of uneasiness amongst the pro-West groups, who are not at all certain that the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma will be able to control the Pathet Lao forces, if and when they decide to launch another movement similar to what they did on the last occasion. The U.K. authorities suspect that the neutralist Premier is more in friendly accord with the Communist Pathet Lao than with the

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pro-West Royalist group who are in reality led by a general whose recalcitrance had to be brought under control by the U.S. stopping the monthly money-grant that paid for the army and quite a large section of civil admnistration.

In Algeria there are ominous signs of major civil disturbances that might develop into a disastrous civil war. After the the voting for Independence had resulted in the acceptance of the terms for a Free Algeria, the exiled fighters for freedom and the underground forces of Liberation came into the open and there were celebrations. But very soon after came the question as to who was to excercise the powers that were delivered into the lands of the Algerians by the retiring French Government. And it is along this question of Power that a dispute has been developing between two rival parties under two leaders, Benyoussef Ben Khedda 42, and the slightly older Mohammed Ben Bella 43.

The Independence of Algeria was declared at the beginning of July, after 8 years of a bitter struggle that cost over a hundred thousand Moslem lives. There was wild Jubitation all over Algeria excepting in Oran where the die-hard French Secret Army started an orgy of blood-shed in a last attempt to revive the lost cause of **Algerie Francaise**. But immediately after the jubilation came the crisis for leadership that is still hanging over Algeria. The **New York Times** gave the following summary of the dispute and the disputants claims in July 8 issue :

The dramatic events in Algeria last week marked the climax of a long and turbulent struggle for independence.

On Nov. 1, 1954, at a score of points in Algeria, a nationalist "army" of several hundred men launched a rebellion against French rule under the direction of a nine-man committee-in-exile.

Two years later the Algerian nationalists (F. L. N.) convened a secret organizational congress on Algerian soil. The congress, called the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, or unofficially, the Algerian "parliament"—eventually reached a membership of about seventy, including representatives from the six **wilayas** (national military districts) in Algeria, representatives of exile armies in Morocco and Tunisia, and of nationalist organizations in France, Morocco and Tunisia.

The council thus represented an uneasy amalgam of different forces and groups within the nationalist movement. They frequently disagreed on tactics in the struggle against France, and their conflicts have deepened with the approach of independence.

Two of the principal nationalist leaders were Benyoussef Ben Khedda, 42, who in the fall of 1961 became Premier of the Provisional Government, and Mohammed Ben Bella, 43, its Vice Premier who was a prisoner in France during much of the revolution.

Ben Kheda is a "team player," tough when he has had to be tough as an underground organizer in Algeria; resilient when as Premier, he led his team into a compromise peace with France. The compromise included acceptance of such conditions as a three-year period for withdrawal of French troops, the leasing of bases to France for fifteen years, and the protection of French legal and property rights in Algeria.

Ben Bella, one of the nine organizers of the original rebellion and its foremost hero, indicated dissatisfaction, after his release from prison last spring, with the terms of settlement sought by the Ben Khedda group. He spoke of "continuing the revolution." He has had strong support within the army, many of whose members regard the peace accords as an onerous compromise with hated "French colonialism." He also has fervent support from sections of the Algerian masses whose adulation for Ben Bella has led Ben Khedda group to inveigh against the "cult of personality."

The clash between these two points of view apparently deepened at a highly secret meting of the National Council which began last May 27. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss formation of a political bureau to run things after independence. According to reports that leaked out, Ben Bella had a majority of the delegates on his side; but the meeting end-

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ed in discord, with no clear arrangements for the political bureau.

President Ayub Khan's Press Conference

At a Press Conference held on July 21, at Rawalpindi, President Ayub Khan made the statement before newspaper editors, that Pakistan's allies in SEATO and CENTO would come to aid Pakistan only in the case of a World War. But in "local wars" in which Pakistan might get involved, she will have to depend on her own resources. In plain language this means that any aggressive intentions that the rulers of Pakistan might have on the people and territory of India, will have to be carried out under her own arrangements until such time as her patrons might feel it necessary to launch on a major warlike adventure or in an armed intervention. He said that the security of Pakistan lay in her capacity to hit back against foreign aggressors. And that that purpose could not be served if the country's armed forces were divided into equal halves between East and West Pakistan. According to him, East Pakistan had sufficient troops to engage several divisions of an invading force.

Incidentally it might be remarked that the statistics presented before the National Assembly of Pakistan show that the percentages of commissioned officers from East Pakistan were only six p.c. in the Army, nine in the Navy and sixteen in the Air Force.

President Ayub expressed his disappointment at the "ineffective" nature of the SEATO alliance. He said he would favour "bilateral" agreements amongst South-East Asian countries themselves and between different South-East Asian countries and America separately.

Stripped of unnecessary verbiage it means that he would prefer to have an Offensive and Defensive Alliance with the U.S. so that he could launch on military adventures with the assurance of the Big-Fellow backing him up to the fullest extent.

The D.M.K. Demonstrations in Madras

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, is a party formed in the Tamil areas of the South on the basis of a racial isolationism of a peculiarly reactionary type. No one can quarrel over the ambitions of any section of the population in India for the resurgence of its ancient glories as delineated by tradition and historical research or against its attempts for the rectification of any disability—political, social or economic—that affect it, provided the method is adapted to or the actions undertaken for the purpose do not result in damage, loss or injury to any other section of the public. If the party or organization which is formed in accordance with the objectives has any programme for political activities or agitation against the Ministry in power, then such activities or agitation should be carried along the paths sanctioned by legal and peaceful methods, which do not entail any loss or damage to public or private property or injury to the persons of those who are not participants in the action.

In the last elections sufficient members of the D.M.K. party were returned as members of the Madras Assembly to give the party the status of the principal party in Opposition. This has further opened to it a major forum for political agitation in a constitutional way. Indeed, with the tacit support of the Swatantra party, it can function as the spearhead of the Opposition if rectification of grievances be the object.

But despite all that the D.M.K. launched a public demonstration, in the form of a one-day picketing of all Government offices on Thursday the 19th July. The ostensible reason put forward for the demonstration was that of a protest against the rising cost of living. It was undoubtedly a reasonable cause for a protest, but the actual demonstration took an ugly shape as there were riotous outbreaks of violence in Madras and Vellore which left a trail of damage to shops and a large numbers of State Transport vehicles and injuries to about a hundred police officers and men, according to the **Hindu.**

The Hindu (Weekly edition July 26) goes on to to say in its editorial:

"If more serious casualties were avoided, it is due mainly to the restraint, tact and cool courage with which the police handled the rioters. It may be that the D.M.K.

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leaders intended the picketing to be peaceful and orderly. But neither the general tenor of their propaganda nor the tone of many of the speeches made at their annual conference last week was calculated to induce in their followers a respect for non-violent methods or a concern for law and order. It is unmistakably clear from the conduct of some of the crowds in Madras City, which singled out specific sections of North Madras for their brutal attacks, that the type of propaganda in which the D.M.K. leaders often indulge is such as to stir up hatred against peaceful sections of the community and occasionally, as on Thursday, result in violent and destructive activity. No Government, interested in the maintenance of normal life and the safety of person and property, can possibly look on while unruly mobs take the law into their own hands and indulge in stone-throwing and arson. Mr. Bhaktavatsalam did well to affirm the Government's resolve to give no quarter to elements that may be out to disturb the peace and orderly life of the State."

In certain areas the picketing went off peacefully does seem to indicate that it was not specifically meant to be violent. But the turn the demonstration took in other places clearly shows that the D.M.K. has either the capacity nor the experience to judge the effect of its propaganda and active support and that it has no power to take control of the situation, once the mob violence flares up.

We in Calcutta have had long experience of such incidents, though in the last few years there have been no major outbreaks of violence or hooliganism. The public in Calcutta got sick of those violent demonstrations, as was indicated in the results, that the Leftist groups—who are always the stormy petrels—suffered in the last elections here. The number of job-less leaders and mischief makers is legion in this great city and there is always a large section of the lawless elements in the city, who try to utilize such demonstrations for loot and mischief making.

Madras has had a long and exemplary record since Independence as a State which well-set for progress and advancement and where law and order is normally observed by all sections of the people. It is a pity therefore that a group of men should launch on a course of political adventure through this reckless exploitation of racial fanaticism and prejudiies. This is not likely to result in any solid gain for the party although it might get some publicity and thereby attract some more undesirable adherents.

A curious feature of the D.M.K. demonstrations is the role that the Swatantra party seemed to have assumed—as the Charge d'Affairs of the D.M.K.—in the Madras Assembly. The handful of D.M.K. members present had staged a walk-out previously because of the "one sided character of the statement" made by the Finance Minister on the incidents while the majority had abstained for attendance because the Government "would not countenance a judicial inquiry into the disturbances" and the Minister's statement made no mention of "Police excesses."

The following news report, taken from **The Hindu,** shows that the **Swatantra** party took upon itself the task of "following up" the agitation in the political sphere, after the D.M.K. had broken off diplomatic relations—so to say—with the Government.

Madras, July 21.—An echo was heard in the Legislative Assembly to-day of the incidents in the City following the agitation launched by the D.M.K. on Thursday last.

"Immediately after question-hour, Mr. Sa. Ganesan (Swat.) sought to raise an adjournment motion to discuss the developments arising out of the alleged arrest by the Police of persons not connected with the disturbances.

"The Speaker, Mr. S. Chellapandiyan, wanted to know if the member could make a definite statement and not indulge in 'hearsay of hearsay of hearsay.'

"Mr. Ganesan said he heard last night from reliable sources that a number of persons not connected with the disturbances had been arrested and this agitated the public mind.

"Mr. R. Venkataraman, Industries Minister, said whatever representations were

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made by members in the House the rule was that they took the full responsibility for the statements they made. The House could consider the matter if the hon'ble member could take the responsibility for what he said. On the other hand, if it was a mere hearsay he did not think the House would be justified in discussing it.

"Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Leader of the House and Finance Minister, said there was an agitation and disturbances followed it. In this connection the Police had taken certain measures and arrested some persons. It was for the courts to go into the question of the arrests. Further, this did not seem to him to be a matter for an adjournment motion.

"The Speaker, who withheld his consent for the motion, remarked that the arrests had been made during the ordinary administration of law. Such actions of the Government could not become the subject-matter of adjournment motions. Further, it was a matter for investigation and judicial decision."

This move was all the more curious because the leadership of the Swatantra party—unlike that of the D.M.K.—is in the hands of seasoned politicians, well-equipped with the mental processing gear necessary for the assessment of political possibilities of such a situation. It is strange that they should make such a clumsy attempt to exploit the aftermath of these deplorable incidents. Adversity makes strange bed-fellows, they say, It seems that political frustration has the same effect.

The Editor.

Wasted Man Power

Next to Nature's gifts to mankind the greatest source of human wealth is man power. All values, more or less, generate cut of what Nature provides and what man can produce with or without materials given by Nature. Nature's stores of values however are neither so perishable nor so costly to maintain as man power is. For man power cannot be stored for future use nor maintained without food, housing, medicine, clothes and training. Thus it is that every second a hundred million man seconds can be lost for ever if a hundred million men remain idle for one second. In India man power is wasted in a manner which is fantastic and unbelievable. If we have 200 million workers, it may be safely assumed that we get about 400 million man hours of work out of them instead of 1200 million m.h. as would be normal. We lose 1200 million man hours daily and have been doing so for the last 15 years of National Planning. This loss if valued in terms of wages must be worth at least ten naye paise per man hour; valued in terms of national economic loss it should be at least 20 nP. per man hour assuming that wages constitute about half of what is produced by the worker. So that if we said that India has been steadily allowing 100 million rupees worth of value to go down the drain during the last 15 years, it would be certainly an understatement. That would total up to more than 3000 crores of Rupees per annum and if properly used for production, should have doubled the national income by now quite easily. For, much of the work that men could have done in India unaided by machinery and scientific training would have taken the shape of capital just as a matter of course and the additions to the total national income would inevitably have increased in geometrical progression as roads, houses, trees, fish culture, animal husbandry, poultry, farming, piggeries, dairies etc., etc., increased by a planned use of human labour all over India. Certain basic raw materials for the production of important consumer goods, like cotton, jute and other fibres, sugar cane, pulp making things etc., would have been produced in much larger quantities too and Indians might have had better food, more clothing and adequate housing instead of living on a 500|900 calory diet and without any clothes or housing worth the name. The average Indian now has an annual income of Rs. 290|- out of which he spends more than Rs. 200|- on basic food grains and the rest on "luxuries" like half-a-dozen and a towel per annum, a little oil to rub on his fat-starved body and to keep the primitive establishment going in the style that his ancestors adopted during the hideous persecutions carried out by the British soldiers after the Mutiny of 1857.

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The villages of Bihar and U.P. have almost the same appearance to-day as they had in 1862. And why?

Because Man Power has not been utilised by our Planners and because they have driven the people further down into poverty by heavy taxation, interference with their trades and crafts by imposing restrictions everywhere and by creating a general consciousness throughout India that the people had nothing to do but to carry out Governmental directives in every field of work. And the Government being manned by inefficient and often dishonest persons, this "socialism" has failed miserably to achieve its objectives. The people, who have suffered from a "pathetic contentment" during two hundred years of British rule, have taken these fresh series of inroads into their freedoms and rights of self-determination lying down too. Of initiative, they had little in the past and the constant propaganda by the tall-talking politicians of independent India has further denuded them of all powers of thinking or behaving in the manner of rational and self-reliant human beings. The morale of the people has been reduced to almost zero by the all knowing and totally useless talkers of the political parties and we have virtually no workers in India who will work for their own good. Those who work for wages also do the minimum of work and mishandle valuable machinery and plant obtained with borrowed money at four times their true value. In the circumstances India's chances of putting up a sound economic front are remote. The only way lies through mobilisation of Man Power; but that will never be done so long as political parties rule India. Governance and administration of various essential public services are quite different from a total usurpation of all powers, privileges and rights of individual action. Our rulers like to govern and carry on administration loosely. But they like to impose their will upon the people in the manner of totalitarians.

A.C.

Contempt Of The People

Our rulers suffer from a habitual weakness to treat the people with contempt. They may talk glibly of democracy and the ultimate and fundamental sovereign powers that rest with the people; but in their action they appear to have nothing but contempt for the individual's right of self determination in the ordinary affairs of their daily life. The Indian politicians, who rule us, think that as soon as they are enthroned in power by the people, they automatically earn the right to act as total guardians of the people. No member of the public can decide for himself whether he will build a house, enter into a particular line of business, earn some foreign exchange for his own use, travel to other countries, go to foreign sanitaria or hospitals for treatment, buy anything anywhere else in the world and bring it to India, order spare parts for his mechanical possessions or do many other things which might improve his mind, body or finances without interference from the rulers of India. Instead of private persons carrying out any of their own plans in any of these spheres of work or achievement the political **rajahs** of India use up all or most of the supplies of steel and cement to build relatively wasteful and useless structures (from the national well being angle) in Delhi and other cities; to set up unproductive and uneconomical businesses everywhere to pamper particular groups of persons who work only to break up the nation, to send groups of totally worthless persons abroad on missions which are imaginary or which cannot be fulfilled by the persons sent and to import a great number of things which can be easily made in India at half the cost. Our best men and women are prevented from going abroad by the Government, though foreign exchange is regularly wasted in maintaining showy embassies and consulates everywhere, in employing or allowing to be employed all sorts of foreign personnel who are neither technically competent nor of any good to any one in India and in granting foreign exchange to persons who have "influence" and nothing else. It was reported in the press sometime ago that the Reserve Bank of India had been granting foreign exchange, and several lakhs of rupees worth of it, to persons who had not asked for any and for the use of

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persons other than the permit holders. The Government of India however thought about the same time that persons granted scholarships by foreigners should consult them before accepting the same! How scholarships granted to persons selected by foreign agencies could be utilised for purposes for which the State required foreign currency is a very subtle matter which ordinary people would not easily understand. It means that the Government through the Reserve Bank of India has hopes of diverting these scholarships to their own or to State nominees. If this is not interference with the rights of private persons (and with those of the foreign agencies too), we do not know what is! We all know that contempt of court is a heinous and punishable offence. Contempt of the Government established by law is also reprehensible. But the fountain head from which flows all power and sovereignty viz., the PEOPLE can be treated with contempt by every clerk employed by the State, to say nothing of persons higher up, without incurring the disapproval of the law. In our opinion contempt of the People and of their rights should be made punishable too. But the representatives of the people will probably oppose any such attempt to rehabilitate the people in Power.

A.C.

National Integration

When the Indian Nation was a slave nation ruled arbitrarily by the British who exploited the people of India and the natural resources of the country for their own advantage for over a hundred and fifty years, the Indians were not so disunited as they are now. This has happened mainly because the Congress agreed to divide India into Pakistan and India on a communal basis. Some Muslims of undivided India instigated by the British carried on a campaign of a false Two-nation theory boosted by bloody riots and eventually managed to bring the Congress to agree to a division of India. This led to the development of the idea of breaking up India into many semi-independent units known as States, which had a majority of some particular type of population, and which could function almost as separate nations. Thus developed the states of India with their "frontiers", "frontier guards", "check posts", etc., etc. Each State had a policy which was based on a theory of exclusiveness in point of economic development, granting licences, permits, etc., and recruiting government servants. It did not stop there. Each State had certain areas in it in which lived its "minorities" which could be exploited by the majorities deprived of their rights and even of property, jobs and business for the benefit of the majorities. The language of the majority was forced upon the minorities who were subjected to many other indignities too. As a result of this the minorities were like the slaves of the majorities in these States. No wonder the Indian nation began to break up into groups which hated one another, were exploited and persecuted by local majorities whose superiority had no basis in facts of any real political importance, and the worst elements of the Indian people began to dominate Indian politics everywhere to the detriment of all true national ideals. These facts were and are well-known to the Congress leaders, who never believed in facing facts. They continued to pamper the destroyers of national unity and tried to cover up the vices of their regional supporters by eye-wash and tall talk about national integration. It is clear and obvious that if India is to become one State with a single nation in it, then the States must cease to be the semi-independent "kingdoms" that they now are. All question of minority and majority must be answered once and for all by reducing the powers of the States to the mere working of day-to-day administration. It would be better still if the States were abolished and replaced by administrative zones with no zonal or political parties or regional party leaders. It is quite unnecessary to have fourteen sets of Parliaments, Governors, Cabinets, and so forth in a country which can hardly produce enough qualified persons to fill one upper and one lower house with a single cabinet. There is and there should be only one legislature system for the whole of India. The administration should be carried on by paid zonal officials. The economy of the country

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should be made free as far as possible so that the State could not practise favouritism of any kind. Local Self-Government should be developed and all education, medical arrangements, policing, etc., etc., should be in the hands of local people with some over-all control by the State which will frame basic rules, regulations and set up standards without reference to person, group, community, race, caste or language. All distribution of advantages, privileges and favours of an economic kind should cease immediately. India is falling to pieces because no one is building up India. We are all busy building States, groups, communities, linguistic cliques and so on and so forth.

A. C.

Picking Pockets and Public Finance

George Bernard Shaw described a certain island in which the people lived by taking each other's washing. This was a satirical reference to the absurdity of an economy which produced nothing for its maintenance but still continued to exist. One may similarly think of a large country in which all persons lived by picking each other's pockets. When we come to think of Public Finance we naturally have to think of the sources from which taxes and duties are raised. If the sources dried up, then, naturally, there would be no realisation of revenue. In other words Public Finance too cannot depend for all time on picking pockets only. For pockets have a fatal tendency to become empty after repeated picking and, then, unless some one refilled the pockets with **values produced**, picking would yield nothing more. The Indian system of Public Finance is based on controlling all production and interfering with all productive work as an over-all gesture of policy in the economic sphere. Thereafter the revenue collectors go round getting what they can out of reluctant contributors to public funds. Almost all the revenues are taken out of what has been produced by private effort; but the public policy is to discourage individual enterprise directly or indirectly too by cutting down supplies of funds, material, machinery, etc., and by closing down markets by checks and controls. So that the only source of capital accumulation left with Indian individuals is tax evasion and illicit dealings. Dishonesty of this kind is an answer to the policy adopted by the State which is both economically and ethically unsound. The Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution have been disposed of more or less by Rules and Regulations imposed upon the people by the One Man Parliamentary Party of India. For, there is only one man whose will determines what the Parliamentary majority will dictate to the people. And this is a sad state of affairs. Honest men in India are becoming paupers and anti-socials are prospering everywhere. Taxes are paid by honest people more or less exclusively and if the Government's policy progressively denudes their economic life of all productive values, the position will soon be reached when revenues will have to be obtained by force only from tax-payers who would not pay anything willingly. The service holders who pay taxes regularly, are, by and large, non-productive, and, as their numbers increase, Indians move further towards their goal of living by rendering non-material service to one another. There is no doubt that, something is fundamentally wrong with India's economy, but we say so in an undertone; for, we fear the Government of India will immediately appoint a few more high power committees to do fact finding; which will produce more non-existing values, and hardly any knowledge worth knowing.

A. C.

Power Shedding in West Bengal

'Scandalous' seems to us to be the mildest epithet which could somewhat inadequately describe the acute power shortage to which widely divergent but industrially and otherwise important extensive territories within the country have been subject from time to time over the past several years. In Western India, for instance, industrial progress has not merely been proved to have been materially arrested on account of the inadequacies of power supply compelling subs-

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tantial production-staggering to be resorted to on this account, but quite a number of small industries have had to even completely shut down. West Bengal also has not been immune and the Greater Calcutta area which still remains the most important and developing industrial area in Eastern India, has had to face considerable shortages from this paralysing phenomenon. Some two years ago large areas of this great metropolitan district has had to suffer long and erratic power cuts. Currently, once again, the metropolis has had to be deprived of its essential minimum supplies of power and, although, on this occasion power cuts are being distributed over different sections of the area in turn with a view to spreading the burdens of loss and inconvenience over the entire community, the people certainly have the right to question why it should at all be necessary for them to suffer in this manner ? As we write, the latest press note seems to indicate that generation on the D.V.C.'s 75 mW unit which had to shut down on account of a fire and which compelled the power shedding device in Calcutta, has been partially restored and that the extent of the power shedding that has been going on for the past one week and would be likely to be proportionately restored.

That the Plans have been remiss in respect of assesssment of priorities for development of power to conform to the requirements of development projects in the Plans, would be obvious from the fact that there has been a continuing over-all shortage of power throughout the country. Plan targets have not been fulfilled, so far as power development is concerned and although the Third Plan has projected a substantial stepping up of potentials in this regard, there is no reason to feel optimistic that they would be fulfilled. It is significant that even if it were possible to actually step up power development to a gross output level of 13.4 million kilowatts as projected in the Third Plan, it would still remain short of requirements of Plan progress.

So far as West Bengal is concerned, the State's primary dependence for her power supply has been upon the supplies made available by the D.V.C. Especially so in the Calcutta area where the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation was, some years ago, induced under official pressure, to agree to buy from the D.V.C. the major portion of their bulk power requirements from the D.V.C. to meet their increasing commitments to their constituents in the metropolis, rather than do so by increasing their own generating potentials by installation of necessary plant and machinery. A review of the transactions relating to the D.V.C's power supplies in the entire area described under the Damodar Valley Corporation Act as the D.V.C. area would demonstrate how under official patronage and pressure the Corporation was able to secure a virtual monopoly over its present market which it is now unable to adequately feed. The initial projects of the Corporation, as would be demonstrated by the literature issued by it during the earlier stages of its development, which consisted mainly of Hydro Power generated at its three dam sites at Tilaya, Maithon and Panchet, was intended to stimulate the growth and feed the power requirements of a variety of medium and small-scale industries in the area which, it was hoped, would spring up as a result of the cheap and abundant power that would thus be made available. It was only later, when it was discovered that Hydro power at these dams would not be able to maintain a constant load of supplies at the projected level of pressure throughout the year, that the installation of thermal power plants at Bokaro was conceived of. Despite the huge capital outlays on these hydro and thermal power undertakings, there did not seem to be any immediate prospects of the growth of those medium and small industries which, it was hoped, would provide the Corporation's community of consumers with the power generated by it. In the meanwhile power development had already begun to be the principal concern of the D.V.C. and its primary purposes of flood control and irrigation were relegated to a comparatively secondary importance. It became necessary, therefore, to find markets for its power and as no new community of consumers had been springing up as initially expected, the obvious remedy seemed to be to prevail upon the existing large industries in the area to buy power from it to cover the requirements of their expanding potentials by the simple expedient of refusing necessary licences for the installation of additional generating capacity within their own respective organizations as they had been doing previously. It was in the same manner that the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation was also prevailed upon to agree to buy bulk power from the D.V.C.

Unfortunately, it appears, that the D.V.C. is

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no longer able to cover the minimum requirements of all its constituents thus acquired under official patronage over the years. There have been shortages of supplies all over the area. We understand that in the Jamshedpur industrial metropolis there has, for several years now, been a continuing shortage of some 20 kVh compelling a number of industries to stagger production by having a weekly closed day. The collieries in the Raniganj and Jherria fields have also been known to similarly suffer. In Calcutta, the supplies made available to the grid from the Corporation's Durgapur thermal plant has been just sufficient to cover maintenance loads and whenever any breakdown have occured, the metroplis has been compelled to suffer acutely as in the present instance.

It would seem only reasonable to comment that the Corporation should never have acquired commitments for providing supplies to developing areas which it was not fully equipped to meet. But what would seem to be even more difficult to understand is the frequent breakdowns that the Corporation's thermal power units would seem to be subject to. Before the D.V.C. took over the responsibilities of supplying a major portion of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation's bulk power requirements, experiences of breakdowns in supplies had been so few and far between as to have been almost entirely negligible. It has been only since the Corporation has been deriving a major portion of its power from the D.V.C. that breakdowns have been occuring frequently and over long and sustained periods of time violently dislocating the city's life in large sectors of its extensive and thickly populated areas. Why such frequent and massive breakdowns should at all occur is a question which would seem to demand a frank and unambiguous answer. In the absence of any frank and official statement, the supposition would not be unreasonable that there must either be something basically wrong with the plants concerned themselves or their operation. Rumour has it that dissatisfied with the working of the Durgapur plant, the D.V.C. had called into consultation an eminent firm of foreign construction experts who opined that the plant, to be able to operate smoothly and to full capacity and efficiently, will have to be completely redesigned and had submitted estimates for the undertaking which would call for a huge new capital outlay on the plant. We do not know how far these remours are actually credible. At least there does not seem to have been any reliable official statement issued in this connection. But if there be any truth in the rumour, the firm who originally supplied and erected the plant sould, obviously, be held responsible for the cost of its necessary reconditioning. In any case, a thorough and public probe would seem to be the least that is called for in this connection. The people, who have been made to pay for these installations, have the right to be taken into the fullest confidence and to be acquainted with the true state of affairs in this connection. They have been the victims of the bunglings and nepotisms of these public sector undertakings long enough and certainly have the right to know how much longer their sufferings would be bound to continue as well as how much more it is going to cost them to get out of their misery !

K. N.

Cleaner Calcutta

One can never sufficiently highly praise the efforts of the boys of the National Volunteer Force in ridding Calcutta of its nauseating filth of accumulated garbage. Although called in rather late in the day, not in fact, until the city and suburbs were actually held in the prip of a raging cholera and, later, of a diptheria epidemic which seemed to have been directly derived from these, the boys of the National Volunteer Force would seem to have heroically risen to the occasion and, unaccustomed as they naturally are with the kind of work that they had thus taken on, seem to have virtually cleared the city in record time of the garbage and filth which had accumulated over months. Indeed, Calcutta wears an unwontedly cleaner and fresher look which would seem to be almost a novel one to the dwellers of the city. Even to a visitor from outside Calcutta would seem now to wear a new look pleasing to the eye, as commented upon by the Prime Minister who during his visit here last week-end was reported to have commended it.

What would seem to be worthy of comment in this regard is that had our city fathers in the Calcutta Corporation been even remotely alive to their responsibilities to the city and its dwellers, such accumulations of garbage and filth all over the metropolis, which has been endemic almost as far back as one can remember, should

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never have been possible. The Corporation has long been notorious as an institution where nothing ever gets done and its Council Chamber a field of unseemly wrangles and battles. Now that the boys of the NVF have not merely temporarily taken over but so ably and efficiently discharged what normally should be one of the very elementary responsibilities of the Corporation, the least that our City Fathers should take upon themselves to do is to go through a period of penance for all their past sins and criminal neglect of elementary duty. The least penance that we can think of is that they should go about in sackloth and ashes and hiding their brazen faces from the gaze of honest and victimized rate-payers until, at least, the City's civic services are restored to a minimum level of adequacy and efficiency. It was never the job of the boys of the National Volunteer Force to undertake this work of removing this filth of the Corporation's indifference and criminal neglect. But now that they have volunteered to do this and, moreover, done it so efficiently, the City Fathers, supposedly men of maturity and intelligence, should learn what their job is from these young teen-agers. But will they ever learn ?

K. N.

Another Stalwart Gone

West Bengal would seem to have fallen upon a continuing period of misfortune. So soon after Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy had passed away, only twentythree days, in fact, after that sad event, another stalwart of the West Bengal Treasury, Kalipada Mukherjee, suddenly passed away following an attack of apoplexy, at the comparatively young age of only 61. His sudden removal from the scene must, we are sure, have been a severe blow to West Bengal's new Chief Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, as well as to his Government.

The late Mr. Mukherjee, who became intimately associated with the freedom movement in the country at the comparatively early age of 21, has long been regarded as an important factor in the counsels of the Bengal Congress and proved his organizing abilities while undertaking flood relief work in North Bengal and later, relief to riot victims in Dacca and Noakhali. He has been associated with the West Bengal Government ever since Independence, having been initially drafted into the Treasury as Revenue Minister in Dr. P. C. Ghosh's cabinet. L when Dr. Roy took over the Government 1948, he took over the Labour portfolio subsequently the Home (Police) portfolio.

Throughout his long and intimate associ with the West Bengal Government in the ca of a responsible Cabinet Minister, Mr. Mukh has been known to discharge his respons ties in a courageous and forthright manner as well as the rather explosive circumstances the State would permit. He has been always, reason of the controversial portfolios of Labour and later Police that he held in Gov ment, one of the most popular victims of harshest opposition criticisms and attacks all which he took in his stride with commend lack of emotion and with phlegmatism. There is doubt that he was one of the "strong men" the West Bengal Government during all years since Independence and had thus acqui the position of an almost 'indispensable' mem of the Cabinet. His sudden removal by the cr but immutable hand of death has, no doubt, ma that State Government the poorer for his loss.

K. N.

The Late Purushottamdas Tandon

On the same day that Dr. Bidhan Chan Roy suddenly passed away in Calcutta, and outstanding public figure in the cou Purushottamdas Tandon, passed away in U Pradesh. Associated throughout his long life w the freedom movement in the country in most its phases, Tandonji seemed to have grown a disillusioned man when he found the Con and its current leadership shedding one by most of its long cherished public ideals pledges. He was, despite his long years of mate personal friendship with Nehru, Tan was one of the severest critics of Government and its policies. But he never al himself to descend into the sloughs of anthropy and with a zeal, unusual in one years and position, continued to lead a crus often a pathetically lonesome one, against he considered the misdeeds of the Govern especially in respect of what he considered deviations from the paths of truth and rect

A wizened little man in stature, Tand was, nevertheless a colourful and vigorous compelled attention by sheer

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of character even of those who had nothing in common with his faiths and beliefs. A fanatic for the complete replacement of English by Hindi in all official and public transactions, there were very few in the country, even among the apologists of Hindi who would go all the way with him. A deep scholar and a fearless upholder of what he considered to be right and true, Purushottamdas Tandon takes away with himself into eternity a type which seems to be fast disappearing from the modern world.

K. N.

The Finance Minister's Quests Abroad

The rather colourful account given on his recent return from his quests abroad by Union Finance Minister, Morarji Desai would, even to the least discerning, seem to be more wishful than realistic. One of the primary objectives of Mr. Desai's current European visits was, as publicly stated, to canvas India's case for her markets abroad, especially her traditional advantages in the British market in the context of Britain's candidature for entry into the European Common Market Community and the six's rather inflexible demand for Britain's acceptance of the condition of a common external tariff against imports from all countries outside the Six as an essential pre-requisite to her acceptance into the favoured fold. There was some justification for the Union Finance Minister's mood of optimism on the eve of his departure for Europe. The protracted conferences held between him and the British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, relating to Indo-British trade *vis-a-vis* Britain's projected entry into the ECM in New Delhi immediately preceding his departure for Europe, undoubtedly raised hopes of some concessions being made available to India in the British Market, at least to the extent similar concessions had been extended by the Community to certain countries in the Middle-east in the French markets. In fact, Mr. Sandys had given definite assurances of a 'declaration of intentions' by the Six being acceptable to the latter which would seek to provide certain reasonable safeguards for Indian trade in the U.K. What authority Mr. Sandys may have had to hold out such assurances to India was, however, a question which was neither asked nor answered.

So far as Mr. Desai's efforts for securing Indian interests *vis-a-vis* the proposal for British entry into the European Common Market was concerned, they would, so far as actual results are concerned, seem to have been completely unavailing. The Six, apparently, were unwilling to consider any concessions to India so far as her traditional advantages in the British markets were concerned, in so far as they related to the proposal for a common external tariff against all countries outside the Seven. Mr. Desai, obviously has pleaded with all the pursuasion at his command for India's cause not merely before British authorities, but also to the Six in Brussels. It may be true, as he claims, that the latter also had given him the most patient and sympathetic hearing, but there has been no indication, either in their discussions with our Finance Minister or, later, in their attitude to the British candidature for entry into the Community of Six, that they had any intentions whatever of resiling from their original and apparently inflexible conditions or of relenting towards India. Mr. Desai's talks with the West German or Italian authorities which were reported to have preceded his pleadings in Brussels might equally have been held in a pleasant and sympathetic climate, but such sympathy may mean just less than nothing in so far as India's export advantages to Britain or other countries of Europe within the Six were concerned.

In fact, the realities of the situation in so far as India's export prospects in Europe are concerned, would seem to be one of unrelieved gloom despite Mr. Desai's assurances to the contrary. In fact, India's export incidences during the first five months of the current year of which figures have been recently announced would seem to support such gloomy prognostications rather than do anything to dispel them. The situation would seem to be extremely nervous. One does not blame Mr. Desai for this. Not all of this situation was within the control of India although it cannot also, at the same time, he repudiated that a certain lack of imagination in handling the problems of Indian exports have not at least in some measure, been responsible for the situation as it has eventuated today. The proposal for British entry into the ECM has been like the proverbial last straw in a long chain of mistakes and defaults which has reduced India to her present position of helplessness in so far

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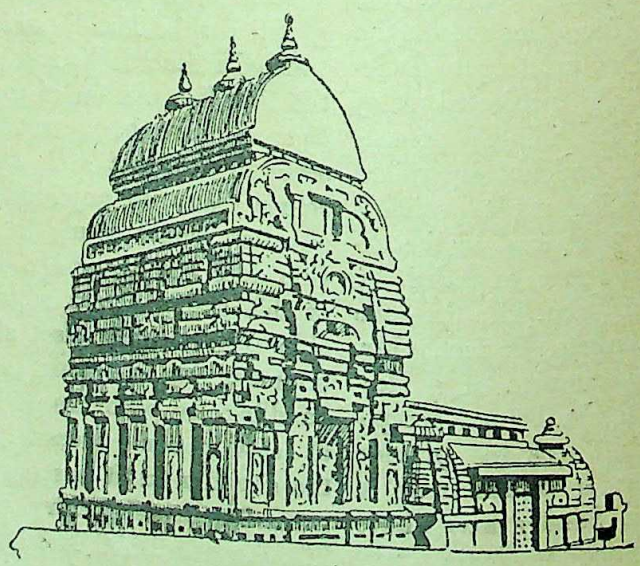
as her export trade is concerned. Prospects would seem to have even further deteriorated since Mr. Desai's return to India for, according to later news from Brussels, the attitude of the Six would seem to have further hardened on the question of British entry into the Community, on the ground of a common tariff against farm produce and the very fact as to whether Britain would be accepted into the fold would seem to be currently hanging in the balance.

One of the other principal objectives of Mr. Desai's European visit would seem to have been to explore possibilities in respect of the prospects of aid for India's Third Plan. Here, especially in the context of Italy's decision to join the 'Aid India Club', there may have been far greater reason for Mr. Desai to feel optimistic. It is quite possible that the Finance Minister's assessment of the prospects of aid forthcoming in the immediate future may have been more realistic. We would hope that they were so. But we should, at the same time, point out that aid would be a poor substitute for self-sustaining trade as a means of procuring the necessary volumes of foreign exchange for financing our development planning. Export must, therefore, continue to be given the highest priority. Import freezes which, as Mr. Desai has warned, would continue, would not, however, offset the vital need to export. It is a poor way of public finance when the budget has to be balanced by curtailing expenditure, rather than by increasing income. And the burdens of progressively accumulating aid by way of loans and grants may well prove crushing in the end unless earnings can be stimulated to meet their eventual redemption requirements to the fullest extent.

There could be no question that the country's export problems have all along been wrongly handled almost from the inception of Independence. There was no doubt a short-lived spurt in exports during the initial year of the First Five Plan when by reason of stockpiling certain Indian exports abroad, especially in the U.S.A., there was, what was described by the then Finance Minister, considerable windfall export earnings by the country. Since then, however, India's foreign trade has continued to evince a steady downward trend except for a certain measure of recovery during the 1960-61 period which, as results of the first half of the current year demonstrate, appears, again, to have been a very short-lived one. In the meanwhile, India would seem to have been loosing steadily much of her traditional markets abroad. There must be some reason for this trend. The reason itself may be quite a complex one involving a variety of factors. A detailed and immediate probe would seem to be called for and policies re-enunciated in the light of information that such a probe might yield.

K.N.



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A NOTE ON ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT AS EVIDENCED IN MANAGEMENT-UNION RELATIONSHIP

By NARENDRA K. SETHI

Introduction

In modern corporate society the equillibrium of the organizational structure is often shaken by conflicting roles and varying objectives of management and unions. In the operation of business, this differentiation of spheres of interests and goals acts as a severe obstacle. In addition to that it disturbs industrial peace by encouraging personal gratification rather than mutual survival. It also hampers the growth of corporate citizenship by emphasizing individual goals and curbs the feeling of belonging in the large corporation. Consequently, both management and unions try to think through radically different approaches rather than act as two similar interest-groups of an integrated organization. This brings in an atmosphere of mutual fear and hatred—a thing which is detrimental to industrial growth and organizational success. Where basic institutions and goals begin to differ so much, how can the boundaries of interests be drawn and held? Not only that, this feeling brings failure both to the business goals of the management and the individual goals of the employees. None draws any benefit from this and only industrial bitterness increases.

Whither Management?

As a recognised economic organ of an industrial society, the duties of management are primarily devoted towards the successful operation of their business enterprise. This pre-supposes a distinct profit-motive in order to guarantee the sustained growth of the enterprise. Therefore, all the acts, decisions, thoughts and goals of management have an economic dimension and in as far as it falls short of this performance, it only loses ground in achieving its economic goals.

Next, modern management acts as a life-giving source to the cult of free enterprise. It tries to build up new vitality in the free economy of the country by emphasizing the need of private enterprise and freedom of effort. It looks at the broad structure of the entire economy and tries to encourage its productive resources. But, at the same time, it keeps in close view the question of immediate organization's benefit. Management makes conscious efforts to develop the structual unity of the company on one hand and the integrated entity of the industry on the other. Therefore, management's objectives in this particular direction are two-fold: first, to encourage the rationale of free enterprise, and second, to develop their own enterprises.

The goals of management, both immediate and distant, direct and indirect, have a sharp focus on organizational growth or profitable operation of the concern. These are corporate goals rather than individual ones and show more concern for enterprise than for the human resources of the same.

And Unions

Unions resist the power of management by shaking the latter's prerogatives, disturbing latter's rights and emphasizing its own force. They represent the workers' attitudes, their desires, moods, longings and frustrations. But they constitute a pressure group. Their sole objective is to change the balance of organizational rights in favor of the workers by usurping management of its powers.

It is through unions that we observe the conflicting goals of workers and management in their true economic and psychological perspective. Workers demand self-preservation and self-assertion at all costs. Their emotional response to the organization crystallizes in the form of bitter opposition towards management's self-rights. They want a degree of individual dignity and social mobility even though it may be detrimental to the organization. Next, their ego needs a pat and that can come only if their psychic needs are fulfilled. Modern theorists have explained that

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workers today no longer place too much of an importance upon the gratification of their physical desires—rather they look forward to the fulfilment of their emotional and psychological needs. Therefore, it is only through their work group and organization that they can hope to achieve satisfaction in that direction. This gives added impetus to unionism.

The goals of the employees are not corporate in character, for a common worker finds no co-relation between his individual effort and the profit return to the company. His immediate 'organization' is his own ego, his personality and his family and (to a lesser degree) his work group. All his objectives are oriented towards this approach. His economic antipathy for the enterprise can also be explained in these terms. He does not have any sense of belonging in the company and shows neither interest nor fellowship for the same.

The Corporate Warfare

In this bitter business climate, there is bound to be the inevitable clash of ideologies and conflict of objectives. On one hand, we have the profit-motive of management; on the other, the individual assertion of the employees. The corporate goals of management are more than rebuffed by the personal needs of workers and what ensues is a strong warfare between these two. One begins to look with savage apprehension at the other and industrial peace is disturbed. While management shows concern for the common-good of the entire enterprise, the workers seem to think through their own individual goals, thus denying the broad contents of management's approach. While one approaches the issue with a strong integrated viewpoint of the complete plant, the other maintains a stiff subjectivity, giving personal goals predominance over those of the entire corporation.

This battle goes on and on, perhaps with increasing severity bringing loss not only to the enterprise but also to the entire national growth and productivity. As a matter of fact, this warfare curbs the initiative of both the sectors: it makes management passive and rigid: unions illogical and dreary. It hampers the dynamics of our economy too, because in constant industrial warfare the forces of industrial development are repulsed. In addition to that, it also imposes restrictions on individual dignity, personal power and success. The vitality of individual effort gives way under the mounting pressure of this conflict. The very basis of corporate citizenship is shaken at times. During critical periods when none of these two sectors recedes, huge losses occur to the enterprise and to the workers in the shape of long, prolonged strikes, work-stoppages and restricted outputs. Millions of man-hours are lost to the society and the productivity of the country suffers a sharp set-back.

As a matter of fact, this disparity of goals between management and the employees is a sad commentary upon the economic traditions of our culture. What is desired is not this clash and separate survival but mutual survival—a sort of co-existence. The organizational goals of management and the individual objectives of the workers need not remain differentiated in these sharp sectors, they can both be integrated in the all-embracing and broad perspective of industrial and national benefit. Workers should be motivated to develop a sense of belonging in the organization. In the same way, the profit-orientation of the management can be replaced by an enlightened social awareness. The conflict can be resolved only if both these sectors come closer by integrating their objective in one pattern of mutual acceptance. One need no longer dread the other. In modern industrial climatology, the very basis of thinking through watertight compartments like 'union' and 'management' is illfounded. One completes the other and they both should convey a homogeneity of outlook, unity of mood and similarity of goals.

If we continue to differentiate them by emphasizing their separate goals and objectives, industrial citizenship will no longer be able to create an atmosphere of understanding and considera-tion. The disparity will act as a deterrent in the path of organizational growth on one hand and an obstacle in the worker's way to satisfaction on the other. A static enterprise and an unhappy worker can bring national disasters too. Corporate equillibrium can be restored by adjusting the forces of both these sectors of economy, by co-ordinating their goals and by joining them in a common venture—the pursuit of national development. In modern state of international tension and foreign competition, it is essential to eradicate the evils of industrial society. Neither the management nor the unions can claim to adhere to their

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rights and prerogatives by refusing to combine in national cause. Their separate goals can bring good to none of the parties involved—not to the organization and its stability, not to the workers and their ego and, of course, not to the nation and its productivity.

These varying goals have to be approached through a new dimension of corporate citizenship and industrial peace, so that their integration may open still newer avenues of conomic growth and national development.

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THE ALLEGED UNIQUENESS OF INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT

By UMA MUKHERJEE and HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

1

One of the myths got up in our country during the post-independence period is that India acquired the priceless boon of liberty by an ethical and non-violent struggle into which Mahatma Gandhi is supposed to have first initiated the nation. In the recent official publication of the Government of India—Dr. Tara Chand's **History of the Freedom Movement in India**, Volume One—this myth has been perpetuated for posterity. Notwithstanding an overwhelming mass of evidence to the contrary, Dr. Tara Chand propounds the fundamental thesis by recording that the achievement of freedom by India was "a unique phenomenon," its uniqueness being displayed in the "ethical" character of the national struggle. To quote his own words : "And where similar struggles have been accompanied with bloodshed, the movement in India, though intense and accompanied with much suffering, was non-violent." (Vide **Preface**, p. xii.) The soundness of these observations is evidently questionable.

2

Ahimsa or non-violence has never been the special monopoly of the genius of India. Other peoples also can claim this dsitinction with ample justification. The materialism or animality of Indians has never been less in intensity or extensity than that of the other nations of the world. India is the land not only of Buddha, Ramdas and Ramakrishna, but also of Kautilya, Shivaji and Netaji. As full-blooded human beings, Indians, ancient, medieval and modern, have always responded to the thousand and one stimuli of the objective universe almost in

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the self-same manner as have the other historic races of mankind. In the struggle for national liberation from foreign control what has been true of other peoples has not been untrue in the case of Indians. Our country achieved her political independence not by means of non-violent method alone, but also by the orthodox historical method of violence and bloodshed. To attribute the entire success of India's Freedom Movement to the efficacy of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-violent Non-cooperation, a scheme of political action of which he himself was not the originator, is to distort truth. The cult of non-violence and the philosophy of the bomb ran **pari pasu**, in varying degrees no doubt, during the whole course of India's Freedom Movement.

3

Nowhere in world history does the Freedom Movement of a subject people smoothly run its entire course along purely ethical and constitutional channels. All struggle implies by its very nature a challenge to the **status quo** and generates the heat of violence in due course. Generally it commences as a clean moral fight confined to the limits of law, but with the march of the movement the perspective changes and the struggle loses its character of inoffensive legality. Coercion is employed by the status quo for hammering into submission to law. The impulse of retaliation from the people's side then begins to work itself out as an inevitable reaction. Not even a purely moral struggle, not to speak of any political struggle, can long remain confined to the ethical plane.

When the French Revolution first declared itself in 1789, it was purely in the shape of a clean constitutional struggle. But within a couple of months the infuriated Parisian mob applied the first dose of violence by storming the Bastille, the symbol of the accumulated oppression of the Bourbons. From that fateful moment the inoffensive legality of the struggle disappeared and the movement assumed the character of a violent revolution. The history of China in modern times illustrates the same truth. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Revolution, was original an advocate of peaceful constitutional re forms for the rejuvenation of China. He even presented a scheme of reform to the Chinese Viceroy, Li Hungchang, in 18 The rejection of this reform scheme co vinced him of the utter futility of peace agitation and counselled him to plan the overthrow of the ruling Manchu dynasty The inability of the Manchus to move with the times sealed their political fate. Even the constitutional reform movement initiated by Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi (1905-0 proved a failure, giving the inevitable momentum to the revolutionary movement The Italian national movement and the Irish Home-Rule struggle of the last century supply additional proofs of the contention

4

The Indian Freedom Movement proceeded along the customary line of historical development. As in other countries, so in India also, the struggle for independence began originally as an ethical and legal fight, but it also repeatedly took a violent turn in certain phases of its evolution. To hold the Non-violent Non-cooperation Movement of Mahatma Gandhi as the sole primary condition of India's liberation in 1947 is a gross lie. The role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was no less responsible for the achievement of freedom by India. A fundamental truth about India's Freedom Movement is that neither the Passive Resistance of Aurobindo nor the Non-violent Non-cooperation of Mahatma Gandhi was ever the sole determinant in the development of the struggle, nor was the struggle persistently non-violent and pacific in character. It exhibited a violent revolutionary trend throughout its chequered and complex evolution. The **Anushilan-Yugantar** spirit, breathing the fire of revolution was continued from decade to decade since 1905 till it reached its final consummation in Netaji's battles of the Imphal-Kohima sector (1944). The role of the Indian revolutionaries at home and abroad in the achievement of freedom by India in 1947 was too valuable and formidable to be ignored by any scientific student of modern Indian history.

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5

Foreign rule in a subject country is always self-degrading in character. Generally it is fed and sustained in a manner adverse to the national interests of the subject people. This explains why without a hard and difficult struggle the subject people cannot hope to secure the boon of liberty. Our nineteenth century politicians, with all their initiation in modern enlightenment, could hardly grasp the inherent conflict of interests between the ruling race and the ruled. They were men of immense intellectual acumen but their cardinal weakness was their implicit, nay blind, faith in the benevolent mission of England in India. They were, therefore, interested in national development within the fundamental framework of the British rule. The early Congress movement was thus an address to the innate generosity of the Anglo-Saxon race. Lord Curzon awakened the Indian people to a new sense of realism by his rude and humiliating blows, the worst of which was the Partition of Bengal in the name of administrative efficiency. The new generation of politicians, leaping into prominence at the early dawn of the present century, began to clearly feel that, as a subordinate part of the British Empire, India had no future nor could she realise her national self-destiny so long as she remained overshadowed by an alien civilisation. "We claim," wrote Aurobindo in 1909, "the right of every nation to live its own life by its own energies according to its own nature and ideals. We reject the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilisation inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of superior fitness." (Vide Sri Aurobindo's **Speeches**, Calcutta, 1948, p. 173.) Elsewhere he wrote in 1907, "The **Statesman** complains that our object is to foster discontent and we do not make any secret of our own intention, that we make a grievance of a removal of a grievance. Yes, we do. All petty grievances sink into insignificance before that one and comprehensive grievance that an ancient and civilised nation is not allowed to have a self-sufficing existence. They are not thought fit to take care of themselves, and are denied all rights on the ground of this fancied unfitness as if there were any other means of acquiring fitness than to be saddled with responsibilities. Liberty only makes a nation fit for liberty" (Vide the editorial article on "The Indignant Statesman : Ignorance or Sycophancy ?" in the Weekly Edition of **Bande Mataram**, dated November 24, 1907).

Recognising the inherent conflict of interests between the ruling race and the subject Indians, the new generation of patriots headed by Bipin Chandra Pal, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay and Aurobindo Ghose, refused to appeal any longer to the fancied generosity of the guardians of the British Empire. They clearly percieved that political struggles are trials of strength and that India must depend on her own strength to wrest whatever rights she could from the unwilling hands of the foreign race. They advocated, therefore, not only the ideal of unqualified **Swaraj** or complete autonomy for India outside the British Empire, but also formulated a new scheme of political action, known as Passive or Defensive Resistance, for the realisation of that ideal. This was the most fruitful contribution of the Bengal school of politics to the whole of India during the strenuous Swadeshi Epoch (1905-1914). The Doctrine of Passive Resistance summed up in the category of Boycott laid the spiritual foundations of the later doctrine of Non-violent Non-cooperation with which Gandhi's name is inseparably connected. The policy of systematic and relentless refusal of cooperation with the Government permeated, no doubt, the Swadeshi Movement, but the technique of Boycott was not the only weapon forged by the Bengalis to strike with. The philosophy of the bomb with its concomitant of violence and blood-shed also made its appearance in due course and created a new stir in Indian politics. The British statesmen were completely taken by surprise by the new turn of Indian politics. The contemporary Intelligence Branch Records of the Government amply corroborate this point. The master mind of Aurobindo Ghose cast a shaping influence over both these lines of political thought and action. Of the two methods of violence and non-violence

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by which Freedom's battle was fought and won in 1947, Aurobindo was the central schemer and controller for years together at the beginning of the present century.

6

The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 was a struggle for complete national liberation from the thraldom of foreign power. Beginning its career as a lawful or constitutional struggle with the limited object of annulling the Bengal Partition, it travelled far before long envisaging radical ideals and introducing the element of violence on the scene. Unnerved by the sweeping onrush of the movement, the alien Government resorted to customary repression, and the governmental repression was the first incentive in the transformation of the peaceful legal agitation into a violent revolutionary movement. Nationalism, or the love for the motherland, became the first passion with the people, and no persecution can ever kill the religious faith of an awakened and insurgent people. As the governmental repression mounted, the revolutionary movement was driven underground, where it silently gathered strength to reappear on the surface with greater intensity and volume. The history of Freedom Movements of different nations has repeatedly verified the efficacy of both violence and non-violence as instruments of political warfare. The simultaneous operation of the two techniques can also strengthen the national movement instead of necessarily damaging its vitality. The formal logic of Freedom's battle may not recognise it, but the material logic of life amply justifies it.

Mahatma Gandhi is generally looked upon as an apostle of ahimsa or non-violence. His Non-cooperation Movement is also stated to be non-violent in conception. It is worth remembering what this great prophet of non-violent political struggle uttered for the benefit of the British race at the Round Table Conference of London held in December, 1931. He observed that he "held no brief for terrorists," but he was prudent enough to point out at the same time that "the historian has not condemned them..... If you will work the Congress (i.e., the non-terrorist organisation) for all it is worth then you will say good bye to terrorism, then you will not need terrorism." He plainly warned the English rulers that if they did not follow what the Congress had asked them to do, the terrorists would get the upper hand in Indian politics and create endless trouble for the Government, itself an organised force of terrorism. Gandhi's own words were as follows: "Will you not see the writing that these terrorists are writing with their blood? Will you not see that we do not want bread made of wheat, but we want bread of liberty; and without that liberty there are thousands today who are sworn not to give themselves peace or to give the country peace." "This," observed Prof. Benoy Sarkar later on, "was Gandhi's ultimatum to England in December, 1931. And no propaganda in favour of **himsa**, violence, terrorism and so forth was more broadcast and effective than this one skillfully engineered by the apostle of **ahimsa** (non-violence). India and the world understood it" (Vide Benoy Sarkar's **Dominion India in World-Perspectives**, Calcutta 1949, pp. 103-104).

7

The Extremists of the Swadeshi Epoch were uncompromising advocates of the cult of thorough-going Boycott or Defensive Resistance, and they carefully sought to keep the national struggle within the limits of legality. **Bande Mataram's** Aurobindo was a fearless champion of this new regenerating doctrine, but the philosophy of Boycott did by no means exhaust the whole of his political thought. As a prophet of New Nationalism he also prescribed a course of violent or armed resistance to foreign tyranny. The impact of revolutionary Aurobindo as distinct from Aurobindo the passive resister, was clearly discernible in the organ of the **Yugantar** weekly, the central organ of the revolutionary thought. **Yugantar's** Aurobindo was an advocate of active resistance, and this Aurobindo was no less a potent reality at that time than **Bande Mataram's** Aurobindo, and between the two Aurobindos there was no conflict of personalities. Decades later he himself

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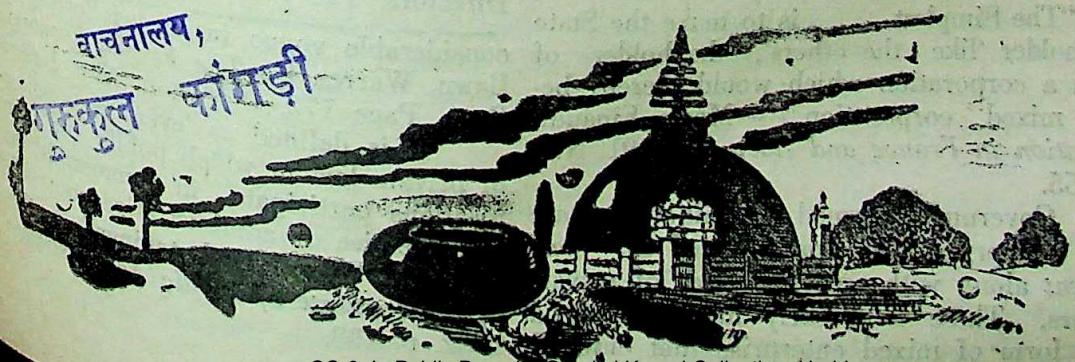
stated that he was "neither an impotent moralist nor a weak pacifist." He believed in expediency and was ready to seize the first opportunity the circumstances provided only if it was found expedient in a given situation in the interest of Freedom's battle. On the 24th of April, 1908, he openly declared in the leading editorial of **Bande Mataram**, "Even diplomacy must have some compelling force behind it to attain its objects, and peaceful means can succeed only when these imply the ugly alternative of more troublesome and fearful methods, recourse to which the failure of peaceful attempts must inevitably lead to." In the same article he further observed that constitutional agitation as a form of diplomacy depends for its success not on the force of its logic but on the presence of an active force behind it, the show of which alone could convert "prayers into demands" (Vide Aurobindo's article on "The Realism of Indian Nationalistic Policy" in **Bande Mataram** dated April 24, 1908).

This was followed by Aurobindo's classic article on "New Conditions" which he wrote for **Bande Mataram** on April 29, 1908, that is, only three days before his arrest in connection with the Alipur Bomb Case. The article is important in that it registers his frank admission of loss of faith in peaceful evolution of self-government in India and in that it makes a veiled advocacy of the cause of revolution in the country. "The fair hopes of an orderly and peaceful evolution of self-government, which the first energies of the new movement had fostered, are gone for ever. Revolution, bare and storm, is preparing his battle-field, mowing down the centres of order which were evolving a new cosmos and building up the materials of a gigantic downfall and a mighty new creation. We could have wished it otherwise, but God's will be done." These lines clearly suggest that in Aurobindo's political thought the cult of violence or revolution filled a very large place. Contemporary Intelligence Branch Records repeatedly affirm that Aurobindo Ghose, the chief of the **Yuganatar** band, "has exercised a greater influence over the revolutionary movement in India than perhaps any one other man. Beyond laying down its general policy and the lines on which it was to develop, it is probable Aurobindo Ghose had little direct dealings with the Dacca Anusilan, and in any case his connection with it could have been known to only a chosen few, but that he was the head and front of the whole movement need not be doubted." (Vide I.B. Records, West Bengal, F.N. 1022-17, p. 1.)

Thus Aurobindo was not only the prophet of Passive Resistance but also the philosopher of Revolution. While Mahatma Gandhi was the ideological successor of Aurobindo the passive resister, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the very embodiment of Aurobindo's revolutionary spirit. India achieved her freedom in 1947 as the cumulative effect of the double process of violence and non-violence. It is unthinking romanticism to interpret the whole course of India's Freedom Movement solely or mainly in terms of Aurobindo's Boycott or Gandhi's Non-cooperation. Nothing rings more hollow and ludicrous than the historian's scholarly utterance that "under British tutelage which lasted for nearly two centuries it (i.e., India) gained freedom," as if the acquired freedom was a voluntary gift from the foreign rulers.



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MIXED AND COMPOSITE ENTERPRISES IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By BISHWANATH PRASAD*

I

WITH an ever-increasing emphasis on the industrial growth of India, the possibility of adopting and exploiting new and unfamiliar forms of commercial enterprise ought to be fully explored. Now that government both own and control trading concerns, it should be of advantage to consider how, if at all, and under what conditions, joint ownership and control of undertakings of common interest should be encouraged. Broadly speaking, the purpose of this article is to give instances of mixed and composite enterprises operated in this country, to consider the advantages and disadvantages of such undertakings, to consider the price policy and the question of public participation in the equity capital in these industrial undertakings, to consider their suitability for obtaining foreign collaboration, and to consider the possibilities or prospects of their extension in India.

The term 'mixed enterprise' or 'mixed corporation' was first used in Europe and was subsequently adopted by American writers to mean some kind of "public-private combination." A mixed enterprise may be understood as any domestic combination between public and private sectors for running an enterprise. What is crucial to the concept is that there must be ownership of capital stock in the enterprise of both the sectors.[1] Some writers have, however, emphasized control aspects and others ownership. There are mixed enterprises having a series of gradations depending upon relative ascendancy in ownership and control exercised over them. Experience shows that a truly mixed enterprise can exist only where there is, more or less, equality in stock ownership. An attempt to make the mixture more a partnership of equals is evident in our industrial policy. The industrial policy conceives of the public and private sectors as twin sources of economic effort. True to our tradition of co-existence in the domain of religion, we are extending the same doctrine to the economic sphere. India's mixed enterprises, generally, tend to conform to the world-wide pattern, *i.e.*, either one or the other partner tends to be dominant. One should, therefore, be beware of pushing the element of publicness in private enterprise to the point where there is no privateness left.

Inter-sector combination of two or more components, at least one of which is foreign, is termed 'composite enterprise'. It means international mixtures in which a public authority participates together with foreign private capital with or without domestic private capital. In contrast, the term "joint enterprise" means an intra-sector combination in either public or private sector.

II

Board of Directors occupies a position of very crucial importance, and the success or failure of any enterprise is likely to depend mainly on the quality and composition of the Board of Directors. The provisions relating to the Board

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*Lecturer in Political Science, University of Bihar, Muzaffarpur ; at present Senior Research Fellow, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

1. "The Simplest . . . . is to make the State a stockholder 'like the others', the holder of shares in a corporation which would thereby become a mixed corporation." —Mario Einaudi, *Nationlization in France and Italy*. Page 91, New York, 1955.

"The Government owned a minority *share* in both enterprises and participated in their *management* along with representatives of private stockholders. These were early instances of a particular form of mixed enterprise that enjoyed considerable vogue in the following decades." Bawn, Warren C., *The French Economy and the State*. Page 172. Princeton, New Jersey. 1957.

"It is defined as 'every economic enterprise of private law in which public and private organisations participate in common in the control and exercise of administrative control."—W. E. Hart, "Mixed Undertakings", in the *Journal of the Institute of Public Administration*, Vol. 1932, p. 138.

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of mixed and composite enterprises are not uniform in regard to the number, tenure and the qualification of the members. As for example, State Bank of India has a 21 member Board whereas Industrial Finance Corporation has a 13 member Board. Although the suggestion to appoint non-officials as Directors representing the private shareholders in these enterprises has not been accepted, yet the practice of associating non-officials with the management of such undertakings appears to have been accepted in India. The Chairman of Air India International is Shri J. R. D. Tata, a famous industrialist of India. Again, in the case of State Bank of India, 6 non-officials are elected to the Board under Clause (C) of sub-section (1) of Section 19 of the act. There can be no two opinions that the possibility of associating non-officials is much greater in mixed and composite enterprises.

These offer opportunity for giving representation on the directorate to consumers and work people. Both these interests can usefully be placed in a position to represent their views directly to the directorate. It is not necessary to give full voting powers to the representatives of consumers and work people, more particularly where expenditure is concerned, but in considering questions of policy the views of consumers should always be helpful and a recognition of the real interest the work people take in the administration of the undertaking will, while it has its difficulties, tend materially to assist the management in undertaking the work people's points of view in securing their loyal support.

Suppose, however, that on a question of policy or some other matter of importance there is a difference of opinion in the directorate, the private interest wishing to take one course and the public interest another. How should such a difficulty be solved? No doubt provision to meet this emergency will be embodied in the charter or other form of constitution under which these enterprises are set up. Provision might be made that in any case of difference where financial expenditure to a considerable extent or the necessity of raising new capital might be concerned, no action shall be taken in the absence of agreement on the part of both interests. But this would probably fail to cover all possible causes of differences, and it might unduly hamper the progress of the undertaking. On the whole it would seem that the public interest, represented by the government, should prevail and that the authority should not have less than 51 per cent of the voting power on the directorate. As an alternative a standing arbitrator might be appointed to whom all questions of difference might be referred. Obviously, therefore, the availability of non-officials on the Board has often resulted in large-scale improvements in the undertakings. It is said that the whole system of accounting which meant considerable economy in the Sindri Chemical and Fertilizers Ltd., was devised by a businessman who was on the Board. Such examples can be a common feature with mixed and composite enterprises in India provided the selection of members of the Board is carefully made. It may be worthwhile to note that the Indian Companies Act contains no restriction as to the maximum number of foreign directors. Whatever provisions are applicable to Indian directors apply equally to foreign directors of Indian Companies, and the provisions relating to directors in the Indian Companies Act, do not discriminate in favour of Indian directors.

III

Taking the question of balance between public and private ownership, India's mixed and composite enterprises have a price and production policy and the content of this policy has an impact on income distribution, economic stability, resource allocation, technical innovations and the size of the national income. Price policy of these enterprises is one of the most sensitive aspects of the behaviour of these concerns. Since they are tending to occupy an important place in our economy, their policy regarding price, input and output, are likely to have important repercussions on the various economic quantities and economic flows, *e.g.*, the price structure, the demand pattern, the volume and content of national output, the pattern of income distribution, etc. Reciprocally, any change in the basic economic determinants like the scale of preferences of the people which lies at the back of the demand structure or in the state of technique lying at the back of the cost structure, is likely to influence the price policy of these enterprises. It is in this and similar other ways that the price policy of these enterprises is sensitive to other economic quantities and flows, which are perpetually acting and reacting upon each other. The actual pricing

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policies pursued by these enterprises will depend on the prevailing conditions.

In a situation which tends to approach perfect competition, mixed enterprises will be forced to move in accordance with the forces of the market. The concern will most likely be charging the market price and carrying production to the point where marginal cost is equal to price revenue. Under monopoly, price and production policies of these enterprises will tend to be the same as the pure private monopolist or there may be an entire range of possible price positions between the monopolists price and the price which would prevail under conditions of perfect competition. Under oligopoly, the mixed enterprise is likely to maintain the *status quo*. What is true of mixed enterprises, is also true of composite enterprises. The presence of the State as a partner in the enterprise, however, can and does make effective departures from the normally expected price lines and production policy of these concerns. When the State holds a majority of the stock, it can theoretically follow any policy whatsoever, even one which produces no profits. In other words, the enterprise may have to follow the "Law Price" policy which keeps particular price lower than they would otherwise have been. This policy may result in larger operating deficits for the enterprise, which in turn has to be met by increased subsidies from the government and larger government deficits. The government's deficits in India may feed the inflation by increasing aggregate demand, specially in so far as they are financed by the creation of new money. Again, as far as resource allocation is concerned, this distortion of particular prices makes it more difficult for the price mechanism to assign resources correctly to their different uses. In view of the considerable emphasis laid under the Third Plan on the role of State enterprises in contributing to the general Exchequer for financing further developmnt, "Below-cost-Pricing" policy cannot be adopted by these enterprises. The suggestion that State enterprises should pursue a price and profit policy which will enable them to make a substantial contribution to capital accumulation is endorsed by a number of authorities including Profs. A. H. Hanson and V. K. R. V. Rao. However, with the nature of the public sector as it is today in India, the possibility of using it as an instrument of capital accumulation is bound to be very limited.

IV

The presence of the State in mixed and composite enterprises may be felt in several other ways. Factors like those of wage regulation, compulsory provision for the employment of certain proportion of local people in different categories of employment and expenditure on Social Services for the local employees by these enterprises, may increase the local share of income. The distribution of income generated by foreign investment in composite enterprises is an important factor in determining the extent of the income which can be channelled into savings and capital formulation.

Mixed and Composite enterprises have yet another attraction for under-developed countries like India. The private sector stands to gain inasmuch as these enterprises assure the security of the principal specially to small investors. Profitable contracts such as technical assistance, patent and licensing agreements are some of the special concessions usually made to the private sector which actually participates in the enterprise. The psychological effects of such a combination of interests may be immense and out of proportion to the minimum equity participation in the sense that such a participation may create confidence on both sides.

V

The rapid growth of mixed and composite enterprises in India is a post-independence phenomenon. The former states of Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad played a pioneering role in starting several mixed enterprises even before independence. The Mysore Sugar Company Limited, established in 1933, the Mysore Paper Mills Ltd., in 1936, the Mysore Spun Silk Mills in 1931, and the Mysore Chrome Training Company Limited (Mychrome) in 1930, are a few examples of mixed enterprises of the pre-independence era. Of the post-independence period, a special mention may be made of the Air India International, National Newsprint and Paper Mills, Nepanagar, Praga Tools Corporation, Hyderabad, Industrial Finance Corporation, Refinance Corporation, Shipping and Shipbuilding enterprises and the State Bank of India. A most important example of a composite enterprise is the India Telephone Industries Limited. In the

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enterprise, the Government of India, the State of Mysore and the Automatic Telephone and Electric Company of England have 70 per cent, 20 per cent and 10 per cent of the total shares respectively. In this project involving British capital, the agreement between the government and the English Company is for a fifteen year period and permits the government full use of all present and future patents of the company as well as access to its technical information. It also provides for training Indians in England and providing consultants and technical personnel where necessary. Again in the Machine Tools Factory, Swiss participation is to be found. The Oerlikon Machine Tool Works at Zurich, Switzerland, invested ten per cent of the capital cost. The cost of the main factory was about 120 million rupees. The Swiss provides the know-how, technical and key personnel, equipment, jigs, tolls, fixtures, duplicate pattern, operation schedules. The Hindustan Housing Factory Limited, the three Steel Plants—Durgapur, Bhilai and Rourkela, I.C.I.C.I. are other examples of foreign participation in Indian Industries.

VI

After independence, the case for the participation of private capital in public enterprises was first raised by the Estimates Committee.[2] The Estimates Committee recommended that in government 'Joint Stock Companies, at least, 25 per cent of the total, capital investment must be available for the public.' They advocated such a participation in order to "ensure active public interest and cooperation in their management." The implementation of this recommendation would evoke the enthusiasm of the public for participation in the national development and would also enable the undertakings to function effectively under the vigil of a body of shareholders, who would, in their own interests, keep a watchful eye on the working of the undertaking. The Committee took care to suggest further that "while inviting private capital, Government should, in order to avoid individual or group monopolies and other abuses of the kind, fix a ceiling for individual holding of shares as also on any dividends that might be declared by such undertakings." The government regretted its inability to accept the recommendations. The Estimates Committee exprssed itself again in favour of the proposal adding that the "Committee felt convinced than ever about the soundness" of its recommendations.[3] The Krishna Menon Committee also reported in its favour under certain circumstances. The Study Group of Senior officers headed by Shri D. L. Mazumdar, I.C.S., has, however, recommended the measure as an experiment only. In fact, there are divergent views regarding "people's shares" in the public enterprises. Recent reports in the newspapers also show that the Government is in two minds, and it appears very unlikely that any tangible steps will be taken to implement the proposal of public participation. The main objection to the scheme seems to be that public participation might disturb the present structure of the capital market—besides, depressing the values of private sector shares, it might also lead to rivalry between the two sectors. Although somewhat farfetched, this fear is not entirely baseless and has, in fact, been taken note of by the Study Group as well. The Group has, however, pointed out how the scheme can be formulated in such a way as to bring about in addition to the total investments in the public and private sectors—without causing a diversion of capital from the one to the other. The Group, for instance, has referred to "dormant pools" of resources which, under the new types of investment opportunity offered by the scheme, could be attracted. It is a truism to say that the investible surplus in India is a common pool from where the public and private sectors both obtain their resources for investment. If the receipts obtained from floatation of equities by the public enterprises represent merely a transfer of funds which would otherwise have been invested by the private sector to the public sector, then such a measure would not attract the overall rate of investment in the country. Therefore, in this case, just from the point of view of capital formation, there is nothing to command the policy of domestic private participation in the share capital of public enterprises. A prediction of the possible effects of equity floatation by the public enterprises on the capital market of India is not only a difficult but a complicated affair. The response of the capital market to such a measure

2. 16th Report (First Lok Sabha), Pp. 2-3, para 6, 1954-55.

3. Estimates Committee, Nineteenth Report (2nd Lok Sabha), Chapter I, Page 1 and 2.

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will be a function of a large number of variables, whose behaviour is not capable of correct measurement. Notwithstanding this, one can lay down certain factors on which the viability of the capital market and the size of the investible surplus available at any time depends. The factors are (1) price elasticity of consumption, (2) opportunities for consumption of non-necessaries, (3) interest elasticity of investment, (4) government policy regarding licensing of new investments in the private sector, (5) government policy regarding creation of money or deficit financing.

It may be worthwhile to note here that the equity floatation by public enterprises will not be much different in character from the ordinary long term loan floatation of the government even if the equity shares of the public enterprises are not formally guaranteed by the government. They will, assuredly be able to command sufficient confidence amongst the lending public. Once this is admitted, it would appear that the success of the equities offered by the State enterprises will depend on the same factors as the long-term loan issues of the government. An important factor determining the success of government loan-issues depends upon the government policy regarding creation of money or deficit financing. The availability of investible fund at a time depends on how much money has been injected into the market in the preceeding few months. The quantum of deficit financing during the Third Five-Year Plan is going to be much smaller than during the Second Plan. To the extent that the size of the deficit financing during the Third Plan is going to be small, the government's ability to manipulate the capital market with a view to creating conditions for the success of these equity floatations will be limited. The Second thing on which the size of the investible surplus may depend is the rate of interest offered on the new securities, *i.e.*, the interest—elasticity of investible funds. The question is : will the public enterprises be able to attract new funds by offering a rate of return higher than that offered on the preference shares of first class business houses? Past trends indicate that the interest elasticity of investible funds is rather low in India. In other words, the size of funds available for investments does not depend much on the rate of return. This should be taken as a limited factor to the capacity of public enterprises to attract fresh Capital by means of equity floatation.

Another factor on which the size of investible surplus depends is the existing opportunities for conspicuous consumption. Government policy with regard to taxation of non-essentials comes under this category. Current indications are that during the Third Plan period, government will try to restrict consumption of these goods by means of indirect taxation. But beyond this it is very difficult to make an exact prediction regarding the incidence of such taxation on different sectors of economy. In a mixed economy where the government cannot completely stop the production and consumption of non-essentials commodities, its taxation-policy in this regard assumes an added significance. That in India there is a tendency towards increased demand of non-essentials, specially from the new entrants to upper middle income group, is undeniable; but it is difficult to anticipate to any degree of precision the effects of the taxation policy of government on the savings of these people.

If the success of the equity issues by the public enterprises necessitates imposition of restrictions on equity floatations by the private sector, then private participation in the share capital of public enterprises will only mean a transfer of fund from private to public sector. In this case, therefore, there will be little justification for this measure from the point of view of purely economic considerations.

Considering all these factors, it does not seem very likely that the equity floatation by public enterprises will be able to attract fresh capital—capital that would not have otherwise been invested in other productive channels. It is, therefore, really commendable that the Study Group has adopted a cautions approach in this regard.

It has recommended the measure as an experiment only in respect of three units which have already established their profit-earning capacity—Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals, Hindustan Machine Tools, and State Road Transport Corporations.

The objection even to a cautious beginning in this direction has been on two grounds. The first is that the shareholders, by virtue of their voting rights, may obstruct the normal functioning of a public undertaking which is already exposed to the full blast of Parliamentary scrutiny and criticism. The Second objection is that any failure of the scheme because of poor

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response from the investing public may damage the prestige of public undertakings as a whole, although as prospective avenues of investment public undertakings have yet to demonstrate their profitability in a significant way. There may be considerable force in some of these objections; the private sctor, in any case, may not relish the idea of raising share capital in competition with the Government from a market that has only lately shown signs of increased activity. "The opening up 25 per cent of the shares of three enterprises or so would neither lead to any significant capital gain for Government nor would it attract the so-called 'floating' entrepreneurial talent of the country." "There is a real danger of denationalisation from the back door and the entire scheme working against the aims of Indian planning. It is no use shying away from the fact that the matter transcends economics and is coiled up with ideological issues."[4]

From a large angle of a better understanding between the public and private sectors, public participation in equity and through it on the directorate may be desirable. The case for public participation in Government underakings stems from the desire to inject a sense of dynamism into their working as well as to promote a better understanding of the process involved in the industrialisation of the country. Any step that goes to allay apprehensions in the public mind about the growth of State monopoly is welcome and even a limited public participation in State undertaking will certainly lend a greater degree of prestige to the concept of mixed economy. The State Bank is an instance in point, and it cannot be denied that continued private participation in its capital structure even after the nationalisation of the former Imperial Bank and the maintenance of general associations with the business world in its directorate have given the institution certain advantages which other nationalised undertakings do not enjoy. By and large, there appears a case for a careful review of the whole scheme before it is finally shelved.

Mixed enterprises through labour ownership of equity capital has been advocated mainly to (a) to encourage industrial peace by making labour partners in the capital of the business and (b) to prevent the savings of labourers due to wage increases from being wasted away on consumer's goods. This is desirable although, from the economic standpoint, the labour contribution to equity capital may not be substantial.

VII

The economic incentive for the foreign investors to invest their capital in composite enterprises in India, as anywhere else, is the possibility of profits, higher than what exists in their home countries as India provides a sure ground for low costs of manufacture (cheap raw-materials and cheap labour) and an extensive market for the finished goods. To the foreign participants, the principal supplier advantages like market and publicity advantages are by no means insignificant. Even if foreign profits production may lower unit costs to a point where production for the home market is very profitable. Again, to obviate the difficulties of import restrictions, the foreign concerns have found it convenient to manufacture in India itself as partners in composite enterprises. Obtaining credit for its foreign partner has been another recent use to which the mixed and composite enterprises have been put by the Government of India. With the heavy tax schedules of the present day, a large concern may find it advantageous to incur expenses for foreign commitments, laying out funds which would otherwise be taken in taxes. This consideration applies to both foreign and domestic concerns. The Western Countries have a particular gain in encouraging these enterprises as they held in checking rise of communism by investing capital in India where income is low, savings sparse and marginal efficiency of capital higher. Sometimes strategic considerations in the American-Russian cold war are mentioned as a real impetus in establishing enterpeises like the Bombay Oil Refinery Project near Trombay. "The participation of the industrially developed countries in the economic progress of the underdeveloped nations is one of the paramount international problems of our time. Its significance—not only in economic, but in political terms—for the Western World has become even more marked, since the Soviet Union has entered the

4. Dr. P. Prasad, Comments on 'Capital Formation in State Enterprises in India', *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 90.

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field as an important supplier of cheap capital loans, machinery engineers."[5] The policy of the gradual adoption of mixed enterprise system in India shuns both the peripheral guardian state and the Communist leviathan of total state ownership of productive facilities.

The social utility of the mixed and composite enterprises is the measure of the gains to public "Stockholders". The main advantage is that the "Stockholders" are likely to benefit from the infusion of business efficiency by the well-established private firms. Shri A. D. Gorwala, in his Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprises, 1951, has said, public economic activity is new and experimental while private enterprise is old and established. The public through association with the private may imbibe some of the generalized aptitudes for handling economic matters which go under the term efficiency. However, it is wrong to identify private action uniformly with efficiency, productivity, and progress and government or public sector with waste, corruption and stagnation. It is usually wrong to identify private action uniformly with selfish irresponsibility and government with service to the public interest. It remains a fact that mixed and composite enterprises have an important role to play as a capital mobiliser, as a channel for foreign investment—specially direct investment which is viewed as one of the great engines of economic growth ; as Schumpeterian Innovator or Pioneer ; as a contribution to the relief of tension in human[6] relations, as a device of foreign exchange saver ; and as a vehicle of mutual benefit and controlled change. The problem of determining the exact role played by foreign investments in the economic growth of the borrowing countries has, however, not been settled to the satisfaction of either the layman or the professional economist. "Foreign capital is very shy having too many suitors. She is a fairly hard-headed young woman who prefers suitors with the largest dowry." We must therefore, assess the impact of foreign investments on the Indian economy, taking into account the cost and benefits involved in the investment of foreign capital. An attempt to calculate the extent of advantage or disadvantage to the national economy resulting from the investment of foreign capital, necessarily involves a detailed analysis of the different items that constitute "benefit" and "cost".

It must be borne in mind that in an underdeveloped country like India, people are generally reluctant to lock up their money in bonds and debentures and sometimes respond more readily to an offer of equities in a concern, in which government participation appears to offer some guarantee for its future. The Government of India have noted that in a recent case in which part of the capital for a new venture was called for, the response had been 60 times the amount asked for. The over-subscription has taken place in the case of such companies in which there is technical collaboration by foreign firms. The presence of the foreign firm is often taken by the Indian investing public as assurance of honesty and good management. Foreign direct investment, with or without joint-partnership,[7] involves contact between societies not only economically but also culturally and socially. To the extent economic development depends not only upon the extension of money economy and market oriented production but also upon the diffusion of cultural values and social pattern, involved in an industrial society and essential for the rise of enterpreneurship, foreign direct investment can contribute to such diffusion.

VIII

It is, however, alleged by the critics of these enterprises that composite enterprises are very slow in turning out locally trained people, specially in the higher categories of the technical and managerial jobs. The difficulties encountered are (a) high turn-over of labour, (b) low and inadequate level of trainees even in the lower grades of technical jobs, (c) the inability of the workers to go through a non-earning period involving a financial burden on the family, (d) the unwillingness of the enterprises concerned to provide any maintenance allowance to the trainees during the period of apprenticeship, and (e) the persistent eagerness on the part of the foreign

5. *Legal Aspects of Foreign Investment*, Edtg. by W. G. Priedmaun, Page preface, Stevens and Sons Ltd., London, 1959.

6. J. A. Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1949), 3rd Printing, p. 66.

7. *Hindustan Times*, the 15th September 1960.

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enterprises to keep the higher managerial and technical posts in the hands of the people from their own country. In other words, the non-availability of entrepreneurial ability, managerial personnel, technical skill and suitable labour force in India, limit the advantages of foreign participation. The very fact that the Government of India are contemplating to start oil operations in public sector demonstrates that mixed and composite enterprises can never be the only solution to problems of industrialisation in India. It may also be noted that the Swiss interest in the Machine Tools was subsequently brought out by the Government. The Government of India decided to dispense with the German investment in one of the composite enterprises. It may be said that the principle of composite investment in these projects was progressively abandoned in favour of the fully owned government plant with large technical assistance and loans from the foreign complex. It may not be very surprising that our desire to take over the investment and operation of these plants in the course of time may turn out to be a direct invitation to investors not to invest. For every enterprise must, particularly if it takes place in a foreign country, have its teething-troubles and only gradually finds its feet. These teething-troubles with their losses are acceptable provided a long series of favourable years lie ahead and by setting limits to this period investing is deprived of its attraction."[8] Foreign investments in India and in most of the under-developed countries have, however, a long history and have been associated with political domi-nance and administrative control by the invest-ing countries. In view of our past experience of colonialism and imperialism, foreign investment is likely to be looked at with suspicion by many of us. This may be one of the reasons why foreign collaboration is not now much encouraged by the Government of India and a pragmatic approach to these enterprises is followed. If the fear of losing independence is accepted as a real-ity then the cautiousness which arises from this, with relation to the admission of foreign enter-prises and investments is also understandable.

The likeliest sphere of mixed and composite enterprises in this country is where the requisites, noted below, are found.

These requisites are as follows :—

(1) The undertaking should serve a public as distinct from a private purpose, that is, gain should not be the only object, but the benefit of the community as a whole should be the most important consideration.

(2) The circumstances should be such that the undertaking cannot be more efficiently or more economically operated by either of the contracting parties singly.

(3) The financial interest of the public authority should be substantial, so that the public should have a large share in the profits of the undertaking.

(4) The representation of the public authority on the directorate should be adequate to secure a large share in the control of the undertaking. As a general rule, it should be at least 50 per cent of the governing body. The private interest is chiefly concerned in the acquisition of profit for shareholders. The public authority, while not disregarding that aspect of the situation, has wider duties. The public interest as affected by the undertaking, its relation to other public services, and the fair treatment of officers and work people are questions of special concern to the public authority, and its representation on the managing body must be at least adequate to secure due attention to these requirements.

IX

Conclusion

The problems posed by mixed and composite enterprises in India are not insoluble if timely precautions are taken. As far as possible, only minimal foreign participation should be encouraged. What counts in these enterprises is not who owns shares but who manages and control the enterprise and so long as the foreigners are not permitted to dominate and run the show, there is not much to be worried about. Even though the Government of India desires that the major interest in ownership and control of a company be in the hands of Indian nationals, this is not a rigid proposition. Foreign ownership in excess of 49 per cent of the capital is given consideration in cases where the development of any industry is required in the national interest and

8. *Management of Direct Investment in Developed Countries*, S.E.O. Publications No. 10, H.E. Stenfert Kroese, N.V. Leiden, 1957, page 82.

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where foreign participation with capital and skill is desirable, each case being considered by the Government on its merits. The Government of India has been striving by various means, including appropriate company law requirements, financial safeguards, customs and tax exemptions to stimulate foreign investment in India. In the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, in a speech to the Constituent Assembly on April 6, 1949, "The Government of India have no desire to injure in any way British or other non-Indian interests in India and would gladly welcome their contribution in a constructive and cooperative role in the development of India's economy." We must take lessons from France where governmental control over the mixed corporations is intensive, even though municipalities are only minority interests. In India there are two schools of thought regarding these enterprises. One holds that the mixed and composite enterprises protect the private sector from leftist criticisms and in a way help its gradual restoration. The other views it as a method of socialization, supplementary to direct governmental ownership—the ultimate destruction of the private enterprise. To us both views appear to be exaggerated. The truth is that the two sectors have to work in close co-operation for the growth of economy. Since there is an intermingling of the public and private interests, the pulls sometimes may be in two opposing directions in the case of mixed and composite enterprises—the former guided by the welfare or service to the community whereas the latter motivated by profit-maximisation. Actual behaviour of the firm may be the result of both motivations. Fixed and Composite enterprises or joint ventures are, of course, like marriages their success depends on the selection of the partner and the attitudes brought by both parties to the partnership.

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JODHA BAI—THE RAJPUT CONSORT OF JAHANGIR

By S. N. QANUNGO

In a rainy dusk Fatehpur Sikri comes magically to life as its empty ruins mingle with towering clouds over the green swelling plain. The first building in the third courtyard of this deserted city—once the capital of Akbar—is Jodha Bai's palace which cannot fail to interest and attract. Lovers of splendour appreciate its carved decorations, of pillar shafts and brackets, the completeness of the structure and its grand finish; but the historian and students of history find here food for reflection. Apart from architectural considerations, Jodha Bai's palace has a historical side.

In the nineteenth century and the early twenties the common man as well as the scholars engaged in serious study of history believed that Jodha Bai was the Rajput consort of Akbar and mother of Salim. This fallacious notion gathered strength from the reputation of Tod and Elphinstone as writers. Even Blochmann held the same opinion but later on corrected himself. Tod's "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" had few equals in those days in magnificent sweep of literary style. Elphinstone's works, there is evidence of historical insight. Those were, indeed, laudable attempts but with the emergence of new facts in historical research, these works appear not only out-dated but full of inaccuracies. Those were the days of the beginning of 'Indian History' and nothing much can be expected of them.

According to Tod (Vol. II, p. 965) and Elphinstone (p. 441), Jodha Bai was mother of Salim. Early in 1562 when Akbar under took a pilgrimmage to see Shaikh Muin-uddin Chisti of Ajmer, Raja Biharimal of Amber (Jaipur) offered him his service and daughter. For seven years this marriage was not blessed with a son. Akbar who had lost several infant sons sought and obtained the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chisti of Sikri. In 1569, when the daughter of Biharimal was in an advanced stage of pregnancy, she was removed to Sikri for the blessings of the saint. Prince Salim was born on August 30, 1569.

No contemporary Persian or Rajput source refers to Jodha Bai as mother

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Salim. The very name of Jodha Bai suggests that she was a princess of Jodhpur, whereas all the recorded facts prove that Salim's mother was a princess of Amber. Abul Fazl refers to her as 'the mother of the sun of fortune. ("Akbar Nama", Vol. II, 38). Maryam-uz-Zamani was her official designation (Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 374). Prince Salim was born not in the Jodha Bai Mahal but in a palace originally known as the Rang Mahal which was situated near the stone-cutters' Masjid and to the south-west of the Jami Masjid. Very few visitors to Fatehpur Sikri know that the birth-chamber of the prince is now within the female quarters of the descendants of Shaikh Salim Chisti and so rarely shown to the visitors (E. W. Smith—"Mughal Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri," Part II, p. 10).

According to Ojha (Vol. I, p. 358) and Kaviraj Shyamaldas, author of **"Vir Vinod"** (p. 818), Jodha Bai was the wife of Jahangir and mother of Shahjahan. Their opinion is corroborated by the evidence of Rajput and Persian sources. Jahangir himself mentions of her in his Memoirs (Vol. I, p. 34). There are references about Jodha Bai in Abul Fazl's "Akbar Nama" (Vol. I, p. 33) and later Persian works as Maasir-ul-Umra (Vol. II, p. 95), Khamgar Husain (Ms f 56b) and Dhakirat-al-Khawamin (Ms f 39a).

In Rajasthan Gazetteer, Jodha Bai has been incorrectly referred to as sister of Mota Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur (Vol. III, p. 58). In fact, she was his daughter as proved by Jodhpur Khyat (Vol. I, p. 103) and Kaviraj Khyat (Vol. II, p. 85). Her mother was Rani Manirang of Gwalior. Her pet name was Manmati though Manique (Vol. II, p. 201) and Beale (p. 363) called her Balmati. Shyamaldas places the date of her marriage with Salim in 1588 while another writer Dr. Goetz (J. N. Sarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 133) puts it as early as 1584. She was married to Salim in 1586 (Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 749 and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 19). All these facts conclusively prove that Jodha Bai (Jodhpuri Begam to be more precise) was the Jodhpur princess married to Salim.

The Jodha Bai Mahal in Fatehpur Sikri was constructed as early as 1570 and we know definitely that Akbar removed his court from Fatehpur in 1585. So how could this building come to be known as Jodha Bai Mahal? We have a wrong notion that with the removal of court, Fatehpur Sikri was totally abandoned or deserted. Jahangir himself stayed in Fatehpur Sikri from 7th January to 8th April, 1619. In the Jodha Bai Mahal, Jodha Bai herself resided for a long time and she died here in 1619. Hence it is hardly surprising that this palace should be associated with her name.

Very little is known about Jodha Bai as it is in the case of so many captives of the Royal marriage in the Mughal Harem. Hungry for love of a polygamous husband, they lived in a cosy world in which dance, music, story-telling, domestic brawls and Mina Bazars filled their lives. Jodha Bai came from Jodhpur the land of valiant Rathors who gave a stout resistance to the Afghans led by Sher Shah; the latter is said to have remarked that he had almost lost the empire of Hindustan for a handful of bajra (millet) in Jodhpur. Her grandfather Maldeo was a redoubtable warrior who had struck terror into the hearts of neighbours, carried his depredations into Jaipur and Bikaner and annexed Sojat, Nagaur, Azmer, Merta and Jaitaran. In 1570, Chandra Sen, son of Maldeo carried on war against Akbar for some time and then submitted through the intercession of Bhagawan Das of Amber. But no marriage alliance with the proud Rathors could be made till the accession of Mota Raja Udai Singh. With Jodha Bai's marriage, Akbar's dream of establishing matrimonial alliances with the principal states of Rajasthan was fulfilled with the exception of Mewar. It was with this marriage that the Rathors submitted to Akbar in the real sense and became his allies.

Jodha Bai was a little girl at the time of her marriage with Salim. The Prince himself was hardly fifteen. The little girl grew up as a young lady with other pampered beauties of Mughal Harem and witnessed the last glimmering of the golden days of Akbar's age. No chronicle, not even the Memoirs, provide a true measure of

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Jahangir's love for Jodha Bai. His admiration for Man Bai, sister of Man Singh was quite unmixed. He writes, "Excellent, good and intelligent. Her devotion to me was such that she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for a hair of mine." (Tuzuq-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 55). In one of the Mughal paintings we find a young prince embracing a Rajput girl. This has been identified by Dr. Goetz with Jahangir and Jodha Bai (Sarkar Commemoration, Volume 2, p. 133). As Dr. Goetz's ground is not quite sure, it is difficult to tread in his footsteps with comfortable conviction.

It appears that Jodha Bai did not leave much impression upon Jahangir's life. The silence of Jahangir shows that she did not have much charm or vivacity and her gifts were not very brilliant or attractive. The six years after marriage, Jodha Bai's life passed uneventfully. She gave birth to Khurram (Shahjahan) in Lahore on the night of Thursday the 5th January, 1592. This was the most important event in her life. The mother was happy because the court astrologers had predicted extraordinary good fortune for her baby (Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 921). Rugiah Sultan Begam, wife of Akbar, knew not the joy of motherhood. She expressed her desire to adopt the baby. It was difficult not to comply with her request. Next morning Khurram was handed over to Rugiah Begam. (Tuzuq-i-Jahangiri—Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 48; Qazvini f 18). Since his birth Khurram knew more of his grandmother than mother and it is natural that there could be no real interest for him in his mother's religion and culture. Khurram did not accept any Rajput princess as his wife.

Khurram was passionately attached to his grandfather Akbar. In 1597, when he was only five years old he had an attack of small-pox. Immediately after the recovery, he did not like to stay with his mother but accompanied his grandfather to the Deccan. (Qazvini—Padshahnama f 36). Jodha Bai could not keep quiet in the last days of Akbar. Khurram was always on the bedside of his ailing grandfather. When it was reported that Khusrav's partisans were trying to change the mode of succession by planning to apprehend Salim and Khurram, Jodha Bai went to her son and tried to persuade him to accompany her to a safer place. But prompt came the firm reply—"No! so long as there is one breath of life in Shah Baba nothing can induce me to leave him." (Qazvini ff 38-40). Mother's prayer for her son, however, did not go unheeded and everything went all right with the accession of her husband on the throne.

Jodha Bai could rightly be proud of her son. "The signs of rectitude and knowledge of affairs were evident in him." (Tuzuq, Vol. I, p. 329). Her son compelled Rana Amar Singh of Mewar to submit and showed his mettle in the Deccan campaign. Her husband showered all affection on her son. Khurram was promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 Zats and 20,000 Sawars together with the title of Shahjahan. On his return from Deccan, Khurram gave presents worth Rs. 200,000 to his stepmother Nur Jahan; but it is not recorded what he gave to his mother.

In Jodha Bai's life not many afflictions came out of Pandora's Box; but she remained always in the background of her husband's life. She saw the gradual expansion of her husband's harem. Amongst the Rajput princesses who were married subsequently to Jahangir were the daughter of Jagat Singh, daughter of Rai Singh of Bikaner, daughter of Kalyan of Jaisalmer, daughter of Raja Keshu Das Rathor. But none Jahangir loved more than Nur Jahan who was beautiful, intelligent and who appreciated the aesthetic tastes of the Emperor.

Khurram sustained the brilliance of his early promise. Jodha Bai rejoiced in his marriage with Arjumand Banu Begam, daughter of Asaf Khan in 1612. The parents both of the bride and bridegroom were present on the occasion which was celebrated with great splendour the festivities and gaiety lasted for about a month. In the coming years Jodha Bai saw her grandchildren born one by one—Jahanara, Dara Shukoh, Roshan Ara, Shah Shuja and Aurangzeb.

The year before her death, Jodha Bai along with Mayam-uz-Zamani and other

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ladies accompanied Jahangir to Mandu. After the conclusion of peace with Malik Ambar, Jahangir sent them back to Fatehpur Sikri. With Nur Jahan and Shahjahan, he decided to proceed to Ahmedabad for elephant hunting. Father and son fell ill in May, 1618. Jodha Bai was anxious for their recovery and early return; but they could not start before 2nd September, 1618. On the way her another grandson Aurangzeb was born at Dauhad on October 24, 1618. The Royal party arrived in Fatehpur Sikri on 7th January, 1619 and the same day to Jodha Bai's great delight the twenty-eighth solar birthday of Shahjahan was celebrated. The entire city of Sikri was en fete (Tuzuq, Vol. II, p. 14).

Jahangir had to spend four months in Sikri as Agra was affected with plague. He as usual was staying with Nur Jahan in Nur Manzil. Jodha Bai who was in frail health was with her son on her last day. She died on Friday, the 8th April, 1619. Her husband was not at her bedside. Next day after her death, Jahangir went to 'Shahjahan's house' to condole with him. (Tuzuq, Vol. II, p. 84). The day following the Royal party left Sikri and made a state entry into Agra.

It is difficult to say how much her husband and son mourned her death. In the winter of 1619, we find them busy in organising excursions and entertainments on their way to Kashmir. Jahangir enjoying the soul-enchanting spring of Kashmir wrote his warmest appreciation of red-rose, the violet, the narcissus, the sweet-scented herbs and blossoms in hills and plains; but there is not a sentence of delicate expression of love in his memoirs in memory of the departed soul of Jodha Bai.

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THE BOYHOOD DAYS OF TAGORE

By (Miss) USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

"There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
The earth, and every common sight, to me did seem
Apparelled in celestial light,
The glory and freshness of a dream."

—Wordsworth.

Tagore's reminiscences of his own childhood and boyhood, as embodied in "Chhelebela," savour of "the glory and freshness of a dream." In it the Poet relives the days of his boyhood and tries to recapture the elusive charm of those days, which he did not perhaps outlive even in his matured life. The Kaleidoscopic memories of his boyhood present themselves in a rapid succession of ever-fresh pictures, delightful to the young and old alike. The Poet had a very keen sense of humour, which enabled him to hit upon the comic side of things at once. Apart from the musical cadence and incomparable sweetness of his diction, which characterize the entire narration, it is enlivened by numerous touches of sparkling wit and humour, as will appear from his amusing sketches of the various interesting people that he met, as also in his mirthful anecdotes, abounding with such incidents and situations as stimulated his sense of humour. The Poet and artist in him always hankered after unbridled freedom and revolted against a set routine even in his boyhood days. In "Chhelebela" Tagore recalls and relates various interesting episodes and experiences of his childhood and boyhood, which throw ample light on the gradual unfolding of his budding genius and personality. The book helps us to understand the manifold influences that were at work in promoting the growth and development of his versatile genius as well as in shaping

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his brilliant future. We are also acquainted with the cultural, intellectual, and religious traditions of the family and the society that he was born into. "Chhelebela" constitutes an important landmark in the history of Bengal too.....Tagore's birth synchronized with a period of history, when the country was on the threshold of a new era of reform and progress in every sphere of life and activity. His venerable father, Maharsi Debendranath Tagore, was an eminent social and religious reformer of the time. The Tagore brothers were the leaders of all the progressive thoughts and movements of the day, and were great lovers and patrons of art and literature, too. English education introduced before the birth of the Poet brought in its wake the renaissance in art and literature, which resulted in producing a galaxy of brilliant literateurs, headed by Bankim Chandra, the great Bengali novelist. All this served to mould the cultural and intellectual tastes of the boy Tagore.

Rabindranath Tagore, who came of an illustrious family, belonging to the landed aristocracy of Bengal, was born on May 6, 1861. The Calcutta that was seen by the Poet in his childhood days was quite unlike the busy modernised city of today. It was still a sort of underdeveloped urban area, verging on the rural. Free from the din and bustle of town life as Calcutta was at the time, neither the incessant rumbling of tramcars nor the constant whirr of motor cars, buses, and trucks, plying along its streets, used to get on the nerves of its citizens. Nor was there any hurly-burly of office-goers rushing to their offices in overcrowded buses and tramcars. Palanquins, and hackney carriages, drawn by lean, ill-fed horses were the only means of transport. Showy private carriages, though occasionally seen on the streets of Calcutta, were few and far between. If respectable ladies had ever to go out, they used to do so in closed palanquins, wrapped round with thick cloth coverings, and accompanied by durwans with brass-bound staffs in their hands. On the occasion of holy festivals the closed palanquins, along with their lady occupants, were dipped into the holy water of the Ganges. Women with unveiled faces were never to be seen by men. Gas or electricity being still unknown, even the kerosene lamps that had been subsequently introduced were looked upon as a novelty.

Even as a tiny child, Tagore took a great dislike to formal lessons. The poet recalls a scene of his childhood, and recounts how he, a little boy, used to be bored to death, evening in, evening out, with his first English lessons. The poor boy drowsed—yawned and dozed at the beginning, out of sheer boredom. Later on, he rubbed his eyes hard to keep himself awake. Still his relentless tutor had no pity on him, and did not spare him until at 9 O'clock at night. Over and above this, the former kept constantly nagging at the present 'worthless' pupil of his, comparing him all the time with another unknown jewel of a boy.

Many ghost stories being current in those days, the minds of the ignorant superstitious people were naturally obsessed by the fear of ghosts and evil spirits, to which the Poet's own mind, too, was not quite immune in his childhood. He humourously calls to mind how the dismal appearance of the dark, damp groundfloor rooms in which the Ganges water had been stored up, and the ghost-like shadows flitting in front of those used to give him the creeps when he had to pass by those every night on his way back from the study to the inner apartments.

The boy Tagore, a lonely child, often amused himself by playing with his own mind. A huge, old palanquin of his grandmother's time was lying useless and uncared for in an odd corner of the veranda of the Khajanchikhana. At noon, eluding the notice of the servants at midday nap, the little boy used to creep into the palanquin. He fancied himself a Robinson Crusoe, stranded on the solitary island of a palanquin for the time being. The boy gave the reins to his imagination, and dreamt of impracticable things, his mind flitting from one country to another, to which he assigned the names that he read of in his geography books. Sometimes he imagined himself to be roaming through a dense forest and meeting a fierce tiger face to face, which had to be subsequently

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shot dead by Bishwanath Shikari. All on a sudden his palanquin seemed to have been transformed into a "Mayur Pankhi," drifting aimlessly on the vast boundless sea, the rythmical paddling of the oars keeping time to the splashing water. His storm-tossed "Mayur Pankhi," rocked by the turbulent waves, was about to capsize. Suddenly the picture of Abdul Majhi with his shaven head and moustaches as well as his pointed beard, sitting near the rudder of the boat, flashed across his mind. Lo! the boat was saved at once through his clever manoeuvring. The little boy took a fancy to this boatman, who used to regale him with interesting stories. It was such a pity that his unfinished stories always ended abruptly, leaving the child listener on the tenterhook of suspense, all agog to know what happened next. But alas! the boy had to be invariably disappointed with the unsatisfactory answers that he received to his queries.

Besides these mental ramblings inside the palanquin, the boy had another favourite game of his own, which he found extremely amusing. He imagined himself to be a teacher mercilessly lashing the railings—his silent and helpless pupils. But all his threats and intimidations were lost upon his inert and incorrigible pupils, who were as irresponsive as ever. Hearing of the sacrificial rites performed at the altar of the deities, the boy took it into his head to sacrifice his toy wooden lion with a stick serving as a dagger. Some nonsensical rhymes of his own composition were at once improvised as mantras to be incanted at the sacrifice.

The poet's childhood was dominated by the servants, who fed and clothed the children of the family just as they liked. He gives a very interesting account of the servant regime, in which Brajeswar, the head servant, figures prominently. Some of the weaknesses and idiosyncrasies of this man excellently lent themselves to a vivid pen-portraiture. He was always conscious of the fact that he was an ex-teacher, and he tried to conduct himself accordingly, as was indicated in his peculiar manner of speaking and his choice of words. Glutonous as he was, Brajeswar had a great weakness for delicacies. The Poet humourously relates how this man used to appropriate the shares of the children, day in and day out, and how he, a meek and submissive child could not but acquiesce silently in his acts of omission and commission. Thanks to the stinginess of Brajeswar, Tagore got used to simple food and dress from his very childhood. Nevertheless he grew up to be quite a healthy boy, who had little or no occasion to be excused from the boring, unpalatable lessons of his tutors, only because of his sound constitution. Every evening before dusk Brajeswar used to recite the verses of Kirtibas' Ramayana, to which the boy Tagore was a regular listener. Kishori Chatterjee came upon the scene, off and on. He had the panchalis of the whole Ramayana by heart. Immediately after he had taken his seat, he used to start singing those at the top of his voice, drowning the recital of Brajeswar. The boy's joy knew no bounds, as he listened to the easy musical flow of the lilting words, rhyming with one another, and accompanied by the different gestures and postures of the singer, suited to the ideas. Kishori Chatterjee was often heard to regret that his dear 'Dada Bhai', meaning his boy listener, with such a musical voice, could not yet get himself enrolled as a member of the Panchali party. Had he done so, what a tremendous fame he would have achieved in the field by then.

In the days of Tagore's boyhood the streets of Calcutta used to present quite a different sight after dusk. There being no electricity in those days, the normal activities of the city almost came to a standstill after the daylight was gone. The nocturnal stillness of the then Calcutta was occasionally broken only by the thudding of the horses' hoofs, as the carriages of rich gentlemen, who were out for evening drives, returned, as also by the hawkers' cries of 'Bel phul' and 'Kulphi baraph' (ice-cream). In those days the children's world was absolutely isolated from the adults', the youngsters having no access, whatever, to the forbidden world of their elders. So the children of the Tagore family, too, were, as a rule, excluded from the occasional entertainments, arranged for by the elder

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brothers of the Poet in their house. The ladies of the family, sometimes joined by those of neighbouring houses, had to sit behind the screens and listen. The children were usually shut out of the Jatra performances, too, that were got up, from time to time by amateur parties at the Tagores' house. Only once, however, the rule was relaxed in their favour. On that occasion when the boy Tagore was roused from his sleep at 9 o'clock at night, the show was already on. The Poet had only a faint recollection of the scene witnessed by him at the time. The whole courtyard, packed to capacity with a motley crowd, was flooded with bright lights. The performance dragged on throughout the whole night. The boy found it quite impossible to sit out the show, and fell asleep in the midst of it. To the best of the Poet's recollection, the music, dancing, and the story were all borrowed from the rural life of Bengal of the time, and lacked refinement. But none-the-less those crude and vulgar shows never failed to attract spectators in huge numbers, public entertainments being so scarce in those times.

Shyam, Brajeswar's second-in-command, was a simple-minded and good-natured fellow, who was rather fond of children. He had an endless fund of the tales of dacoits, with which he used to entertain the children of the family. In those days those stories, as popular as the ghost stories, were passed from mouth to mouth. There were some noted dacoits, too, at the time, such as, Bishu, Raghu, and the like. Dacoity being a sort of trade or profession with many, some zemindars, also, were connected with those bands. Those dacoits were honourable men, who used to embark on dacoity after performing sacrificial rites at the altar of the Goddess Kali. The bodies of women used to be regarded as sacred, and under no circumstances, whatever, did the dacoits touch them. The owners of the houses were usually forewarned by previous notices. No wonder such stories fired the imagination of the boy Tagore, who was particularly interested in the "runpas" —the long wooden poles, fitted to legs, which enabled the dacoits to cover big distances in a minimum of time. The Poet recalls how a demonstration of the dacoity feats was once staged in the house in his childhood days, and how he compared the details at the time with those that he had gathered from the stories heard.

Hemendra Nath Tagore, the Poet's third elder brother, was entrusted with the supervision of the education of the children of the family, about which he was very keen and enthusiastic. With a view to giving them an all-round education he chalked out a crowded programme. He wanted the youngsters to be taught everything through the medium of Bengali. Although Hindusthani music was the rage of the moment, the first lessons in music that the boy Tagore had from Vishnu, his music teacher, consisted of a sort of Bengali doggerel verses, set to music. In the opinion of the Poet this was one of the main reasons why he, as a young boy, took kindly to music. But a hard and fast routine in the music lessons, too, was repellant to the boy, who discontinued the lessons in no time.

All the same he turned out to be an ardent lover of music, the very atmosphere of the family having been saturated through and through with an intense love of music. So the boy picked up music all by himself. He used to play different melodies on his 'tambura'. Prominent among the persons who helped promote the musical development of the boy Tagore, were Sreekanth Babu, a family friend and a frequent visitor at the house, who unconsciously infected the boy's mind with his own passion for music, and Jadu Bhatta, an eminent musician of the time, who resided at the Tagores' house for sometime and tried to teach him music. Although the Poet was no regular pupil of his, such of his music as appealed to his mind was learnt and made use of subsequently in some of his songs on the rainy season.

Early at day-break began the wrestling lessons, from which the boy Tagore emerged every morning, his bare body smeared with dirt and mud, over which a jacket was hurriedly thrown. His mother was hard put to it to clean his body on the holidays with an ointment of her own preparation. Almost immediately after the wrestling lessons a medical student used

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come for the purpose of teaching him the names of the different bones of the human body, with the help of a skeleton hung on the wall. As the boy gradually got familiarised with the different names of the bones, he ceased to be scared of the skeleton, too, any more. Punctually at seven every morning the tutor Neel Kamal turned up. He had as sturdy a constitution as his pupil. So there was no evading the lessons on the ground of the sickness of either. Throughout the morning hours the boy was kept occupied with the lessons in different subjects, such as Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Bengali Literature, Bengali Grammar, Science and Nature study. He tried hard to get the lessons by heart. But alas! his memory played him false to the utter disappointment of his tutor. During the lessons the pupil's attention was distracted by this and that every now and again. As soon as the tutor was gone, the boy rushed to see if the custard-apple seeds, sown by him in the heap of dust accumulated in an odd corner of the veranda had since sprouted up. At 10-30 A.M. after his daily bath and usual meal he was taken round to the school in a closed carriage, drawn by one old horse. He remained confined there until 4 O'clock in the afternoon.

Almost immediately on his return home he was made to take his daily gymnastic lessons from a tutor, who called punctually at 4-30 P.M. No sooner did the gymnastic teacher leave then the art teacher came to teach him painting. After dusk, as soon as the oil lamp was lighted, Ghore master, his English tutor appeared, and the grinding in the English lessons went on until bed-time. The poor little boy yawned, dozed, slipped down on the floor, and was startled up time and again. This pathetic scene was enacted, evening in and evening out. As soon as the boy slipped into bed after the lessons, he fell asleep in no time, listening to the stories told.

During the childhood of the Poet, the ancestral house of the Tagores was divided into two separate apartments—inner and outer. The inner apartment, along with its roof properly walled up, was meant for the exclusive use of the women-folk of the house. It was on this roof that the ladies of the family used to assemble every evening so as to indulge in idle talks and gossips. The young Tagore was also a casual visitor at those assemblies attended by his mother as well. Here was an excellent opportunity for the boy to flaunt the knowledge collected from his text-books, as also to impress his feminine audience with the depth and extent of his learning.

A primary school or Pathsala used to be held in the Chandi-mandap of the ancestral house of the Tagores. It was open to the children of the neighbouring families too. Such a school was pre-eminently reminiscent of the rural Bengal of the time. Probably the Poet himself, as a child, was initiated into the mysteries of the Bengali alphabet in this Pathsala.

In the childhood days of the Poet, the roof of the house was the only haven of peace to him also. He recalls how he, as a small boy, used to steal away, very often, to be up on the roof at noon, when everybody else was enjoying his or her midday rest. The roof commanded a wide view of the various different-shaped, undulating roofs of neighbouring houses, with the shaggy tree-tops peeping in between those, as also, of the horizon, where the blue of the azure sky mingled with the green of the verdant earth. The boy got enamoured of the quiet of these hours of the day, disturbed only by the occasional cries of the street hawkers. At noon the roof seemed to be a desert with its only oasis of a bathroom, which had a newly installed water-tap. The boy sometimes put the tap on, and enjoyed a bath. There being very few suitable games for children at that time, whenever he used to feel ill at ease in the evening he went up to the roof, and had a look around.

The Poet's "Jyotidada", one of his elder brothers, had very progressive ideas. The innovations introduced by him served to change the very atmosphere of the house. It was at his instance that the inseparable barriers between the 'sadar' and 'andar' mahals of the house were done away with. His newly married wife was made to shake off the Purdah and attended the evening assemblies that met regularly on the roof.

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The barriers of age even meant little to him. The Poet, his youngest brother, was treated as his equal, although the former was twelve years younger than him. The boy Tagore was a regular member of these evening assemblies. He was often asked to sing to the accompaniment of his "Jyotidada's" violin. The Poet had, also, to improvise suitable words to match the new tunes played by his brother on the piano. Akshaya Chowdhuri, too, used to drop in, every now and then. Although he was not much of a musician, he was very keen on music. He went on singing, beating time with whatever he could lay hands on.

Tagore's sister-in-law, who had a great taste for gardening, converted the roof into a veritable garden. Satyendra Nath Tagore, the Poet's second elder brother, was equally progressive. On his return from England as the first Indian member of the I.C.S., when he joined his first post in Bombay he took his young wife along with him. In those conservative times, it was a very bold act on his part. There being no suitable dress for the Bengali ladies, who seldom went out at the time, it is the Tagores who took the initiative in introducing a new style of wearing saris and in setting the fashion for ladies' dresses. As the frocks were not still in vogue, small girls used to be dressed in Peshwaj. When the Poet's eldest sister was sent to the newly started Bethune School, the example was followed by others.

Tagore found a true 'friend, philosopher and guide' in his 'Jyotidada', who exerted a tremendous influence on his earlier life and career. Once Jyotindra Nath took out the boy Tagore on one of his trips to Sileidaha, which he visited very often to look after the landed estate of the family. He did not fail to recognize the educative value of such a tour, which helped to provide sustenance for the budding, freedom-hungry mind of his young brother. The Poet had to spend a good many years of his later life at Sileidaha, and had to go about a good deal in boats on the Padma. It was this stage of his life that marked the beginning of his great literary career. Here the young Poet came into direct touch with nature, with which he could commune day and night. He had ample leisure to fill in page after page with the poems composed by him in the midst of those calm surroundings. He was first initiated into the secret of rhyming verses by a nephew of his, older than himself. While at school, the young Tagore was once asked by a teacher of his to compose a poem. The poem was highly appreciated, and he was almost unanimously acclaimed as a rising poet of great promise. His sister-in-law, who was very chary of praise, often compared him with Bihari Lal Chakraborty, a renowned poet of the time, and used to harp on saying that he would never make as great a poet as he. This served as a great stimulus all the same, and the young Poet applied himself to his task with an added zest.

The Poet's 'Jyotidada' was very keen on riding and shooting too. He wanted both his young wife and brother to take to riding. He presented a pony to the Poet for the purpose. But after making a daring experiment with a spirited horse on the streets of Calcutta, the latter gave up riding as a bad job. Once Tagore accompanied his 'Jyotidada' on a hunting expedition into the jungles of Sileidaha. But they failed to bag a tiger. The elephant that the brothers had been riding stopped short in front of a thicket, from which a tiger sprang, and ran away across the plain, shining in the bright rays of the midday sun. The Poet was admiring all the while the easy graceful gait of the running animal, which thus gave them the slip.

His 'Jyotidada' always took him quite seriously, and humoured his petty wishes even. Once the Poet wanted to experiment using flower-juice, instead of ink, for writing purposes. But alas! the machine devised by him did not at all work. The Poet describes the incident very humourously and says that he took this failure to heart so much so that he had since despaired of ever achieving any success in the engineering line, and had since stopped handling musical instruments too. Every morning while sitting in the shade of the easy-room on the roof of the house and drinking coffee, Jyotirindra Nath used to read the manuscripts of the dramas composed by himself. The young Poet was often asked

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to put in a line or two, here and there, by way of addition and alteration.

The novels of Bankim Chandra were then being published serially in "Banga Darsan," the leading Bengali monthly of the time. Everybody being very eager to know the fates of his heroines, the publication of the periodical was eagerly awaited every month. In the middle of the day when his 'Jyotidada' was away at the kutchery downstairs, the Poet used to read out the stories to his sister-in-law, who preferred this reading aloud to her own silent reading. Occasionally the Poet accompanied his brother and sister-in-law to the riverside places too, where they went and lived from time to time in garden houses for rest and change of air. The natural beauty of those places on the Ganges was not yet spoilt by the tall ugly chimneys of the mills springing up here and there. The sights and sounds of nature and the beauty of the natural surroundings, not marred by the depredations of man, enraptured the young Poet, and inspired many of his songs.

The Poet presents his readers with a very enjoyable picture of his saintly eldest brother—Dwijendra Nath Tagore, the great philosopher and author of "Swapna Prayan." The latter used to write on abstruse subjects, too difficult to be understood and appreciated by the average listener. So he found it hard to get hold of people to listen to him. At last a person was induced to do so for the sake of the mutton-chops that he used to get. Although Dwijendra Nath could not sing, he could play the flute. He had also a hobby of making up arithmetic problems. He was a very fastidious writer. What he wrote was seldom to his own liking. So, when writing "Swapna Prayan," he used to tear up what he had written, time and again, so as to rewrite it over again. Subsequently he took up writing verses. As soon as he composed a poem, he read it aloud to those around him. In the midst of reading he used to burst into laughter, and in a fit of enthusiasm he clapped whomsoever he found at hand. The loud peals of his laughter could be heard from afar. A corner of the southern veranda of the house was selected by him for the purpose of writing. The very fountain of life seemed to have dried up after his removal to Santiniketan in later years. Swimming was another favorite pastime of Dwijendra Nath. It was from him that the Poet learnt swimming in his childhood.

At sixteen the Poet took over the editorship of "Bharati," a magazine run by his family. Dwijendra Nath as well as the Poet himself was a regular contributor to it. At seventeen, the latter had to resign from the editorship of "Bharati," as it was decided that he would be sent abroad to London to go in for Barristership.

Before going abroad he was sent to Ahmedabad, where Satyendra Nath was a judge. The family of the latter was away in London at the time. The judge's house at Shahibag was located in a very old palace of the Badshahs. When Satyendra Nath was away at work by day, the young Poet, left to himself, used to ramble through the big lonely rooms like one possessed. There was a huge terrace in front of the house, from which he used to have a glimpse of the river Sabarmati, meandering through its sandy bed. The ruins of the big cisterns of stone masonry bore witness to the luxurious baths of the Begums of old. To the Poet, born and brought up in Calcutta, these ancient relics of the past were quite a novel source of romantic curiosity. He let his imagination run away with the whole set up, conjuring up one picture after another, and piecing together the story of those bygone days. His fantasies and the yarns, spun by his imagination, formed the nucleus of a subsequent famous short story of his, known as "Kshudita Pashan."

After a short stay at Ahmedabad, the Poet's "Mejdada" thought fit to let him put up with an Anglicised family at Bombay so as to enable him to pick up English manners and customs, as also, to enjoy the comforts of a home. Although the Poet's family never wanted to thrust collegiate education on him, still his guardians desired him to have a good command of spoken English, so that he might not be considered unfit to move about in the educated and aristocratic circles. With this end in view, once before this, he was admitted to Bengal Academy, run by Mr. De Cruz. In education, as in everything else, the Poet's mind

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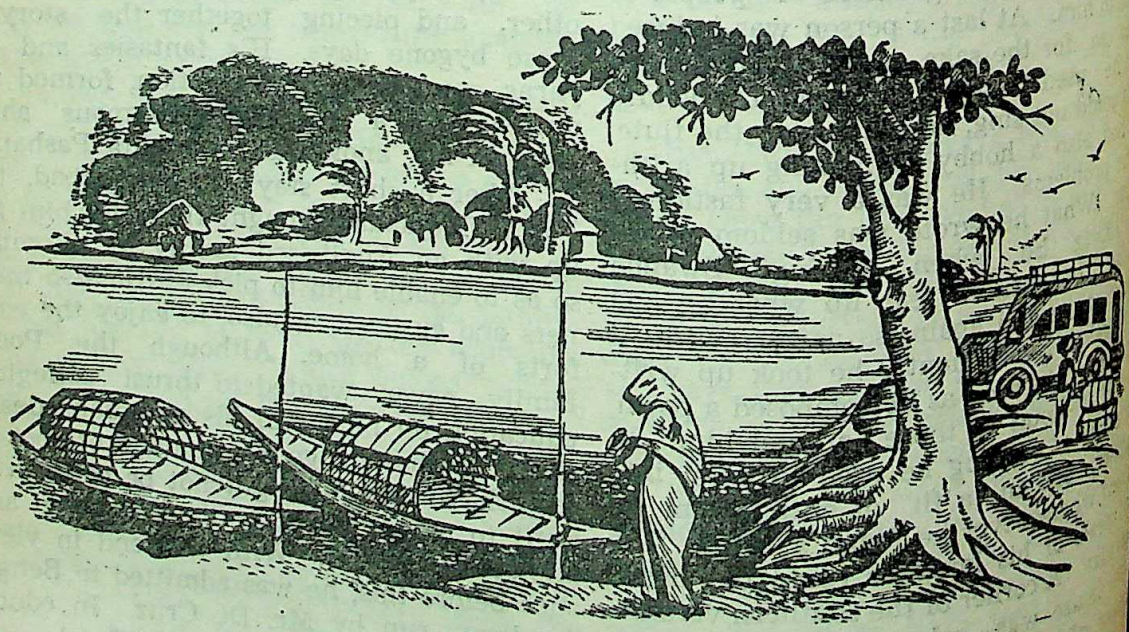
refused to follow the beaten track. So here, too, his progress in studies was quite disappointing to his teachers. Nevertheless, the Poet himself admits that he owed a deep debt of gratitude to Jnan Chandra Bhattacharyya, a teacher of his, who used to let him have his own way in his intellectual pursuits. He was asked to render "Macbeth" into Bengali, as also, to commit the whole of Kalidas' 'Kumar Sambhav' to memory. His Sanskrit teacher, too, made him read 'Sakuntala' from cover to cover. Such independent studies provided ample food for his growing mind and intellect.

In London the Poet lived with his brother's family for some time. At the beginning attempts were made to give him formal education, and tutors, too, were appointed for the purpose. Although his mind failed to respond to those formal lessons, still the Poet profitted a good deal by learning things direct from men and the environment that he was placed in. Subsequently he had to put up with an English family in London. The memory of the motherly care and affection that his landlady, Mrs. Scott, had lavished upon him at the time left an indelible mark on his young mind. The Poet attended the lectures of Henry Morley, a reputed scholar and an eminent Professor, at the University of London for three months only. But the literary tastes created by his Professor lasted him throughout his life. Morley infused life into the very literature that he taught. The Poet thus learnt to love literature, because he did not read it from the books only, but direct from a man thoroughly imbued with its spirit. Besides, every day from evening till eleven at night Tagore had to read out selected books on literature and history to the Scotts. Such independent studies, other than formal lessons, served to effect a permanent union of the human mind with literature. The friendship that the Poet struck up with the English family in three months' time enabled him to enter into the inmost recesses of the English heart. Even after his return from England, the foundations of his former life remained unchanged. Although he failed to be a barrister, he derived a great and lasting benefit from his short stay in England by realizing the need of bringing about a perfect mutual understading between the East and the West.

This seems to be the eternal message of the great lover of humanity to posterity for all time to come.



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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY

I

It was a gloomy day. The sky was overcast with clouds which hung over our head like a thick canopy. I came home from my work to spend the week end with my people. I found my mother busy making sweets to entertain some guests and I lent a hand to help her. Towards the afternoon rain began to fall in torrents and within a short span of time the road in front of our house was flooded with water. It was a sight to watch people struggling in the stream with bare feet, trying to keep their balance with the umbrella in one hand and their garments raised upto their knees in the other. None ventured to come out of their hearth and home in such foul weather unless necessity compelled them to do so. We gave up all hope about our guests and were getting impatient to consume the delicious sweets prepared by my mother, but had to wait till the scheduled time had passed. To our surprise punctually at 5 O'clock we heard the splashing noise of the water made by a heavy vehicle and then came the sound of a horn. A taxi was at our gate. The rain had stopped by that time, though the water did not subside. Out came three gentlemen with their sandals in their hands to protect them from the water. They seemed to be in right good mood in spite of the weather and greeted us with broad smiles. "We knew you would expect us," said one, and added, "We did not want to disappoint you."

Those were all new faces to me and I began to scrutinize them assiduously. I was told two of them were artists. I could believe that of one, but as for the other—no, he looked far from an artist except for his immaculate dress which he wore very artistically. His broad, unusually well built frame for an Indian, with strong massive muscles, gave one the impression of a pugilist rather more than that of an artist. Later, I came to know he learnt wrestling systematically from a professional wrestler. His head was crowned with soft silky hair. His eyes were small and twinkling and when he looked at you they seemed to penetrate and read your innermost thoughts. He had a frank, winning smile which gave relief to his otherwise hard structure. This man, I was told, was Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury, the well-known young painter and sculptor.

I was always fond of art but artists never interested me. My idea of an artist was that he was a lean, clumsy person with a vague imaginative expression. But this particular one did not correspond to my hitherto established opinion. Naturally my curiosity was roused and I wanted to know him more intimately. This was not difficult to achieve, since the person in question seemed to have taken a fancy to our family and visited our home more often than was expected. I did not suspect any motive behind this and, therefore, mixed with him quite unreservedly. This encouraged him to such an extent that one evening he was sufficiently brave to propose to me to be his life's companion, in other words, his wife. Though his way of approaching the subject was rather primitive, if I may be allowed to say so with due deference to my husband, I did accede to his request after discussing certain points which concerned two of us alone and, therefore, need not form a part of this narration.

After our engagement was no more a secret, congratulatory messages began to pour in on the artist. But towards me people looked with a sort of pity as if I was a victim to be sacrificed at the altar of some supernatural being. This attitude on their part puzzled me not a little. I never had occasion to mix with people possessing an artistic temperament as it is called, and, therefore, I could not imagine that artists could be different from other individuals. This truth was to be revealed to me after it was too late to beat a retreat.

Upto a certain time after our marriage Sri Deviprasad managed to keep up the show. But the moment he realized that the gordian knot was well secured, not by force of law, but by the tie of affection, he came out in his true colours. His artistic dress vanished from the field—it was not convenient for his work, and a loose *paijama*,

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which one of his friends named a "safety lungi" and an equally loose upper garment took its place. The result was that when people came to visit Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, the celebrated artist of the Madras School of Arts and Crafts, and found this awkwardly dressed man, anointed with mud and plaster, declaring himself to be the wanted person, they threatened to report against him to the Principal for false impersonation! I admit he is in harness the greater part of the day either painting, modelling or writing, but even when he is free from work there is seldom any change in his attire.

He was a teetotaller when we married and now he "drinks to be sober" to quote the artist's own words. It is not a luxury for him but a necessity to keep him in good spirits and give him the impetus to produce more works of art. Besides, his doctors are of the opinion that if he abstains from drinks altogether his health will be irreparably damaged.

His attitude towards life is like that of a spoilt child. What he wants he must have, no matter how much or in what way he has to pay for it.

At one time he is at the highest heaven of happiness, the next moment he is sad and depressed. He flares up when anything is done against his will but cools down if left alone.

In spite of his many peculiarities he has been able to make some very good friends. Usually the friendship started with a misunderstanding and if his opponents could withstand the strain of his idiosyncrasies and found out his soft corners, the man was in their clutches.

As a child he was most unruly and was the cause of an immense lot of anxiety to his parents. This I learnt from the artist's good father. Any kind of novelty or adventure had a great charm for this fearless son of his. He joined some circus company to show cycle tricks, risked his life to save people from drowning, rode on uncontrollable horses to prove his ability as an equestrian where others failed, and to crown all, sat under the shade of a tree with a towel spread in front of him and played on the flute to collect money for his cigarettes! All these were done without the knowledge of the parents. His father, therefore, enjoyed no peace of mind till his son returned from his daily excursions. There are many such episodes connected with my husband. If I start narrating them all I may tax the patience of my readers. The few incidents I have mentioned are just to show of what mettle the man is made of.

Next to art, my husband loves music and shikar, two most unallied subjects. The moment he gets an opportunity he runs to the jungle. Apart from the excitement of a shooting expedition, the forest itself has a great attraction for him.

He is a fighter in the field of words and the topics which take the most important place in his conversation are art and sex psychology. I have noticed he becomes more argumentative and philosophical when under the influence of spirits. He is very assertive and cannot stand contradictions to his convictions from any quarter, be it his wife, son or an absolute stranger.

Though he is a great admirer of Hindu philosophy, he is not a "religionist" as such. He detests fanaticism or puritanism of any kind.

Sri Deviprasad is a jealous husband though he does not carry this quality to the extreme. He has a soft heart and an affectionate nature but he is awfully sensitive. If you leave him alone he will not interfere in your affairs but if you prick him he will pounce on you like an unleashed lion. In short, his is a most dominating personality.

These I write from my own experience of life with an artist for more than two decades. In the meanwhile, another offshoot of the same stock has sprouted in the family. It is my son who has chosen dancing as his career.

You may envy me for my good fortune or pity me for my ill-luck. My attempt here has been to depict the man Deviprasad as I know him.

II

One who has not lived with an artist for a considerable period of time will not be able to realise the difference between the life of an average man's wife and that of the wife of an artist. She is left alone and yet she has hardly any time to call her own. She has not only to play the part of the mistress of the house but the master as well. The artist who is the creator lives in his own world of thoughts and imagination has no time to devote to worldly trifles. He is the father of his children—yes, he loves them and earns bread for them and there ends his duty. To check them, to bring them up as

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and women of the world is the duty of the mother.

The artist is forgetful by nature, you cannot blame him for that. His brain is ever-struggling for new creations to give something to the world which will live even when he ceases to exist. How can anybody expect him to remember insignificant details of every day life? He invites guests in the house and forgets all about it and when the guests arrive? Ah! well, the hostess must provide for them as best as she can! He has an appointment somewhere, he does not know when. It is the wife's duty to keep the list of his engagements and to remind him in due time. But if he is inspired he must not be disturbed!

The artist's dress is besmeared with different shades of colour. He looks like a circus clown. Well, whose fault is it? Why did not somebody remind him that he had to change?

He is hungry, he does not know it is time for his meals. He feels uneasy and grumbles but is unaware of the cause. When food is served and his hunger is satisfied, he smiles and says, "I see, I was hungry."

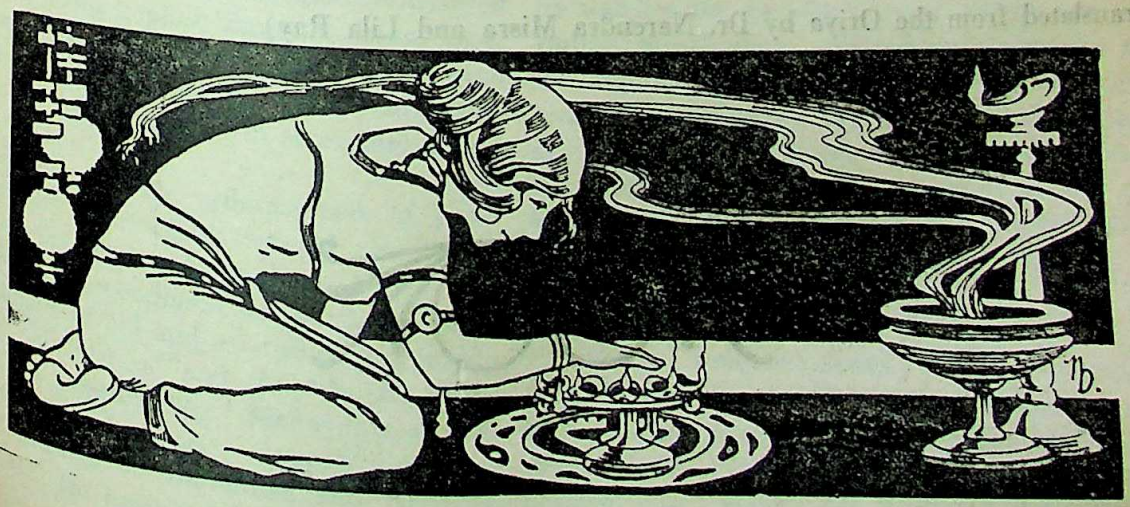
The artist is in immediate need of a piece of silk for his picture, but he has none at hand. Could the wife spare an old piece or a new?

The wife is ready for a party draped in a sari brought by the husband. The colour does not suit her. She must change it at once. What happens to the costly sari—ah! it can be turned into a curtain.

The artist's room has the appearance of a workshop. Papers, paints, palettes and brushes are scattered everywhere. One has to step with caution for fear of treading on something important. The wife offers to clean the place and his thanks are profuse. But when the room is put in order several things are missing. Did anybody meddle with them? He does not understand. And the missing articles? They were just in front of his nose, only his eyes were not trained to such orderliness.

The visitors come to meet the distinguished person. He is busy putting the finishing touches to his work of art and it is impossible for him to receive them. Would the wife do him the favour of entertaining his guests till he was able to come? The wife is busy too, but that does not matter. Her work can wait, it is not important. But if things in the house are not as they should be due to her absence, she is an unworthy housewife.

Such and many such others are the problems that an artist's wife has to tackle within her daily life. To solve them is in no way less puzzling than the solution of a high standard mathematical equation. The difference between the two is in the treatment that the simplifier of the solution receives. When a scientist unravels the problem of his subject, he is recognized and appreciated whereas the poor woman is allowed to die on her elevated pedestal unheard of and unsung in spite of her abnormal capacity to manage the problems of an artist's household.



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SAND DUNES

By KUNJA BIHARI DAS

Is this your dwelling? Your treasury?
Have you cached here a lifetime's riches?
The lands you bought? The buildings you raised?
Crueller is the history of your home,
Than the history of your acquisitions,
The history of your land, the history,
Of all your famous warrior kings.
Is a stucco of bone and blood,
Decorated with painted frescos,
Meant to house the image of an idle woman?

Imprisoned for your offences (they are many)
In a gaol of your own making,
You have forgotten the world outside—
The white effulgence of a lotus,
In autumn, the waterfall of dawn,
Evening's lake, moonlight in a forest,
Darkness stirring in the sky.
Sweet as death is the blue stupor,
Prisoner, of a corner at home.

This is your dwelling. A jungle,
Infested with tigers, respectable,
The haunt of robbers, their hideout.
Time ploughs the barren earth.
Green and virgin, at last it yields,
The grain of dreams, mines of gold,
On the horizon. Like Ahalya,
Land accursed is brought to life,
By labour. From the womb of this house
Wake villages, known and unknown,
Farmers, miners, merchants, traders,
Altruists and misers, the beautiful,
Ugly, afflicted, true-spoken. All,
Fashioned for a day or two.

Earth has no caste, no colour.
In the creed of continuous creation,
Joyous, a golden flower, it finds,
Its faith. From minute to minute,
Mountains break, crumble, disperse,
Sand in domed and shifting dunes,
The delight of making and breaking.

Dunes, loose mounds and ridges of sand,
Nothing but sand, dune on dune,
Pallid, soiled, a cremation ground.
Pyres flare up, die down, ashes,
Blow away. With the bones of the living,
Houses are built. Roofs are of tile,
Of earth, of tin. Cottages are thatched.
Roofs for sages, roofs for abbots,
Palace for princes, mansions for aristocrats,
Villas are luxurious and alien is,
The architecture of bungalows.
Dream dwellings, propped up by the sky.
Civilisations come. Civilisations go.
Housing the history of your forefathers,
The earth alone remains, a single home.

(Translated from the Oriya by Dr. Narendra Misra and Lila Ray)

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VIVEKANANDA ON BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM

By DIPAK KUMAR BARUA, M.A.

Introduction

It is curious enough to find out the process by which Swami Vivekananda, a product of late nineteenth century India, is deeply indebted to the Buddha, the Perfectly Enlightened One, of circa 566 B.C. And it is even more strange to note how a modern Indian has greatly remodelled his life and activities according to the gospels of this most illustrious Sage of ancient India. One preaches the doctrines of love, compassion, and spiritual upliftment, while the other proclaims the message of fraternity, unity and allround prosperity of the degraded classes. One dedicates the life for the liberation of the beings from the bondage of mundane thirst, misery, affliction and trifling allurements and shows a new vista of human emancipation, while the other practically sacrifices himself at the altar of humanity and revives the prestige and honour of India once again.

His Admiration of Buddha

It would not be imprudent to say that Vivekananda is an ardent admirer of Lord Buddha. From the writings and activities of Swamiji it can be definitely shown that he is well conversant in as well as a follower of the Buddhist ethics. From the very inception Vivekananda, besides his routine studies, has gone through the sacred scriptures of the Buddhists—both Hinayanic and Mahayanic, and became much interested in Buddhism. Bodhi implies 'Supreme knowledge,' so the term Buddha is not concentrated, to him, to a single individuality, but means 'a realisation' and that is why he entreats all to enter into it and to 'receive the key.'

Swamiji takes up the arduous task of penetrating through the original texts of Buddhism and sucks up the cream from them. He is not satisfied with the secondhand knowledge of such a mighty religion of old and so studies thoroughly an original 'Lalitavistara' and the 'Prajna Paramita,' the two outstanding Mahayanic works. Moreover he has also gone through Rajendra Lal Mitra's writings on Buddhism and Arnold's 'Light of Asia.' He mentions occasionally to his disciples the teachings from the Vinaya Pitaka, the stories of poor Kisa Gotami who loses her only child and becomes almost insane out of unbearable grief, of the barbar Upali, and sacred stanzas from the Dhammapada, Suttanipata, the texts of the orthodox school of Buddhism. Thus having gone through all such texts of both the sects of Buddhism the ground is already prepared for the renunciation and later activities of Swami Vivekananda who being a staunch and a devout follower of Brahmanical religion does not show any fanaticism or bigotry. His heart is broad enough to adopt the noble preachings of Lord Buddha and to realise them in his life and culture. His heart is saturated with humanism and commends the religion of the Buddha in high phrases. He declares: "I am the servant of the servants of the servants of Buddha." This is not merely a laudatory statement, but a bold declaration proclaiming his deep respect for the Buddha. Sister Nivedita writes: "Buddha was to him not only the greatest of Aryans, but also 'the one absolutely sane man' that the world had ever seen." But Swamiji's mind is not satisfied with merely studying the Buddhist Scriptures or showing vocal respect to the Exalted One, but his reverence to Him is so great that he cannot but visit once again, at the fag end of his life, the sacred spots of Bodh-Gaya with Okakura, a renowned Japanese, in 1902 and also feels himself proud enough when he touches the Buddha's relics during one of his Indian wanderings. Whenever he speaks about the Buddha, he becomes overwhelmed with a passion of reverence to Him. In a public lecture at Detroit in America, Swamiji says that he would feel himself much elevated, if he could have possessed one-millionth part of the peerless largeness of heart of Gautama the Buddha.

Hinduism & Buddhism Contrasted

Being well-conversant in the doctrines of both Buddhism and Hinduism Swamiji endeavours to draw a contrast between the two. According to him "Hinduism never presumed to enunciate any rigid law," but "the Buddhist could only be carried out through

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monasticism, the Hindu might be fulfilled through any state of life." "Buddhism," to him, "became the religion of a monastic order, but Hinduism, in spite of its exaltation of monasticism, remains ever the religion of faithfulness to daily duty, whatever it be, as the path by which man may attain to God." Thus Vivekananda has seen the strict monasticism of Buddhism and thus drawn a clear-cut demarcation between the Buddhist monastic life and the Hindu household life. One is enticed to go out of home to the state of homelessness, while the other through faith, charity and rightful path shown the means of moksa or liberation. Swamiji is quite aware that both the Buddhists and the Jains do not rest on God, the Almighty One, but their chief aim is to deify humanity. Thus ultimately Vivekananda discovers the deification in Buddhism too, and so tries to bring a compromise between the two religions, Buddhism and Hinduism.

Buddhism, not a New Faith

Buddhism, to him, is not a new religion, but is allied to Hinduism. He says: "You must not imagine, that there was ever a religion in India called Buddhism, with temples and priests of its own order. Nothing of the sort! The idea was always within Hinduism. Only the influence of Buddha was paramount at one time, and made the nation monastic." So he finds no objection when he is addressed by others as the Buddhist. To him, Buddhism is a special phase of Hinduism and both of them are so closely linked up as Christanity and Judaism are. Though the Sakyan Sage stands up against the traditional Vedas, yet He does not preach anything new. He appears to fulfil and not to destory and His religion is the natural fulfilment of Hinduism. But the chief merit of the Buddha lies in the fact that He is the first one to promulgate the religion to convert a large number of people into His doctrine, to send out missionaries to preach His noble sayings for the good of the many, for the pleasure of the many and lastly to form a well-organised Order of monks in the World. Yet Swamiji thinks that Buddhism is a part of the Sanatana religion of India.

Buddha and Swamiji

Vivekananda himself admits his differences with the Buddha in certain matters. Yet like the Blessed One he does not advocate intricate philosophical dogmas, complex rituals, casteism, allurements for the heaven in the next birth and animal sacrifices for spiritual prosperity. He, like the Buddha, dedicates his whole life for suffering humanity, specially for those who are ignorant, poor and helpless.

A Compromise

In the famous Chicago lecture Swamiji boldly declares that the rivalry between the Buddhists and the Brahmins is solely responsible for the decline of the glory of India. He is simply charmed by the moral ascendancy that India had attained during the Buddhist period and feels proud himself of being a partner in such a glory. He requests all of us re-unite and to set up a wonderful example by blending the rare intellect of the Brahmin with the liberality and unprecedented services to humanity of the Teacher of the World, the Perfectly Enlightened One.

Conclusion

Through these delineations we come to the conclusion that Swamiji is greatly influenced by the doctrines of the Buddha, that he followed those till his death, that he does not think of Buddhism as a heretical creed and lastly that he tries to bring a happy conciliation between the two, Buddhism and Hinduism. There are numerous occasions like the soul-theory, the doctrines of non-existence of the God, when Vivekananda strongly opposes Buddhism, but at other times he rather bows down to pay his deep love and veneration to the Buddha. Indeed it can be said that his magnanimity, enthusiasm for strenuous effort, compassion for the suffering millions, his boldness of spirit to stand against social evils and courage in adverse circumstances, are due to his reliance on Buddhism. In a sense he may be called the modern disciple of Lord Buddha, who in the Parliament of Religions in Chicago indirectly heightens the prestige of Buddhism and of India. No other religion has charmed him as much as Buddhism does. Being embolden ened by the noble truths of the Buddha and having made himself a torch (attadipo) Swami Vivekananda plods on the weary paths of this sterile earth.

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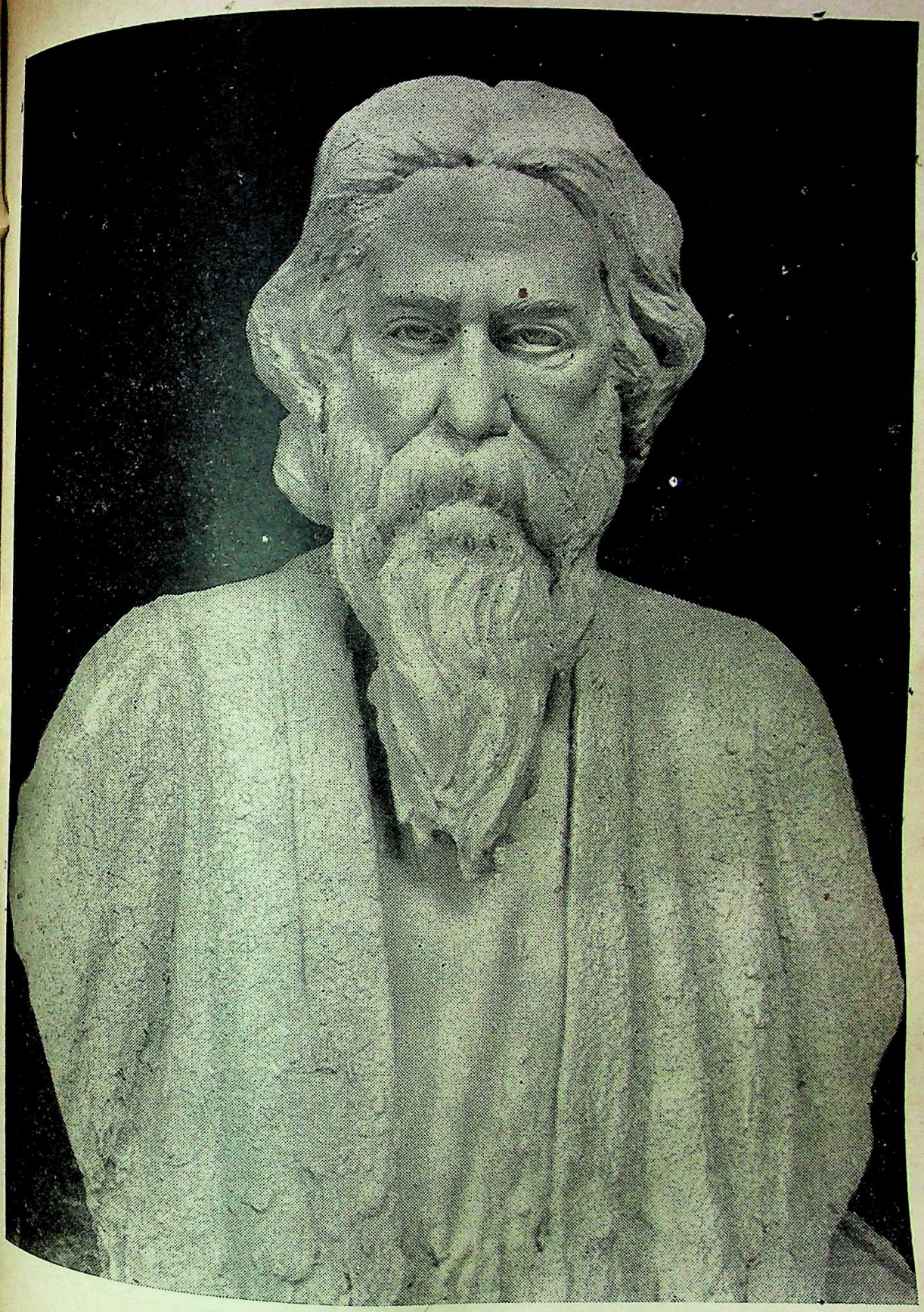

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Front View

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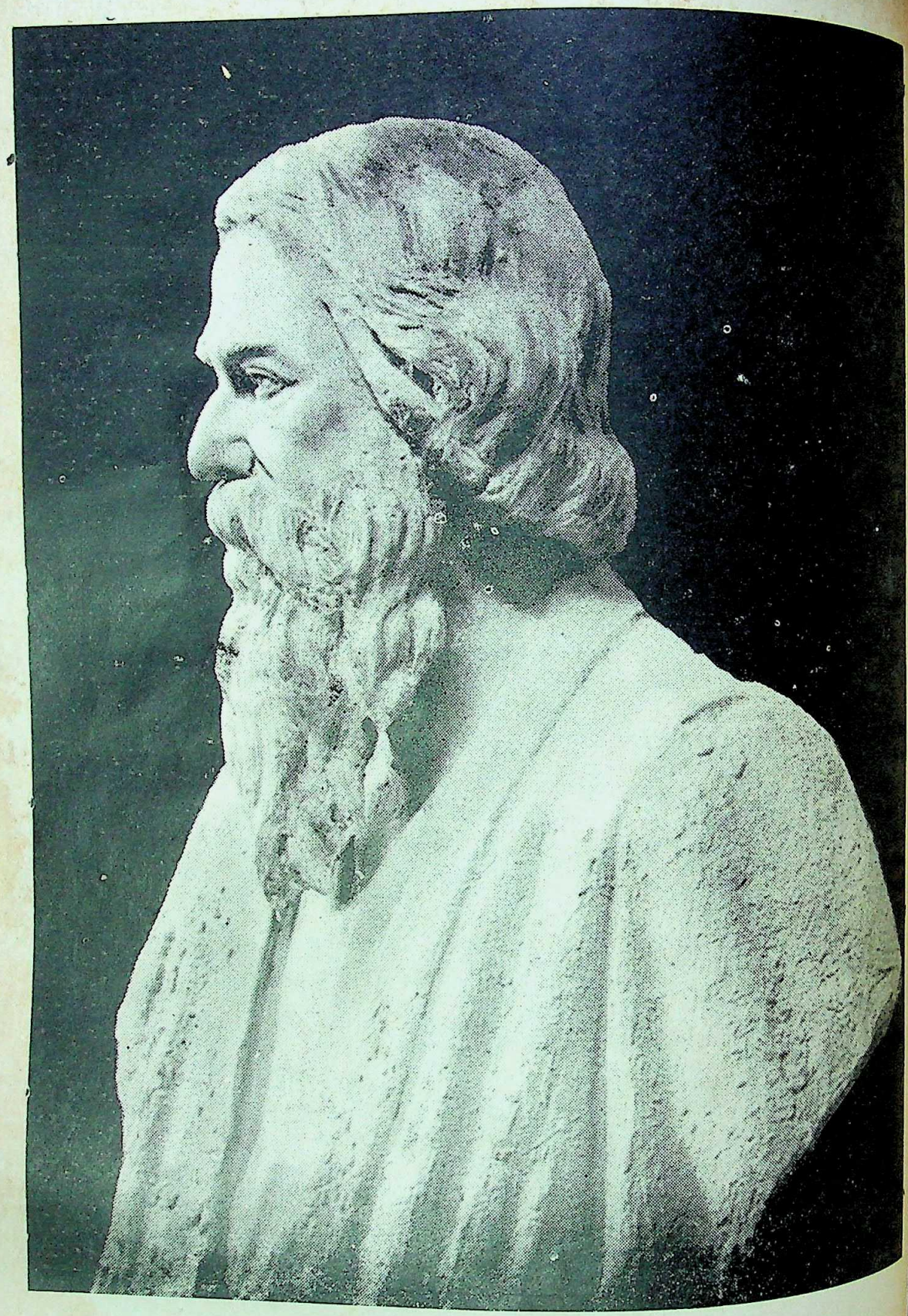

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POLITICAL THOUGHT IN RAGHUVAMSAM

By SASANKA SEKHAR PARUI

The treatment of political thought in Raghuvamsam by Kalidasa "is of an accidental character while others like Bharavi . . . . . deal with them in a systematic fashion".[1] The object of Kalidasa is more a matter of feeling than cold reasoning and as such, it is indeed, very difficult to have a systematic and logical representation of ancient Indian political thought out of Raghuvamsam. In spite of this drawback it is not absolutely impossible to find out the political philosophy of Kalidasa.

In ancient India *Rashtra, i.e.,* the state is not defined in the same way as we do it to-day. According to the modern definition, a state has four parts—population, territory, government and sovereignty (external, as well as internal), and as such, it may be called the *Chaturanga* theory of state. But in ancient Indian thought we find the *Saptanga* theory.[2] These seven parts which are not specifically mentioned in Raghuvamsam are:

(a) *Svamin, i.e.,* head of the government, no matter whether it is monarchical or non-monarchical.

(b) *Amatya*—This is not what Kalidasa has called by the words like *Sachiva*[3] or *Mantri.*[4] The number of *Sachiva* or *Mantri* must be in a government very few. If their number be large it is hardly possible for the officers of Agnivarna to conceal the illness[5] and death[6] of the King from the subjects. *Amatyas* as a part of the state quite reasonably refer to the whole body of government officials.[7]

(c) *Rashtra, i.e.,* a particular territory having a number of population.

(d) *Durga, i.e.,* fortress.

(e) *Kosha, i.e.,* treasury.

(f) *Danda, i.e.,* army.

(g) *Suhrit, i.e.,* ally.

Of these two theories of the definition of the state, the ancient definition is much more specific and concrete. While modern thought includes sovereignty as a part of the state, ancient thought recognizes the means of protecting sovereignty as parts of the state, *viz., durga, danda* and *suhrit.* The sovereign power is cultivated by the *Svamin,* which is the supreme part of the body of the government. What we mean by government as a part of the state is covered by the two aspects of the *Saptanga* theory, *viz., Svami, amatya,* and apart from these two, *Kosha* is specifically mentioned.

Kalidasa is an admirer of the monarchical form of government; the *Svami* to him is the king. He feels pride to praise the royal line of Manu and says in the beginning of his work—*Kva surya-prabhavo vamsah*[8]—where is the great solar family? The source of this monarchical power is God or Brahma, therefore, it is divine. This divine right theory is the logical conclusion of the traditional theory of divine origin of the *varna* system.[9]

The monarchy in Kalidasa's thought is hereditary; thus, none but one belonging to the solar line is placed on the throne. This hereditary right of kingship must be sanctioned through the ceremony of *Abhisheka* which may be performed by the existing king as it is in the case of Raghu,[9a] or by the ministers due to the absence of the king as it seems to be done in the case of the successor of Agnivarna.[9b]

There is some sort of contract between the king on the one hand, and God as the protector of all on the other. The king is bound to discharge his duties and in return he gets taxes from the subjects. If the subjects disrespect their duty they are punished by the worldly authority, *i.e.,* the king, but the breakdown of the contract by the king is subject to punishment by God. The sense of contract is expressed by Kalidasa when he says—*Prajanameva bhutyartham sa tabhyo valimagrahit*[10]—the kings collect taxes only with the object of doing welfare to the subjects.

The position of the worldly authority is subordinate to the spiritual authority. The philosophy of caste reveals the conception that Brahmanas are superior to the Kshatriyas. King Dilipa himself says to Vasistha that his (Vasishtha's) supernatural power (*mantra*) is the cause which protects his subjects from the supernatural calamities and man-made sufferings,[11] makes enemies armless and being the cause of rainfall makes the earth fruitful.[12] Elsewhere, it is said that the members of the Ikshvaku family come out

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successful in the very difficult tasks by dint of the grace of the sage—*Ikshvakunam duraperthe tvadadhina hi siddhayah.*[13]

Monarchy may be of two types—good monarchy and bad monarchy. The kings like Dilipa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha, Rama, etc., illustrate good monarchy, while king Agnivarna is the typical example of bad monarchy.

A good monarchy has a twofold role—one is constructive, and the other is destructive. The constructive measures deal mostly with the internal administration, while the destructive measure (war) is related with the foreign transactions.

The constructive course is concerned with the benevolent activity,—protection to the subjects, charity and good personal character, *e.g.*, "purity, perseverance, self-restraint, vigilance, pity, charity and love of truth."[14] A good king should perform sacrifices according to the Sastras, fulfil the necessity of all, and dispense punishment according to the depth of crime.[15] The good king Dilipa looks after the education, protection and maintenance of his subjects, as it were, he is their real father.[16] He who can protect one from danger is the real Kshatriyas. In spite of his Kshatriya lineage, if anybody fails to save the endangered one, his Kingdom and life is useless, and he is not fit at all, to be addressed as a Kshatriya.[17]

The justification of these constructive activities is, in the first place, the sense of responsibility and duty, and secondly, the fear from unpopularity and from the displeasure of Brahmanas and gods who may punish him and cause his destruction. The kings would do these benevolent works by the application of the twofold standard of government—merger of king's interest in those of his subjects, and the treatment of them in the spirit of a relative, e.g., son.[18]

The heroes of Kalidasa are greedy conquerors, as for example, Raghu who overthrows almost all the princes of India and mercilessly kills some of them.[19] Yet, it is the philosophy of Kalidasa that as a righteous conqueror (*Dharamavijayi*) the king should adopt the middle course policy—a policy, neither too severe, nor too liberal. His heroes defeat the neighbouring princes, but in most cases instead of killing them they follow the *Mitrata niti* and return the dominion to the princes[20] on the condition that they will pay tribute and render allegiance. The justification of such a policy are various, *viz.*, fame,[21] to fill the treasury with the tributes of the defeated, and to observe sacrifices with it,[22] and safety.

The hereditory right of kingship is not enough of security of the king, for these four things are essential; these are, strong military force, efficient and reliable espionage, efficient advisory body, and popularity. The military force should include the foot, the horse, the elephant[23], and the Chariot.[24] The members of the advisory body of the king are ministers. Even when the king is absent from the Capital it is the body of ministers that carry on the administration.[25] The importance of popularity is not in anyway negligible. Popularity depends on personal character and the sense of responsibility. The king should be personally good and dutiful. He should remember that his wealth is to donate to the rightful candidate, that he should have control over his tongue, that he conquers only for fame and not for enjoyment, and that he marries only for the sake of heir.[26] The king can win over the sentiment of his subjects by discharging punishment according to the depth of their crime and awarding them according to their ability.[27]

But kings are not all good, and as such, the state occasionally has to face troubles. Bad monarchy is dangerous, both internally and externally, internally for mal-administration and externally, for providing opportunities of foreign invasion King Agnivarna is the typical example of a bad monarch. But Kalidasa does not say anyhting about the control of monarchy by the subjects in such a state. The position of the king by virtue of his hereditary right is beyond the control of his subjects. But there is one element of protection of the rights of the subjects, that is the ministerial control. The ministers discharge the royal functions according to their joint discretion, of course, not overthrowing the king. The role of the monarchy in such cases becomes insignificant.

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1. Ghoshal, U. N.,—*A History of Indian Political Ideas*, p. 352.
2. Raghu., I, 60.
3. *Ibid*, 34; XIX. 57.
4. *Ibid*, XIX. 52.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid*, 54.
7. *Vide, Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 16, 17 of Dr. R. S. Sharma.
8. Raghu, 1, 2.

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9. The Brahmanas Originate from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the hands, the Vaisyas from the thigh and the Sudras from the feet of Brahma.

9a. Raghu, III. 35, 70 ; iv. 1.
9b. *Ibid.* XIX. 56.
10. *Ibid,* I. 18.
11. *Ibid.* 60.
12. *Ibid.* 62.
13. *Ibid.* 72.
14. Ghoshal, p. 355.
15. Raghu. I, 6.
Yathavidhihutagninam Yatha Kamarchitarthinam ! !
Yathaparadhadandanam Yathakala-pravodhinam ! !
16. *Ibid.* 24.
Prajanam Vinayadhanad rakshanad bharanadapi ! Sa pita . . . ! !
17. *Ibid.* II. 53.
18. *Ibid.* I. 24.
19. *Ibid.* Iv. 63.
20. *Ibid.* 43.
21. *Ibid.* I. 7. *Yasase vijigishunam. . .*
22. *Ibid.* Iv. 43.
23. *Ibid.* Iv. 31.
24. *Ibid.* 30.
25. *Ibid.* Iv. 26 ; I. 34.
26. *Ibid.* I. 7.
27. *Ibid.* Iv. 8.

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वाचनालय,
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY THROUGH HINDU SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

By HARISH CHANDRA, M.A.

The Hindus have, almost abandoned the institutions which have accumulated multidimensional experience and an age-long profound social thinking. Some regard them to be the 'deadening mass of traditions and formalities' causing social stagnation. The chief social institutions are dharma, family, marriage, varna and ashrama etc. A life lived according to these institutions, is a dead thing at present. These institutions, nicely carved and adapted to an agro-feudal back ground, became a misfit for the industrial social set-up. In fact, industrial social intercourse is no society. Whatever societal in it, is ancient. The industrial social set up is only a productive process. It has not yet, evolved a consistent social organisation anywhere in the world. It is the ancient and the traditional which has sustained the social fabric. The doctrine of laissez-fair has proved to be a curse to the industrialized societies. Society, definitely, implies the we—feeling and a pursuive behaviour pattern by individuals. These two essentials are the very care of Hindu social organisation. If the wisdom, of our social heritage is, somehow, mingled with the ideology and practice of scientific democratic socialism, then we have a social synthesis, needed for the reconstruction of the present day social order and its future course. The old order, which collapsed, has not been replaced by a-new-value-pattern social order. We have to study our past, as stressed by P. N. Prabhu, to grasp the fundamental psychology behind the present problems ! What has been able to stand the test of time for ages past and is yet alive and has been regulating the social order till this day have at least some merit in it which is worthy of examination (Hindu Social Organisation). At the present stage of socio-political evolution of the human race, besides the world-wars, we have the experience and achievements of laissez-fair economy, dictatorial regimentation, liberal democracy and socialistic construction. The contemporary age has witnessed the application and experiments of so many isms, dogmas and doctines over the human field. Our times do not lack the wisdom or experience to evaluate the past in the light of the present. The social institutions of the Hindus have been the outcome of the necessities of life and have had

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the advantage of deep social thinking behind them. The Hindu view of the individual and his relation to society can be best brought out by a reference to the synthesis and gradation of (i) the four-fold object of life (ii) the four-fold order of society (iii) the four-fold succession of the stages of life or the as'ramas. The whole of the life of an individual is, for the Hindus, a kind of shooting and self-discipline.

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The Dharma

The word dharma is derived from sanskrit root 'dhri' meaning to hold together or that principle which is capable of preserving the universe. The social implication and meaning of dharma is a principle maintaining the stability of society. Dharma is designed to keep all creation free from any harm. Dharma is defined by Dr. Radhakrishnan as right conduct ; it stands for both the satya or the truth of things as well as the dharma or the law of evolution. Moral evil is disharmony with the truth which encompasses and controls the world. Our dharma-shastras do not establish dogmas by searching analysis of moral standards, happiness or perfection, but they were concerned with truth or dharma which excelled above everything else. The principle of dharma also includes the cardinal virtues, self-restraints, daya—compassion or love for all sentient life, and daya-gift or charity. In the 3rd century B.C., the emperor Asoka inscribed on stone in all parts, a list of virtues—compassion, liberty, truth, purity, peace, self-control, which resemble Gautam's list and the teachings of Mahabharat. Our dharma-sastras attached the highest importance to moral qualities. They are related to the duties common to all. P. V. Kane rightly suggested their main purpose to be a preactical one to guide people to right acts in every day life that each person had to do with reference to his station in society.

Another reason, for cultivating high moral qualities, is found in the doctrine of the goals or ends of human existance. From ancient times, there are four purusharthas,—dharma (right conduct), artha (economic interest), Kama (satisfaction of desires), moksa (liberation). There is a gradation of values. Kama is the lowest and dharma is the highest. Kautilya proclaims that artha is the most important principle of the three, as dharma and kama both spring from artha. Dr. Radhakrishnan says that the dictates of desires is not the law of human existence but dharma is complete rule of life which establishes the harmony of his whole being. The four ends of life point to the different sides of human nature, the instinctive and emotional, the economic and the spiritual. Man becomes complete human when his sensibility to spiritual capacity is awakened.

The entire doctrine of dharma is based upon the philosophic doctrine of 'One-Self' being immanent in every individual as stated in the words tat-tvam-asi. All existence is viewed from an unitary principle. This is the highest point reached in Indian social thinking, based on its metaphysics.' 'The eternal is manifested in the temporal and the latter is the pathway of the former. The Upanishads say, 'In darkness are they who worship the infinite alone. He who accepts both saves himself from death by the knowledge of the former and attains immortality by knowledge of the latter.' So the principle of dharma interlinks the individual with society. The Hindus do not attach great importance to the world for itself, but for its connection with the eternal.

What appeals to the social genius of the contemporary person is not the detail or the metaphysical content of the concept of Dharma, but the pattern of social thinking and spirit generating this dynamic principle. Dharma provides meaning and purpose to human existence in harmony with society. The four purushartas are interrelated and mutually balancing. Development of one or onesided stress, so evident in our day, is not feasible in a life led according to the principle of dharma. Of course, renunciation and dedication is there. We cannot have an integrated human society without an unitary principle. Fragmentary developments of societies create chaos and imbalance in the world order. The spiritual crisis and socio-politico-economic antagonisms of our times can be minimized by evolving a universal principle of respect for the fundamentals of human life.

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have not yet succeeded in finding methods of sharing controls and to evolve an adequate technique of social co-ordination to the demands of Great Society. A principle like the dharma of Hindu social organisation, should become the essence of human civilization for the construction of human society on a planned level.

The Varnas

The Hindu sastra-karas have taken man into account as a social being with reference to four broad factors that influence his life and conduct. He is considered in relation to desha (region), Kala (time). Srama (effort) and Gunas (natural trends) which refer to the natural, inheritance, psychological equipment of man. The fundamental principle of division of labour assumed the form of the varna scheme; the Brahman, the Kshtriya, the Vaisya and the Sudras are organically related to the Body-Social. They serve the Divine purpose. In order to protect this whole universe, different duties and occupations have been assigned to the different varnas. During the vedic period, the varnas seem to have been open-classes,' more based on individual trends and less upon descent. Gradually they were distinguished and marked off and separated one from the other with different rights and privileges.

The tendency to create social classes is present in every society. In social affairs and social communications, individual differences are apt to give rise to privation of social classes. In modern industrial societies, we find social classes based on concentration of power, authority, prestige, and economic and material rewards. These aspects were alive to the original scheme of the varnas. They were based on co-operation and equality in accordance with social utility. Dr. Radhakrishnan regards the four fold scheme as democratic for the following reasons:

(1) It insists on the spiritual unity of all men.
(2) It makes individuality positive through the willing acceptance of obligations.
(3) It points out that all work is socially useful and from an economic standpoint equally important.
(4) It takes into account consideration for others.
(5) It makes the individual lead a life of simplicity and self-denial by accepting his place and work in society.

Though idealistic in origin, Dr. Radhakrishnan believes that it can still be helpful in some ways. The time has come when we should give up certain sentiments and attitudes regarding division of labour. Opportunities are so enormous in this era that striving for power, based on class-dignity, becomes nothing but 'Megalomaniac passion, terror, and extermination, a drama no one of us can watch any longer dispassionately'. (Karl Mannheim: Freedom Power and Democratic Planning). Without creating social distance, the Varna scheme accepts the principle of social utility as the basis of social classification. Are we indulging in utopian thinking? We can change, create, transform everything else except the human nature. This is the paradox of our age. The Sceptical attitude about human nature is so deeply rooted that it has become a dignified intellectual snobbery to dismiss ideals as utopian. The process of developing attitude is an educational task. Karl Mannheim aptly remarks, 'Every thing in society is an educational factor.' Education supplemented by objective situations, do change human nature. So a de-classed society as propounded by the Varna scheme, retaining the degree of importance of division of labour, is realizable.

The Ashramas

The Ashrama scheme deals with the problem of existence of man. During the course of schooling, he has to pass through four stages, called ashramas. The psycho-moral basis of ashrama are the four purusharthas viz., dharma, artha, kama and moksa. These purusharthas are concerned with the individual as well as the group. They define the activities of the individual and those of the group, and also

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their inter-relation. Each of the ashramas is a stage of life in which the individual has to train himself for a certain period in order to qualify himself for the next.

The ashramas are four in number; the brahmacharya, that of a student; the grihasta, that of a married man, the house holder; the Vanaprastha, that of retired life in the forest, after abandoning the home; the Sanyasa, the life of complete renunciation of worldly relations and attachments. Of all the ashramas, however, the grihasthashrama is given a very high place of honour. It lends supports to the other three ashramas. It affords opportunities for the practice and cultivation of dharma, artha and kama. It makes direct contributions to society. The last two ashramas are largely neutral phases. Prof. Kapadia rejects the view that Hindus are generally unworldly. On the contrary Hindu thinkers, he believes, recognised and asserted categorically the reality of the universe and the immortability of the life of action. A long life on earth is wished for the pursuit of virtues. Hindu sages do not conceive of antithesis between the enjoyment of life and spiritual freedom. Together these constitute the fulfilment and enrichment of life.

The ashrama scheme provides full meaning to human existence and puts forth the best social pursuits before the individual. Rigidly demarcated ashramas cannot be accepted at present. The ashramas have, also, a psycho-physical basis. The nature of asramas differ alongwith the stages of growth and decay of human body and senses. The uncertainty of life made Vatsayana to say that one should follow dharma, Kama and moksha as they come to him at any period of life. Manu, also, advised that the real good of man consists of the harmony of the three purusharthas. His views, regarding the nature and function of the ashramas, may be valued by any one who wishes to lead such a life at present. In the last ashramas, we should put the substitute of social-abode in place of forest-abode. With the panorama of their experiences, an old man can be useful to society. If society takes care of its old folk and avails their services, it solves the problem of social isolation of aging people. Going through the obligations of ashramas, one may transform his life into a grand finale.

Family and Marriage

In spite of their harmful effect, family and marriage, are the two institutions which have sustained whatever is of perennial value in Hindu social traditions. The advent of industrial culture has destroyed some of the noblest social fabrics of many other countries, but Hindu society still preserves the ingredients of social integration. The basis of Hindu family is spiritual continuity. It has a joint nature. The real family life of the individual begins with marriage when he starts the activities connected with the home. The life in grihasthashrama is directed according to dharma. The individual has to perform his due dharma and Karma here without manifesting any sign of ownership. The ideal of the grihastha is not acquisitiveness, but charity. The family through its various Samskaras, becomes the nucleus of socialization of man, as writes P. N. Prabhu: 'The individual is, as it were, carried over from one experience to another in the course of his life, in order that he may feel himself more and more at one with the community of which he is a part.' Commenting over the importance of Samskaras, P. V. Kane observes: 'The Samskaras have been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them.' (History of Dharma Sastras).

The Vivah-samskara implies complete socialization of the individual and his entry into the grihasthashrama. The Hindu marriage is conjoint with the family duties. Marriage, having a sacramental character, is obligatory for everybody. Those that have wives can lead a full happy life and fulfil the pitri-rina by having a son. Mating is regarded a serious social and personal duty to secure the best progeny for the family and to serve the needs of regulated social

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behaviour. The pledge of consummation of social values taken jointly at the wedding is faithfully held by the couple throughout their worldly existence. If marriage is the highest expression of human love, the institution of Hindu marriage embodies it.

Conclusion

It will be a mistake to understand that the reactionary measure of the revival of Hindu social institutions is needed. Many factors in their structure and functions have gone out of harmony with changing situations. The minimum that we should absorb are their formal pattern and spirit. Having in view the needs and characteristics of the modern times, we should strive for the invention of social techniques to reconstruct and reorganise a big part of human society. We are confident that there is something of perennial human value in the foundations of the Hindu social organisation.

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AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS IN MUSEUM

By SABITA RANJAN SARKAR

Introduction :

With the advancement of science and technology, people are no longer satisfied with conventional ideas and techniques. They want modification and variety in accordance with the scientific, cultural and technological advancement in all applicable fields. During the last few decades, tremendus progress has been achieved in different branches of science, the results of which are being utilised in different spheres of human activities. In this respect, museum display has also been subjected to modification. The motif of display of specimens in the gallery which in the past served mainly as sight seeing has now undergone a great change with the main objective of imparting visual education. For its successful implementation modern scientific and technological devices have been utilized in museum service in the name of audio-visual aids.

Definition of Audio-Visual Aids

In a technical sense, the display and explanation through audio-visual aids, is a term which designates the extensive use of devices such as motion picture, slides, transcriptions, recordings, dioramas, slide films etc., by museum personnels to transmit ideas and experiences through the eye and ear. In addition to the above materials listed, audio-visual items in museum service, includes also the use of charts, diagrams, models, exhibits, stereographs, photographs, etc. The display and explanation through audio-visual materials emphasizes the value of concrete or non-verbal experience in the impartition of general scientific importance of museum exhibits.

Types of audio-visual aids

The materials of audio-visual aids may be arranged under two large headings.

Audio-visual materials

Real

Reproduction of objects as found in their natural surroundings)

Examples :
1. Habitat group.
2. Dioramas.
3. Motion picture.
4. Museum exhibits.
5. Stereographs.
6. Recorded music.
7. Paintings.
8. Still photogrphs.

Abstract and intangible made real

(a) Graphic presentation of abstract ideas.

Examples :
1. Charts.
2. Graphs.
3. Photographs.
4. Motion pictures.
5. Stereographs.
6. Paintings.
7. Models.

(b) Pictorial concepts of abstract or intangible.

Examples :
1. Paintings.
2. Drawing.
3. Sketches.
4. Motion picture.

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This classification of types is based on the function of the various materials in their important task of giving reality to museum exhibits. It may be noted that several types appear under more than one heading. For example, the stereoptical slide and the motion picture, as this is due to the adaptability of these media for recording and reproducing.

Audio-visual Display Method

A comprehensive display method with audio-visual aids has two major phases:

First, the planning phase in which the subject matter and materials to be used are selected and arranged in systematic order after the materials and equipments are made ready; and second, the gallery phase in which the museum personnels observe its effectiveness in faithful representation of the planned subject and its appeal to the visitors.

The planning phase of a method of display involves many important decisions. The aim or goal of display must be determined. The unit of display must be organised. Techniques and devices are also to be derived. In the display with audio-visual aids, the words technique and device are to be taken into account seriously. Webster defines the two words as follows: Technique, "The form commonly used for method of execution in art," device, "That which is devised or formed by a design; a contrivance; an invention; a scheme."

Modern Trend Of Museum Display

In comparison to the mode of display that has been adopted at present, the specimens in museums conforming to the early mode of display are exhibited with little reference to each other and the explanation to the exhibits are confined to written labels often couched in tecchnical jargon which results in a lifeless arrangement instead of satisfying portrayal of the living world. These conditions have given way to the growing emphasis on the educational function of museums.

The basis of museum technique is the employment of authentic three dimensional objects. In the present context between the different media for imparting visual education, these three dimensional objects are rather happily placed with interpretation by guides or by means of labels, models, charts, diagrams, etc., and further with their having been arranged round themes or problems to provoke visitors to think or to stimulate them to look for answers to problems which they would have otherwise ignored.

For example, the specimens of Natural History Museum may be displayed to make people understand nature and its relation with animals and with plants. For successful representation, the specimens are now displayed in the light of their ecology, biogeography, genetics and ethology. The use of habitat group to illustrate the kind of environmental setting amidst which animals live and the employment of dioromas made to scale, add to the realistic effect of museum exhibitions.

Wild life and natural vegetation are regarded as national assets. To protect them from steady deterioration, various schemes and campaigns have been launched in India. To make them successful, the importance of nature and natural resources are to be made clear to common people whose role is of supreme importance in this respect. Here is the opportunity for museums planned along modern lines to support the movement on behalf of the defence of nature and natural resources. Discussion has been made here to show how the modern audio-visual display can effectively be utilized in museum to make people understand the particulars about the Indian lion which is on the verge of extinction so that they may appreciate the argument in favour of preserving them.

The museum display may be said to be a more or less permanent exhibition. Among so many exhibits in Natural History Gallery to attract the attention of visitors more specially to a particular exhibit (Indian Lion here) poster, one of the audio-visual items of museum service plays a dominant part. It may be designed round it to convey its significance of display through the most effective combination of picture, colour and lettering also with an appropriate title.

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In the old conventional display, the stuffed lions were exhibited in the show-cases and their explanations were only confined to written labels. But at present in the gallery, the stuffed lion is displayed against the natural background which is created with the help of habitat group. In absence of specimens, models are exhibited. The model is a replica—a representation in miniature of an object to be displayed in the gallery. Natural environment is also created in the gallery with the diaromas. The diaroma is a model of scenic representation in which a painting partly transparent is seen from a distance through an opening to give a three dimensional effect. Besides diaromas, natural environment may also be represented by photographs (still) and stereograph displaying side by side in proper places of the showcases. The photographs are lifelike representations of world about us on celluloid sheet and their reproduction on papers. The stereograph is a picture made by a two-lens camera which conveys to the beholder the impression of reality. Stereographic visual aid is the artificial creation of a third dimensional by which perspective and soliderity are secured.

For wider publicity to a particular item, picture post card may be used. It is a post card having the printed picture of museum exhibits of special importance. The treasures of great museums have been given wide publicity through their use. Remote people and places have become familiar through their instrumentality.

To make people aware, how rapidly the lions are vanishing, census figures of lion that have been taken from time to time may be furnished. This data may be exhibited in the form of graph which is usually a line or bar or a series of these arranged so as to convey certain spatial or numerical relationships.

To satisfy the curiosity of visitors to know places where the lions are found in India, map may be displayed in the gallery with the appropriate places marked distinctly.

Besides these, the other important points on lions viz., their habit, habitat, diet etc., may be shown by slide, slide film, motion picture etc. The motion picture is a series of photographs taken on a strip of film which when introduced into a motion picture projector give the impression of life and motion. Also by oral explanation, it is to be made clear to the visiting public the integral relation between plants and animals, the necessity of preserving wild life and how effectively they can be perserved.

Thus from the habitat group and dioramas reproducing biotopes and main animal and vegetable species in the gallery, people may learn about their characteristic habits and the environmental setting in which they live. From the stuffed specimens, models, maps, still and motion pictures they may know about their physical features, distribution, habit, diet, etc. Oral explanation will convince them of the reasons of their protection and how effectively they can be protected. Being aware of these facts they will be able to realise their value and importance, and only in that case, they will be able to appreciate the arguments in favour of protecting them.

Scope of Audio-Visual Display

The problem of interpreting exhibits to the non-literate is a difficult one. For such interpretations, labels are generally used and sometimes guide-lecturers guide the visitors round the galleries explaining the exhibits. These labels and oral explanations are not always sufficient for helping illiterate person to understand the real significance of the exhibits. Sometimes explanations are overcrowded with scientific terms and they can not even form the faintest idea about the ecology, habitat, and biogeography of the specimens from the oral explanations given. Because most of the people cannot see in person, the seals for example, in their natural environment or marine life on the ocean floor, no explanation, however lucid, can help them in the least. Again

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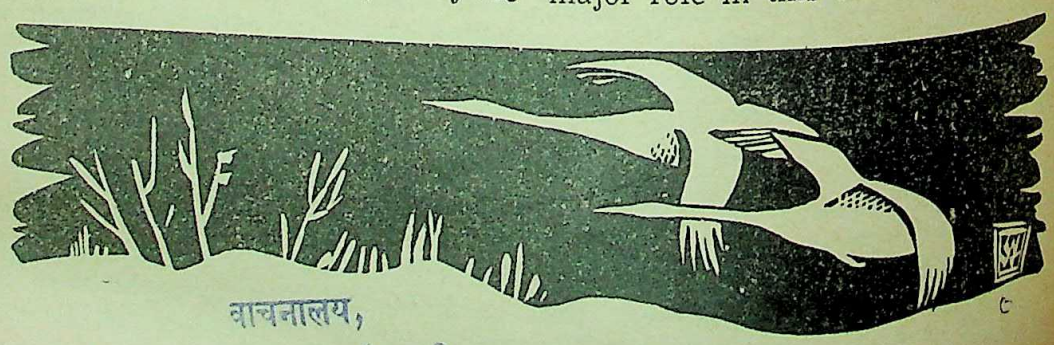
there are some objects or types of phenomena where a scientifically simplified replica is even better for instructional purposes as the original may be too complex, too big or too small. To overcome this difficulty, audio-visual aids have great value, as it has the capacity to captivate interest in several ways for several reasons some of which are mentioned below :

1. Sensory aids are generally found to be attractive as they have the capacity to represent faithfully by various methods and processes, the thing represented, simultaneously to more than one human sense.
2. Because of the more faithful and comparatively fuller representation than through other media, the visitors can understand easily.
3. Whenever a representation is ideal and is easy to understand, visitors focus their entire attention on the subject, and thereby their curiosity is immediately satisfied.

The adoption of audio-visual technique is most suitable in India where there are so many languages. The guide-lecturers engaged in guiding visitors do not generally know many languages. But the museums are being visited by innumerable people who belong to different language groups. In that case many visitors may not follow the lecture of the guide. But if slides and motion pictures concerning the specimens are shown to the visitors, they may at least guess with a reasonable degree of correctness, displaying the specimens in the galleries, whether they may follow the lecture of the guide or the commentary on the film or not. It has another utility also. The non-literate visitors generally do not like to join in meetings and discussion, if they are prevailed upon to join at all, they may not even follow the topic. Even if they follow some questions may crop up in their mind but in most cases, they do not have sufficient boldness to put it up in the presence of a gathering. As a result his curiosity dies an unnatural death then and there for want of sympathetic attention. In his case also audio-visual aids have the advantage of satisfying the non-literate as the audio-visual programme is chalked out in such a way that the preliminery questions that may crop up in the mind of common visitors may be answered in the programme itself without asking.

But while it is an undisputable fact that visual education is more effective even without its verbal counterpart than only the latter without the former, yet, it should be borne in mind that visual instruction is an integral part of general instructional activity. Visualizing cannot be separated from verbalizing. A picture of an unknown animal does not tell the whole story. Many questions regarding its habits, diets, extent of beneficial and harmful effect to human beings, etc., remain to be answered which can be done by oral explanations only. Besides, pictures, maps, charts, graphs, etc., are more or less abstract representations. For thorough understanding they require explanation, particularly when the visitors are non-literate. In short, the relationship of verbalizing and visualizing are reciprocal, each supplements and reinforces the other.

All these facts go to show that the museums can serve as important centres for imparting visual education provided the exhibits are arranged in the light of modern methods as opposed to the conventional ways, and as such audio-visual aids play a major role in this connection.



वाचनालय,
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी
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ONGE OF LITTLE ANDAMAN

Sixty-five miles from Port Blair lies little Andaman, the home of the Onge tribe, who are still living in prehistoric age and, in many respects, behave as paleolithic men of centuries ago.

These people are some of the remnants of the most ancient human race still surviving in any part of the world. They have been little affected by contact with other people. Until recently, they were completely ignorant of any use of metal tools and even today use stone chips for shaving.

The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction, and but for the fact that the Anthropological Survey of India undertook a study a few years ago the Onge tribe perhaps would have vanished, unheard of and unknown to modern man.

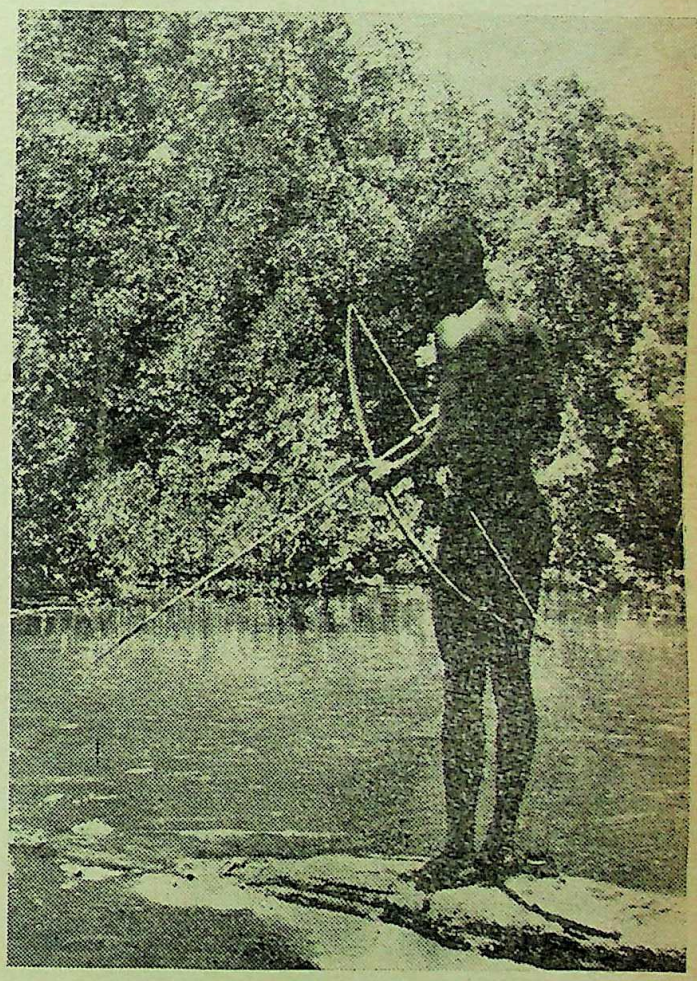
The Onge tribe has not yet been exhaustively studied, but several years' work has now yielded a first glimpse into the characteristics and different aspects of their life.

When a survey was undertaken a few years ago, the interior of little Andaman was little known and it was considered dangerous to violate it owing to the hostile attitude of some of the Onges. Apart from the Onge, other tribes in the Andamans are Jarawa and Sentinelese, who are hostile and at times ferocious. In fact, due to their hostile attitude, Jarawa and Sentinelese have not yet been contacted.

It was only in 1952 that a party of anthropologists and other technical personnel succeeded in what proved to be a difficult trip through virgin forests from the east to the west coast of little Andaman and established contact with the tribe.

Of Negritoid stock, the Onge is stoutly built, short-statured with a thick crop of black hair. Agriculture is unknown to them. Hunting, fishing, wild fruits, edible roots and honey supply them with food. They drink from nautilus shells and the only garment worn by little Andaman women is a scanty grasslike apron.

Nomadic in habit, the Onge move about the island, spending short periods at a particular spot. For shelter during their stay they construct communal huts, mainly situated along the coast. These huts are permanent in nature and, in batches, the tribe move from one hut to another. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds. The Onge require nothing more against the cold.



A yongman of the Onge tribe is see hunting fish with bow and arrow

For the Onge, the communal huts have a different use also. The Onge custom requires that the dead should be buried under their beds in the hut. This, they believe, would compel the spirit of the deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, the idea being that the spirit

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cannot wander far from the bones of its former body.

Food Habits

The most remarkable thing about the Onge's food habits is that they refuse to take salt. Although living on an island surrounded by salty water the tribe consider salt as unhealthy and disgusting.

At times sardines are plentiful inside the coral reefs round little Andaman, and both men and women of the tribe go on fishing. While the men literally hunt the fish with bow and arrow, women do this with two small nets used together. With outrigger canoe the men sail out in the open sea and hunt dugong and turtle with wooden harpoons.

Food considered healthy by the Onge include honey, several succulent roots and fat of turtle. Pork, which is available in plenty, forms a delicious dish for the tribe. Intoxicating drink is completely unknown in little Andaman and the tribe is still ignorant of distilling alcohol.

Lost Pottery

Evidence was gathered by the survey that the tribe, until a few years ago, had indigenous pottery for cooking, but it is no longer in use today. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up.

They sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, and used them as cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether and probably will never again reappear.

Body Painting

Like many other primitive tribes, the Onge like to embellish their bodies with an endless variety of geometrical designs. After a full meal, their only activity is body painting, performed by the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands.

Designs change from time to time, according to the women's inventiveness. Refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish, are used for body painting. These paintings however have deeper significance than merely satisfying asthetic sense. They are believed to be a protection against all kinds of sickness.

Fond of Dogs

The Onge, by the way, are exceedingly fond of their dogs. These animals are believed to have been brought first to little Andaman by Burmese smugglers. During the thirty years or so since their arrival on this island, they have multiplied in alarming numbers. There are now on the island more dogs than men.

No accurate census of this tribe has ever been taken but estimates put it down as about 200.

One of the purposes of the survey, however, was to have a census of the tribe, a job which was not easy by any standard. A special hurdle in counting was posed by the Onge's habit of changing their names from time to time.

Another difficulty was posed by the Onge custom of adopting children. This shifts many of them from one family to another and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. An Onge cannot count beyond three.

Short Span of Life

The Onge die young, especially the men. The survey established that the majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20 and most of the survivors die between 20 and 40.

The short Onge span of life is threatening the extinction of this tribe. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift, as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming.

To ensure steady supply of food and stabilise their economic life, coconut plantations have been started in little Andaman a few years ago. Other fruit-bearing plants are also being supplied to the tribe.

The survey found that the tribe still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish and the success of the measures now being undertaken will ensure the continued existence of one of the oldest specimens of the human race.

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FROM ARCHAIC TRADE TO MODERN INDUSTRY
FISHING COMES OF AGE

ove and off the 3,000 mile coastline of India e oceans abound in fish. Yet this inexhaustible ource of food and wealth long remains largely xploited, and the one million fishermen, ving off the sea, remained poor and backward, heir traditional skill and dogged determination ever bringing them the rich reward the sea herwise promised.

Much ahead of dawn every day they launched heir ancient craft on the murky waters. All day, hey battled casting and hauling, and casting again, and when they turned back with weary ims, and an indifferent catch, there was still ork to do: the catch had to be marketed and uickly.

With little organisation and no scientific ethods, the fishermen communities along the oast had eked out a precarious living and the ountry remained deprived of a rich source of ood—and a richer source of earning foreign exchange.

In 1944, the first efforts were made to organise the industry on scientific lines and increase roduction of fish by mechanisation of fishing oats, modernisation of fishing gear and introduction of better methods of handling, processing nd preserving the catch.

Symbolic of this was the setting up of the entral Institute of Fisheries Technology in 957, with its headquarters at Cochin.

With the help of F.A.O. experts, the Institute started investigations into designs of suitable oats and gears; net preservation; and development of improved design of fishing boats. For ptimum efficiency, investigations on suitability of specific types of marine engines for different kinds of fishing boats and design of mechanical appliances for fishing were also undertaken.

To this Craft and Gear Wing was soon added the Processing Wing in 1958. The Chief of the Technology Branch of the Fisheries Division of F.A.O. drew up plans with the main objectives of investigating problems related to handling, processing, storage and transport of fish and fishery products. The Processing Wing also set itself to find out ways and means of economic utilisation of all available surplus fish and fish waste and to work out commodity standards and grades for various fishery products.

Canned fish food is tested for vacuum pressure at the Central Fisheries Technological Research Station, Ernakulam

EXTENSION SECTIONS

No research is worth the effort if the results of research in the laboratory or workshop do not reach the industry. An Extension Section was, therefore, organised in 1961 to transmit important findings to the industry and, where necessary, give guidance and advice. Demonstration of improved methods of processing of fish and fishery products, fishing methods and construction of fishing boats were given both for State Fisheries Departments and private parties connected with the trade. The Institute also provided facilities for advanced training in the various fields.

Outstanding achievements of the Institute, wihch have benefited the trade, include designs of otter trawl for shrimp fisheries, six designs of fishing boats ranging from 25 feet to 50 feet in length, improved methods of production of

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semi-dried prawn, improvement in the quality of frozen products for export and finding of preservatives which extended the life of the product by several months.

At present the Institute is devoting itself to such important studies as Canning, freezing and cold storage of fish, dehydration of fish and shell fish and improvement of existing equipment for fish processing. The success of the venture can be gauged from the fact that at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the value of fishery products exported from India amounted to over Rs. 6 crores. It is expected to go up to Rs. 10 crores, at the end of the Third Plan.

The Institute with growing functions has naturally to expand. Apart from one unit set up in Bombay in 1958, with a pilot plant for the manufacture of fishmeal, two sub-stations have been set up recently, one at Kakinada (Andhra State) on the East Coast and the other at Veraval (Gujarat State) on the West Coast.

A processing Unit has been established at Calicut. Another sub-station is to be set up on the East Coast to tackle problems relating to inland fishing gear.

From the archaic trade it was, fishing in India is steadily developing into a modern industry, and the sea has already started yielding the 'live' wealth that remained unexploited for so long.

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GAMBLING AND RECREATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By SHAMSUDDIN

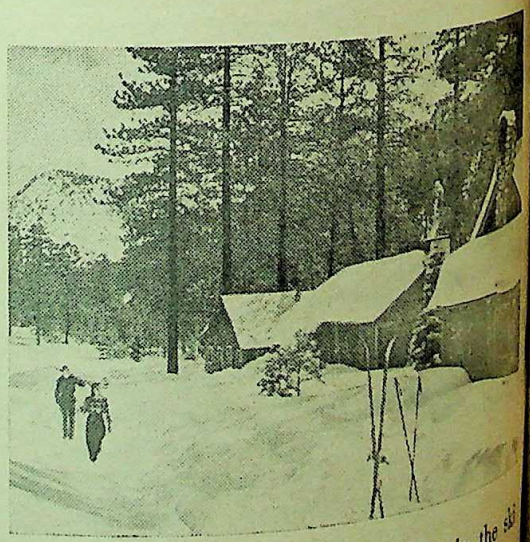
No one who sets foot in the United States need do so as a stranger, for the United States is a nation made up of people of many nations, colours and creeds. Recently, the United States has become a tourist attraction. In fact, it is a vacation wonderland. Cities in the U.S.A. differ to such an extent as to offer visitors from abroad inducements to visit as many of them as possible. Each city has its special character. Certain cities are famous for industrial production or agricultural product while others have grown in name for having recreation or tourist attraction. But no city can be compared with Las Vegas, the gfarish gambling capital, which has open gambling luxury hotels and lavish night club entertainment.

Glittering Lights

As the State of Nevada legalizes all sorts of gambling, Las Vegas has become the world's biggest centre of gambling. Glittering lights are the trade mark of Las Vegas. There the Fremont hotel has the world's largest gaming rooms. The Golden Nugget is another centre of gamblers.

Statistics

According to the latest statistics available, 9.5 million people visited this place last year. The total expenditure incurred by them came to $138 million. Besides this expenditure, they lost $115 million at the tables and wheels and in slot machines. Thus, it is evident that Las Vegas provides the greatest concentration in the United States.



Going down one of the long runs in the ski Bowl

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Recreation

Besides gambling, boating, swimming and fishing at scenic lakes—Tahoe, Mead and others, exploring and sight seeing, state parks, camping spots, many fine hunting, skiing and winter and water sports are some of the famous recreations in the U.S.A.

Dazzling Casinos

In Las Vegas, the whir of roulette wheels, and shiny army of slot machines, luxurious hotels, chorus lines and top entertainment stars make up the tourists eye of gambling. There gambling is a business open and legalized and rigidly controlled by the State. It operates on sound business principles and it owes its tradition of liberal attitudes by the people.

Reasons For Existence Of Gambling

There gambling has existed because it has been an economic success, both from the point-point of its effect on general business and from tax revenue.

Nevada is a state which has the smallest population in the U.S.A. and due to its small population, Nevada is perhaps the only State where gambling would be relatively easy to control And last of all the liberal attitude of the people still prevails.

Attitude of Liberality

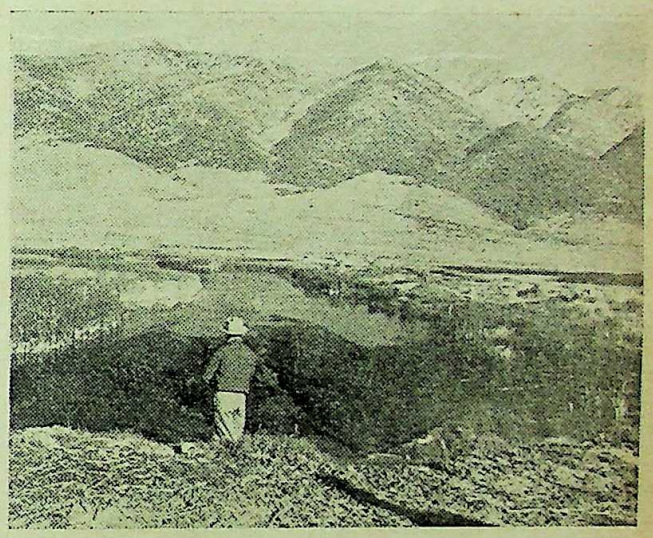
The attitude of liberality is not difficult to understand. From territorial days gambling had flourished in this frontier state with few problems. No town was complete without its casinos.

Gambling a Big Business

When tourism became popular, it was inevitable that the attraction of open gambling would make Las Vegas a "must stop" place. Casinos began to enlarge and multiply. Luxury hotels with elaborate theatre restaurants and swimming pools sprang up almost overnight in Las Vegas.

How Gambling is Controlled

The State of Nevada has a definite policy to control Gambling. In 1945 the legislature delegated licensing power to the Nevada Tax Commission. In 1955, the legislature created a three man Gambling Control under the Tax Commission, empowering it to sereen all applicants for licences, investigate their back-grounds, appoint police casinos for infractions of gambling rules and to recommend denial or revocation of any license for any cause deemed reasonable by the board. In this way there is three-way supervision of gambling. City and country boards have entirely independent licensing and control over gaming within their jurisdiction.



It is a lot of fun to relax and fish in rivers and streams

Tax on Gambling

The States first direct tax on gambling was passed into law by the 1945 legislature, which imposed a levy of 1 per cent of gross earnings. In 1947 tax was doubled to 2 per cent, and a sliding scale table fee added. All gambling tax revenue is deposited into the general fund, from where it is channelled into various appropriations. Thus gambling is most popular in the states.

Fishing

Fishing has been a great source of recreation in the states. United States' rivers, streams and lakes abound with catfish and it is famous worldwide for its gigantic Lahontan Cutthroat generally found in Walker, Pyramid and Summit Lakes.

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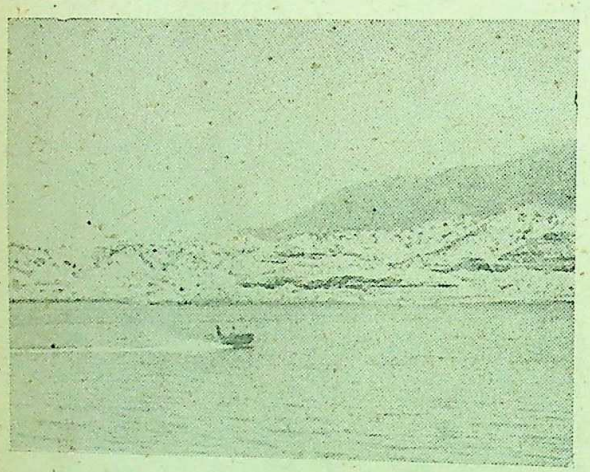
There is year round fishing on major lakes. River and stream fishing seasons range generally from May through October. Fishing enthusiasts can find ample facilities in virtually every part of the country. Salt water fishing generally is unrestricted, fresh water fishing is limited as a conservation measure. The revenue from the sale of some 20,000,000 fishing licences, nearly $40 million annually, is used to restock streams and lakes and for other conservation purposes.



Boat racing in Lake Mead being the world's tallest Dam—Hoover (Boulder)

Water Sports

The United States has nearly 50,000 square miles of water area and a coastline of about 12,000 miles. Thus, there are plenty of opportunities for swimming and boating. Even in the winter it is warm enough in many parts of the country to go for swimming. The State of Florida, which is warmed by the Gulf Stream, is a popular winter resort. Vacationing Americans spend about $1 billion there annually.

Boating

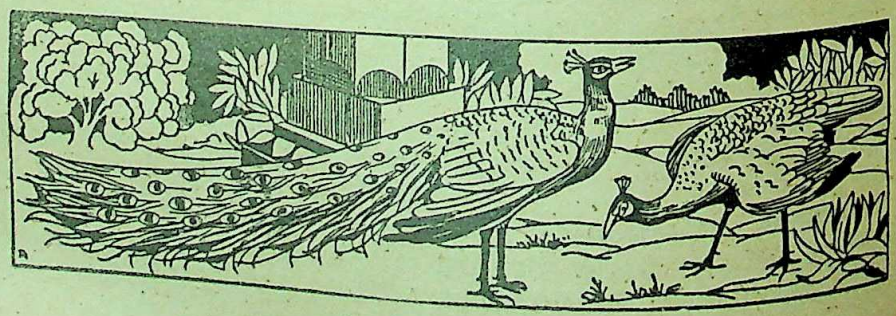
Boating is a popular sport. Boating enthusiasts from all parts of the world are finding that boating is very popular. Speed boat racing has focused international attention on Lake Tahoe and Lake Mead. At least four regattas are held in the Lake Mead Recreational area each year, virtually in the shadow of Hoover dam, the world's tallest at 726.4 feet!

Water Skiing

Water skiing, which was invented by the French, is now considered one of the fastest growing sports in the United States. There are fine beaches just off paved highways around the entire 74-mile circumference of Lake Tahoe, whose sandy shores in Douglas, Ormsby and Washoe counties are among the nation's finest. The sport is a 12-month one on the waters of Lake Mead where skiers find the warm water enticing. One of the features of water skiing is the 75-mile race held each September on Lake Mead. But if you want something more relaxing, there is always the quiet pleasure of sail boating too.

Thus, the United States of America offers great contrast in recreation, none can deny.

There are two extremes followed by the Americans in their means of recreation where at one end they can go to the extent of gambling at the tune of millions of dollars, they have nobler and more useful means of recreation such as swimming, fishing, skiing, etc. Thus Americans know how to make the best use of their time, money and leisure and at the same time have lot of recreation, so essential for the life of man!



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DEMOCRATIC FAITH OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

By R. C. GUPTA

Jefferson is the central figure in American history and, if freedom and democracy survive in our generation, he may yet prove to be the central figure in modern history. He was not only one of the Founding Fathers, the source and inspiration of much of American democracy and of American nationalism; he was, too, a world figure. Certainly, no other public man contributed so richly to so many chapters in modern history.

He was, of all the Founding Fathers, indeed of all the men of the eighteenth century, the most outstanding. Both in his public and his private life he addressed himself continuously to problems of permanent and universal interest. What he wrote and what he did—about the nature of society and of government, the relations of man to government, the meaning of republicanism and democracy, the significance of education and of toleration and of experimentation to democracy—is as relevant today as it was in the eighteenth century. It is notwithstanding profound changes in politics and economy, as relevant for France, Germany and Italy in Europe and for India in Asia as it was for the young United States.

Nor has any other American revealed himself or illuminated the history of American people more fully in his writings. Even his public writings constitute a record of incomparable importance: imagine American history without the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, the Ordinance of 1784, the Bill for the Diffusion of Knowledge, the Kentucky Resolutions, the First Inaugural Address, the Louisiana Treaty. Jefferson furnished both the soil and the seed from which many of the American national institutions grew. His versatility is by now a familiar, almost a hackneyed, subject. He was a scientist and an inventor; he was the greatest American architect of his day; he was a farmer, experimenting endlessly with crops and stock; he was a man of letters; he was a bibliophile, collecting not one but one of the greatest private libraries in the country; he was something of a philologist; he was a student of the classics—as who was not in that age—and of the Bible, compiling his own for good measure; he was a lawyer and a collector of law reports.

Whatever he learned, whatever he knew, fitted into and enriched his philosophy. For of all American statesmen, Jefferson was the most philosophical. One abiding purpose runs through his whole life, one pervasive philosophy dominates it. He insisted that man should be free and he was persuaded that, once free, mankind would progress towards happiness and virtue. He was enraptured with the vision of mankind free from political tyranny, from the bondage of superstition and of ignorance, from the sins of the past, from poverty, from war. He had an eighteenth-century faith in the perfectibility of man, but it was not merely a visionary faith; it was faith rooted in the reality of New world experience.

Jefferson's republican convictions were formed early in his life, upon what was then the Western frontier; when he was only twenty-two years old they seem to have been crystallized by a speech of Patrick Henry in opposition to the British Stamp Act. From that time on he was leader in every movement for freedom and independence, usually somewhat in advance of other "rebels," finding what he said or wrote disapproved of at the time, only to win later assent. He developed with the experiences which enlarged responsibilities gave him, but it was uninterruptedly in one direction. Political expediency may have caused him to deviate on special points, but there are few men in public life whose course has been so straight. Natural sympathies, actual experiences, and intellectual principles united in him to produce a character of singular consistency and charm. He was that rare person in politics, an idealist whose native faith was developed, checked and confirmed by extremely extensive and varied practical experiences.

Although Jefferson's political ideas were greatly influenced by many political thinkers, he gave his own orientation to

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their concepts, and there was something distinctive, something original, in his political principles. What was new and significant was that all his ideas were set forth in the context of American circumstances which the American mind was prepared to work upon. He was as profoundly convinced of the novelty of the **action** as a practical "experiment"—a favourite word of his in connection with the institutions of self-government—as he was of the orthodox character of the ideas as mere theory.

Jefferson, as a radical democrat, used the language of the time in his assertion of "natural rights" upon which governments are based and which they must observe if they are to have legitimate authority. What is not clear is that whether the word **moral** can be substituted for the word **natural** whenever Jefferson used the latter in connection with law and rights, not only without changing his meaning but making it clearer to a modern reader. Not only does he say : "I am convinced man has no natural right in opposition to his social duties," and that "man was destined for society," but also that "questions of natural right are triable by their conformity with the moral sense and reason of man."[1] In a letter to de Nemours, Jefferson developed his moral and political philosophy at some length by making a distinction "between the structure of the government and the moral principles" on which its administration is based. It was here that he said, "we of the United States are constitutionally and conscientiously democrats," and then went on to give the statement a moral interpretation. Man is created with a want for society and with the powers to satisfy that want in concurrence with others. When he has procured that satisfaction by instituting a society, the latter is a product which man has a right to regulate "jointly with all those who have concurred in its procurement." "There exists a right independent of force" and "justice is the fundamental law of society." It means that man is social by nature and that his sociable and co-operative nature has given birth to society ; at the same time it signifies that his role in the regulation of society remains significant and equal with his other fellow beings with whom he co-operates in forming a society.

The will of the people as the moral basis of government and the happiness of the people as its controlling aim were so firmly established with Jefferson that it was axiomatic that the only alternative to the republican position was fear, in lieu of trust of the people. Given fear of them, it followed, as by mathematical necessity, not only that they must not be given a large share in the conduct of government, but that they must themselves be controlled by force, moral or physical or both, and by appeal to some special interest served by government—an appeal which, according to Jefferson, inevitably meant the use of means to corrupt people. Jefferson's trust in the people was a faith in what he sometimes called "their common sense and sometimes their reason. They must be fooled and misled for a time, but give them light and in the long run their oscillations this way and that will describe what in effect is a straight course."[2]

It is not to underestimate Jefferson's abilities as a practical politician when we say that this deep-rooted faith in the people and their responsiveness to enlightenment properly presented was a most important factor in enabling him to effect, against great odd, "the revolution of 1800." It is the cardinal element bequeathed by Jefferson to the American tradition.

On general principles, Jefferson knew that possession of unusual and irresponsible power corrupts those who wield it; the officials are, after all, human beings affected by ordinary weaknesses of human nature, "wares from the same workshop, made of the same materials." Hence they were to be continually watched, tested and checked as well as constitutionally limited in the original grant of powers. He firmly stated the principle that "The excellence of every government is its adaptation to the state of those to be governed by it." It was on

1. Jefferson Reader : *A Treasury of Writings about Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Francis Coleman Rosenberger (E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. New York, 1953), p. 211.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-213.

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ism in his mind that liberty could not be safe but "in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction."[3] If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. The functionaries of every government have propensities to command at will the liberty and property of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but with the people themselves,, nor can they be safe with them without information. Where the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.

In fact, he was no friend of what he called "sanctimonious reverence" for the constitution. He adhered to the view, expressed in the Declaration of Indendence, the people are more disposed to suffer evils than to right them by abolishing forms to which they are accustomed. It was the more important, accordingly, to recognize that "laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind" and that institutions must change with change of circumstances brought about by discoveries, new truths, change of opinions and manners." Were he alive, he would note and scourge that lack of democratic faith which in the professed name of democracy, asserts that "ark of the covenant is too sacred to be touched" Jefferson saw that periodical overhauling of the fundamental law was the alternative to change effected only by violence and the repetition of the historic round "of oppressions, rebellions, reformations, oppressions...." There was one thing and that was unchangeable, and that was the "inherent and inalienable rights of man."

The point on which Jefferson's ideas have not been adequately represented is related to his belief that state governments are "the true barriers of our liberty," and his fear of centralized government at Washington—not that he did not have and hold with strong conviction the belief and the fear, but that the ideas with which he supplemented them have not received due attention. He attached much importance to self-governing communities of much smaller size than the state or even the country. He was impressed, practically as well as theoretically, with the effectiveness of the New England town meeting, and wishes to see something of the sort made an organic part of the governing process of the whole country. Division of every county into wards was first suggested by him in connection with the organization of an elementary school system. But even from his early service in the legislature of Virginia to latest years of his life he urged the adoption of his plan. In a letter written after he was seventy, he wrote, "As Cato concluded every speech with the words **'Carthago delenda est'** so do I with the injunction 'Divide the counties into ward."

While the first purpose of the division into small local units was the establishment and care of popular elementary schools, the full aim was to make the wards "little republics, with a warden at the head of each, for all those concerns, which being under their eyes, they would better manage than the larger republics of the county or states." They were to have the "care of the poor, roads, police, elections, nomination of jurors, administration of justice in small cases, elementary exrcises of militia." In short, they were to exercise directly with respect to their own affairs all the functions of government, civil and military. In addition, when any important wider matter came up for decision, all wards would be called into meetings on the same day, so that the collective sense of the whole people would be produced. Although the plan was not adopted, it formed an essential part of Jefferson's political philosophy. The significance of the doctrine of "states' rights" as he held it is incomplete both theoretically and practically until this plan is taken into consideration. "The elementary republics of the Republic of the Union would form a gradation of authorities." Every man would then share in the administration of affairs not merely on election day but every day. In fact, the heart of his philosophy of politics is found in his effort to institute the small administrative and legislative unit as the keystone of the arch.

Although Jefferson's plan, as said ear-

3. Letter to George Washington, Paris, January, 4, 1786.

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lier, was not adopted either fully or in part, he firmly believed, and it is true also, that democracy could not function successfully without providing a fair chance to the people to govern their own affairs. It is a tendency of every government, whether it is democratic or autocratic, or whether it rules crudely or politely, to be authoritative in due course of time. It dictates its rules, whether they are good or bad and the people are but to acquiesce in them. Government is another name for force and hence it must be displayed either against its own people or against others. And where there is force, there cannot be any justice. It is not only logically true, but history also proves it. Hence Jefferson, who had a thorough knowledge of the past history of mankind and of all types of government, became sceptical of every form of government as was Mahatma Gandhi. He had no sympathy with the ideas of moderate reformers, such as those of Voltaire and physiocrats, who favoured an enlightened monarchy, or of Montesquieu, who desired the adoption of constitutional checks and balances. He was even more radical than Locke. Like the latter, he was not only contented with the theoretical assertion that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" or that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish a government when it becomes destructive of the inherent moral or natural rights of the governed. Unlike Locke, he put forth a definite plan for the creation of "little republics" with a view to checking the restrictive character of government and providing an opportunity for the people to participate actually in day-to-day affairs of the government.

Jefferson was a firm believer in the rights of man, which he regarded as inalienable and unchangeable, because they express the will of the righteous Creator of man embodied in the very structure of society and conscience. He was not an individualist in the sense of the British laissez-faire liberal school. He believed that individual human beings receive the right of self-government "with their being from the hand of nature." As an eighteenth century deist and believer in natural religion, Jefferson connected nature and nature's God inseparably in his thought. He expressed that he had "no fear but that the result of our experiment will be that men may be trusted to govern themselves without a master. Could the contrary of this be proved, I should conclude either that there is no God, or that he is a malevolent being." We have to interpret these words literally and not rhetorically, if we wish to understand Jefferson's democratic faith. The connection of justice or equity with equality of rights and duties was a commonplace of the moral tradition of Christendom. He took the tradition very seriously. His statements about he origin of the Declaration of Independence are confined in what he wrote shortly before his death: "We had no occasion to search into musty records, to hunt up royal parchments, or to investigate the laws and institutions of a semi-barbarous ancestry. We appealed to those of nature, and found them engraved on our hearts."

Although Jefferson did not originate the Bill of Rights, he had much to do with its amplification and in securing that it be embedded in the constitution. His flaming insistence in the Declaration that men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" had much to do with implanting them in the fibre of American life. He knew well the centuries of struggle in which men had died fighting bitterly for these rights. Step by step they had been secured through the Magna Carta, the growth of common law, the "Petition of Rights," and the Declaration of Rights, until they reached full flower in the new republic.

In the hurricane of revolutions which have swept the world since the Great War men, struggling with the wreckage and poverty of the great catastrophe and the complications of the machine age, have in despair surrendered their freedom for false promises of security and glory. Whether it be Fascism, Nazism, Communism, or their followers, the result is the same. Every one they repudiate every principle of the Bill of Rights. And where they have triumphed the first security of men has been lost. The state is a form of servitude, of slavery—a slipping back towards the Middle Ages. Whatever these ideologies are, they have one common

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denominator—the citizen has no inalienable rights. He is submerged into the state. Here is the most fundamental clash known to mankind—that is, free men and women, cooperating under orderly liberty, as contrasted with human beings made pawn of government, men who are slaves of despotism, as against free men who are the masters of the state. Hence Jefferson was eternally right when he held that liberty comes only and lives only where the hard-won rights of men are held inalienable, where governments themselves may not infringe, where governments are indeed but the mechanisms to protect and sustain these principles. Even for him, there was no religion apart from the service of humanity. Like Gandhi, he did not identify God with any deistic or theistic conception. His approach to religion was mostly humanitarian and scientific and he made it to subordinate to social utility. He called his religion a natural religion on the basis of which he advocated the "rights of men" and called them as inalienable and unchangeable. At times, he substituted the word moral for natural and called his criterion as the moral criterion for judging the validity of political institutions.

Though the terms in which Jefferson expressed his belief in the moral criterion for judging all political arrangements and his belief that republican institutions are the only ones that are morally legitimate are not now current, yet their implication still holds a firm ground. It is doubtful, however, whether defence of democracy against the attacks to which it is subjected does not depend upon taking once more the position Jefferson took about its moral basis and purpose, even though we have to find another set of words in which to formulate the moral ideal served by democracy. A renewal of faith in common human nature, in its potentialities in general and in its power in particular to respond to reason and truth, is a surer bulwark against totalitarianism than is demonstration of material success or devout worship of special legal and political forms.

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND PRODUCTIVITY

By R. K. SWAMY

In a developing economy, launching on rapid industrialization, productivity commands a very predominant place. To make a conventional start in examining the relation between productivity and industrial relations, a definition of 'productivity of labour' would be justified. Productivity of labour is hard of definition or measurement in precise statistical terms, and an attempt in this direction would only be an approximation and average of what it really is. Productivity refers to the ratio between the total input of various investment factors and the end product, investment on labour being one of the investment factors. Productivity of labour is then the ratio between production and employment hours, that is to say, the contribution of labour to production. But productivity in general is the result of cumulative influence of the operation of a large number of interrelated factors such as technological improvement, type of productive process, training of the workers, managerial efficiency, etc. All these aspects do share in and contribute to productivity, but more than any other, it is intimately connected with and affected by the worker and his morale. Productive efficiency of an industrial unit is not synonimous with productivity of labour, even though the latter may immensely influence the former. Labour productivity is a very vital element in industry as the worker is the only link between 'machinery' and end-product.

Increased productivity and increased opportunity are now considered to be the main objectives of our planned development. On the subject of industrial relations, the Second Five-Year Plan observed that:

> "For the successful implementation of the Plan, increased association of labour with management is necessary. Such a measure would help in promoting

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increased productivity for the general benefit of the enterprise, the employees and the community . . . ."[1]

The planners, needless to say, have rightly related 'increased association of labour with management' and 'promoting increased productivity.' 'Increased association of labour with management' clearly explains the whole concept of current industrial relations technique. Before going further, some explanation as to what is 'industrial relations' would be useful.

The term industrial relations includes both labour relations and human relations. Labour relations covers all group relations between the management and organised labour, and human relations refers to the direct intercourse between the individual workers and the management. It is very comprehensive, sprawling over all types of activities designed to secure efficient co-operation of manpower resources. Prof. Henry Richardson of the University of Leeds observes:

> "Unlike those (associations) of State, these (associations of men and women) are mostly voluntary in the sense that people usually chose their own job and place of work, though workpeople have little opportunity to select their workmates and necessity compels them to work. This is the field of industrial relations. How people get on together at their work, what difficulties arise between them, how their relations, including wages and working conditions, are regulated, and what organisations are set up for the protection of different interests, these are some of the main problems of industrial relations and indicate the wide scope of the subject. It is concerned with relations between the parties in industry, particularly with the determination of working condition."[2]

Industrial relations covers thus a very humane problem of the relations between the worker and his work place. It is wide in its scope as everything connected with the worker, his welfare and his manager is brought under its purview, making it one of the most important areas of concern in a rapidly industrializing world since the "establishment and maintenance of satisfactory relations in industry is one of the main social and political tasks in a modern community."[3]

After an analysis of the concepts, we shall try to evaluate the causes affecting to high and low productivity with reference to workers in India, and whether the productivity of Indian workers could be 'influenced' by the observance and employment of better industrial relations technique. Productivity of Indian workers are affected by several inter-related factors, broadly divisible into two groups: Labour-centred and Management-centred. Poor education, lack of skill and training, ill or indifferent health, constant labour mobility and poor trade unionism are the major subheads under the group of labour-centred causes. On the management side, the causes are poor appreciation of the human relations aspect, unimaginative and rigid managerial attitude, lack of management training and distrust of labour leaders. These causes are so obvious to the students of Indian economics that it obviates the need for any elaboration. We shall take some of the important areas and relate them to the low productivity of Indian working class.

The morale of the Indian workers in spite of the numerous seminars and legislation for improvement still remains shattered due to the non-recognition of the human side of the workers' life. It is not yet fully realised that the worker in an industry is not merely an industrial factor contributing to the processes of production, but also a social unit often moved by psychological political influences. It was an unfortunate day when labour was classified as one of the factors of production; technically, there is no objection to this usage, but taken to its logical conclusion, the workers came to be treated as merely manual power used to switch on and control the mechanical objects in the factories. At the hands of unimagina-

1. Second Five-Year Plan, p. 577.
2. Richardson, J. H., *An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1956, p. 12.
3. Richardson, J. H., *An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1956, p. 12.

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...re management, workers are only 'hands' with no 'mind,' one among the myriads of moving parts of the gigantic machines put in precision controlled productive processes. In reality, the worker is not just a factor or hand in the productive process, working for his wages. There are certain emotional and social urges in him to be satisfied which are often ignored in the processes of production. The spread of representative Democracy has also made the workers to look beyond the machines. The workers, as any other human beings, are conditioned not merely by the economics of sheer existence, but also by the sociology of right living. His fitness for work and morale is directly dependent on his aptitude for the work he is called upon to perform, but this aptitude is a product of the emotional and social urges operating within him. His morale and productivity are inter-active, influencing each other. 'Morale' itself is not purely an economic concept, but an economic concept on psychological foundations, and is 'relative.' To quote,

"When an employee has few frustrations, he has high morale ; when he has comparatively many frustrations or intense frustrations, he has low morale."[4]

Morale is understood to be a group phenomenon, which is generally true but not in its entirety. Morale is also personal and individual in the elementary, primary stage, culminating as it develops into a group phenomenon. Every individual worker has 'morale' that is primary and the group in which he works also possesses morale which is secondary. Individual morale, as much as group morale, are influenced by the satisfaction and participation of the worker in the aims pursued. The individual worker as observed earlier, is conditioned by social and emotional influences, the recognition of which is the principle of human relations. Good human relations in an industry mean the appreciation of the human needs of the worker, the absence of which would cause frustration and despondency resulting in low productivity. To bring out the best in the worker needs encouragement of the worker in his performance. The craving for self-expression and perfection and the longing for recognition are very essential, if frustration is to be stopped at the gates of industrial morale. Once it creeps in, it would play havoc inside the industry and the worker. When the management fails to take notice of the individual needs of the workers in the factory, treating them with scant regard, the workers resent the attitude as it humiliates and hurts their personal pride in themselves as human beings. The disinterestedness of the workers in the finished product would make them careless for the efficiency and quality of the final output. The lack of interest and despondency owing to neglect and non-recognition of the skill, contribution of the workers individually and collectively, and the complete dependence of the workers on the management for their welfare would affect morale and productivity of the workers. Enlightened self-interest should certainly induce the management to adopt good human relations techniques with a view to put life into the workers. The management may invite suggestions from the workers about improvement in work-procedure, product-improvement, and other such things and also offer suitable incentives to the best and workable suggestions. The management should make the individual workers realise that all their reasonable grievances would be sincerely looked into by the management and any special skill possessed by the workers would be recognized and rewarded.

Rewards and recognitions of the special skill of the worker is a part of good human relations technique. Such rewards and recognitions are known as 'incentives', which are now extensively used in promoting higher productivity. The incentives need not necessarily be money-based, and the experience in western countries is in favour of non-monetary incentives. A judicious combination of both material and non-material incentives as rewards and recognitions of special skills or contribution would be better suited to Indian conditions than purely material incentives and there are considerable grounds for favouring non-

4. Yoder, D., etc., *Handbook of Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, MacGraw Hill, New York, etc., 1958, Section 114.

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material incentives in India. The point is how rewards and recognitions could be utilised to meet the emotional and social urge in the workers longing for recognition with a view to avoid frustration and low morale. On this ground, non-material incentives which would appeal to the emotional and social, rather than economic, sides of the workers are better suited. Especially in our country, with the social stratifications deeply based on non-economic grounds, material incentives may not make any notable contribution towards emotional and social satisfaction of the workers, and consequently to their productivity.[5] The purpose of the labour incentive is to make the workers give their best, and they will not be in a position to give their best unless they are aware what they are expected to give and for what. In large industrial units where functional classifications are common, the workers are seldom aware of what their particular work means to the totality of the industrial unit. The connection between the parts (of the work) to the whole (of completed production) is not always made known to the workers. It is, indeed, good human relations to let the workers know the significance of their individual contribution to the finished product. This is the duty of the management. The worker should know where he stands and what he contributes to the industry of which he is a part and the satisfaction of knowing the significance of one's work and contribution will, by itself, act as an incentive to higher productivity.

Coming to collective relations between the workers as a group and management, the problem that catches attention is the part played by industrial peace in productivity. The Second Plan has recognised that for the promotion of increased productivity, association of labour with management is necessary, and observed:

"The creation of industrial democracy is a pre-requisite for the establishment of a socialist society."[6]

Having accepted the philosophy of industrial democracy, the planners suggested councils of management, technicians and workers, the constitution of such councils being the responsibility of the management. Matters which fall in within the purview of collective bargaining were to be excluded from the purview of the joint councils. The principle of industrial democracy is based on the concept of self-expression and personality development of the individual; it is the recognition of the fact that productivity and industrial peace are dependent on the extent to which the human desire to take part in decisions concerning what one is doing. As long as the labour force is kept out of the management of the industry, the labour force will not develop any sense of participation in the productive process or in the results of the work. The feeling of identification with the work, and the pride over the quality of the finished product will be hard of achievement. Workers' participation with the management would certainly help to achieve these ends, which are not really ends but means to an end, the end being higher productivity.

The case for industrial democracy has been well advocated by Prof. G. D. H. Cole:

"I feel sure that most people who have to spend most of their time obeying orders they have had no part in framing will necessarily imbibe a habit of obedience which will enter into their attitudes not only as employed workers but also as citizens. Either that, or they will acquire an attitude of resentment that will both make them unhappy in their work and render them discontented and ill adjusted in their personal and social relations."[7]

The aim of industrial democracy is to ensure maximum co-operation between workers and management, to make the

5. For an illuminating discussion on this topic, please see Sri M. Mangaldas's radio talk over A.I.R., reproduced in *Commerce*, August 30, 1958, p. 362.

6. Second Five-Year Plan, p. 577.

7. Cole, G. D. H., *The Case for Industrial Partnership*, Macmillan, London, 1957, p. 11.

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workers participate and share in the responsibilities of management, and make them partners in industrial management, so that production and productivity could be maximised. The industrial partnership would minimise and eliminate the traditional polarisation of labour and management by generating harmony and understanding. A spirit of compromise and accommodation in place of conflict and distrust would result as industrial partnership provides facilities to labour and management to exchange their difficulties with a view to find out better solutions than the ones known hitherto. The opportunity given to workers in joint consultation would not merely make them responsible and responsive to the needs of the industry and appreciate the difficulties of management, but would also induce them to be co-operative. In such an atmosphere of understanding, harmony and co-operation, the productivity of workers would rise considerably. Matters like safety, welfare, discipline, personal problems, efficiency of production methods, new suggestions, working hours and distribution, etc., which directly or indirectly affect productivity, could be discussed and settled in industrial democracy, more amicably than under industrial autocracy, however, benevolent it might be, industrial autocracy here meaning management of industry by management alone.

There is no doubt that industrial partnership would influence productivity by eliminating distrust, disharmony and industrial conflict. Workers under industrial democracy, would become active participants and contribute their best instead of simply remaining in the aloofness of passive subordination. But the policy of industrial partnership may cause anxiety in the minds of tradition-ridden industrialists, unwilling to face the rapid and drastic change that has taken place in industrial relations. By whom and at what level this partnership is to be implemented has been a controversial issue on which Prof. Richardson observes :

"The initiative for successful joint consultation rests primarily on the management. Unless management is convinced of its value no scheme can succeed, and this conviction must permeate the whole of the management from top to bottom. It is not enough for the managing director to be keen if there is scepticism at lower levels."[8]

Prof. Richardson rightly places the burden of convening joint committees on the management and adds that the spirit of partnership should pervade all the levels of management. But it is very doubtful whether these assertions would be appreciated in this country where the industrial management is very apprehensive about the role of trade unions in joint consultation. Our ill-educated and uneducated workers are, of course, swayed by trade union leadership who might at the slightest provocation try to cause breach of industrial peace. Yet, industrial partnership could itself be an instrument of protection or shield against undue interference from the trade unions. The fear that trade union leaders might try to obstruct smooth management of industry by getting into and sabotaging joint committees is to an extent justified, but that would neither be widespread nor persistent. The workers would be quick enough to grasp the significance of industrial partnership and turn down spurious leadership. To quote Prof. Cole :

"The case for workers' participation in control is not a case for turning representative trade union leaders into either directors or managers of businesses, whether the businesses are privately or publicly owned. It is a case for giving every worker, at any rate after a short probationary period, the status of a partner in the enterprise for which he works."[9]

The complexity and scope of the employee participation in management was felt by the Government of India and a study team consisting of officials, employers and employees was sent by the Government to study the working of the scheme in Western countries. The Study Team made a detailed examination of the workers participation scheme in Britain, France, Germany, Yugo-

8. Richardson, J. H., *An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1956, p. 120.

9. Cole, G. D. H., *The Case for Industrial Partnership*, Macmillan, London, 1957, p. 15.

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slavia, etc., and submitted a comprehensive report on their return.[10] The report recommended permissive legislation in this direction and made some suggestion for making this scheme a success which included (1) a sustained educational campaign, (2) close association of technicians, (3) reorientation of attitudes, etc.

The Indian Labour Conference[11] accepted the principle of workers' participation in management, but recommended its introduction in selected industrial units. A subcommittee appointed by the Conference has drawn up a scheme for Councils of Management. A seminar was also held on Labour Management Co-operation, in New Delhi in January, 1958, which made recommendations on the constitution and functions of joint councils.

The following are some instances of the Joint Councils of management set up already: in the transport engineering work-shops of the Madras Government, in Simpsons Group of companies in Madras; in all State-owned industrial concerns in Kerala State; and in the Hindustan Machine Tool Factory, Jalahali.[12]

The Third Plan observes that during the short period of its existence, the scheme of workers' participation in management has shown satisfactory and heartening results.[13] As an instrument for promoting a sense of belonging in the workers and stimulating their interest in higher productivity, the scheme will no doubt show far greater success when it takes deep roots in our industrial set up. At present, the Joint Management Councils have direct administrative responsibility in matters concerning workers' welfare, training and allied matter; its main functions being in the field of promoting mutual consultation between management and workers in matters affecting industrial relations.

The Third Five-Year Plan suggests that whenever a representative existing a Joint Management Council should come into being as a matter of course. In essence this means that workers' participation in management is to be organized in industrial units where there is a representative union. A representative union, therefore, is a condition precedent for the establishment of joint councils. It is now recognised that trade unions can play a usefully significant role in the industrial field. Where management has created a favourable environment for increase in productivity, trade unions may contribute to higher productivity by co-operating with, and co-ordinating the efforts of, the management. For improved industrial relations, it is necessary that every industrial unit should have a union and that every group of industries should have a joint union. The presence of more than one union at the unit level only weakens the position of the workers. In India, the workers' union movement is at a very deplorable state. Only a small percentage of workers is organised, which is not conducive to the proper development of industrial partnership or democracy.

A strong, representative union in an industrial unit is a valuable asset to the management. But trade union movement in this country is not only weak, owing to rivalry and political leanings, but also very far behind the progress achieved in the field of industrial relations techniques. The trade union leaders at lower levels have not grasped the fact that the lot of Indian labour could be improved only when it shows higher productivity, since higher wages and higher productivity are closely inter-connected. The Indian trade union movement suffers from lack of good leadership, poor finance and inter-union rivalry. The Third Plan observed:

"There is need for a considerable adaptation in the outlook, functions and practices of trade unions to suit the conditions which have arisen and are emerging."[14]

10. Report of the Study Group on Worker Participation in Management, 1957, Manager of Publication, Delhi.

11. 15th Session held in New Delhi in July, 1957.

12. I.L.O., *Recent developments in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy*, IV, I.L.O. Branch, New Delhi, 1959, p. 27.

13. Third Five-Year Plan, p. 252.

14. Third Five-Year Plan, p. 255.

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The responsibility for developing healthy unionism should necessarily be that of the management. It has to set good examples not only by the recognition of really representative unions but also by encouraging such unions to freely participate in the joint councils. It is the management that should first exhibit the spirit of industrial democracy. A responsible union will make the joint councils meant for increasing productivity and betterment of labour function efficiently and guide the workers in the right direction so that the productivity is nourished and developed.

A weak labour union will not help the cause of industrial partnership. In our country, the weakness of trade unions movement lies in inefficient and unscrupulous leadership and in the general social backwardness of the labour. Insufficient finance of unions is caused by the lack of the workers response to union movement. Outside leadership of the unions are due to the lack of proper persons among the workers to take over the union leadership. Yet, all these are consequences of greater shortcomings of our workers, namely, their illiteracy and socio-economic backwardness. As long as these evils go unattended, the productivity of the workers will be low, and it may worsen in due course. To quote the Royal Commission on Labour :

"In India mostly the whole mass of industrial labour is illiterate, a state of affairs which is unknown in any other country of industrial importance. It is almost impossible to overestimate the consequences of this disability, which are obvious in wages, health, in productivity, in organisation and in several other directions."[15]

Even though two decades have rolled since the publication of this report, no improvement has taken place in the condition of the workers. The Government, being aware of this importance of workers' education and its productivity drive, constituted in 1957 an expert team with the co-operation of Ford Foundation to study and report on the problem of workers' education in India.[16] The Indian Labour Conference in its 15th Session held in July, 1957, considered the recommendations of the Team of Experts and evolved an organization for the purpose of promoting workers' education. An autonomous Central Board for Workers' Education has been inaugurated with a Managing Board consisting of the representatives of labour, employers, Government and educational institutions. The Central Board will formulate the policy on workers' education, lay down standards and supervise all programmes. There are now 12 Regional Boards apart from the Central Board at Nagpur to propagate workers' education, which includes in its scope, education about trade unions and organization, training for union leadership and other general aspects of workers' education. Presently the workers' education programme is divided into three phases of training teacher—administrators, training worker-teachers through teacher administrators, and training workers through worker-teachers. It is too early to evaluate the contribution of workers' education scheme to Indian industrial democracy, but in a decade the scheme would certainly bear fruits, improving industrial relations and productivity.

A brief note on the settlement of industrial disputes and grievances may be given here, even though the close relationship between labour productivity and industrial peace has been well discussed above. As far as possible, industrial disputes should be settled by negotiations and voluntary conciliation and arbitration procedure. Compulsory arbitration may settle the issues, but it is not certain that the awards given by arbitrators would satisfy the labour and management equally. A spirit of give and take should pervade the whole field of industrial relations as embitterment of either partners in industrial democracy is harmful to the industry and its betterment.

15. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, p. 27.

16. Report on Workers' Education, 1957, Manager of Publication, Delhi.

*For more detailed study on Workers' Education : *Recent Developments in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy—IV*. I.L.O. Branch, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 48-84.

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The procedure for settlement of industrial disputes is contained in the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. Coming to the point of productivity and industrial disputes, it should be made clear that it is prevention rather than settlement of disputes that would conduce higher productivity. The aim should be to keep the industry free from breakdowns or punctures, so that consistent smoothness would create a stable atmosphere inside the factory. The availability of a cure and its application do not ensure a healthy system; so are the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act. As no man who has made it a habit to look to a doctor to stand on his feet can do effective work, an industry periodically seeking the help of conciliators cannot show higher productivity.

In addition to the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act for the settlement of disputes, the Indian Labour Conference in its 16th Session held in May, 1958, approved of a 'grievance procedures' to settle expeditiously the grievances of industrial workers. The establishment of grievance procedure would be of great help in improving industrial relations by assisting quick and easy settlement of workers' grievances, which would go a long way in promoting their morale. To be aggrieved and then left in despondency is a possible danger, and the availability of redress would consolidate the hopes of the workers for judicious, expeditious disposal of their grievances. The Grievance Committee, under this procedure, would consist of representatives of workers of their unions and nominees of the management for this purpose in the department and the head of the department.

In the early stages of this paper, we referred to management centred causes influencing productivity. Labour and management are two sides of the same coin. The web of industrial partnership and industrial relations are woven around these two. The procurement and effective deployment of labour force so as to achieve the ends of the industrial unit with minimum of waste is the main function of management. The development of a stable labour force, devoted to the industry in which they work lies in the hands of the management. The preservation of industrial peace to attain highest productivity possible is an important task of the managerial staff. If the management desires to bring out the best in the workers and utilise the talents constructively, as it should, the management should take particular interest in preserving and constantly improving good human relations in the industry, because the human side of the workers, as pointed out earlier, plays a vital role in increasing or affecting productivity. As rightly observed by Sri S. S. Jaggia, Managing Director of Hindustan Insecticides,

> "As far as possible their (workers') legitimate demands should be anticipated and a human view taken of matters relating to them.....Many a good and otherwise well-behaved employee is made to suffer for want of human element on the part of management in their dealings with them."[17]

It is the business of the management to promote group and individual morale in the unit under their custodianship by the adoption of good human relations technique. The workers will not be able to show good results in their work, if the management has not succeeded in 'motivating' them to put in better performance. A healthy and friendly atmosphere inside the industry between management and workers is an asset to the industry. But, good human relations will not flourish where the management has caused a gulf to separate them from the workers. The management should, if it wants to improve human relations, pursue these aims:

1. "to discover any friction that exists within the undertaking;
2. to take necessary measures to reduce it;
3. to strengthen the common bond constituted by the undertaking by encouraging the workers to take an interest in it."[18]

17. S. S. Jaggia, *Personnel Management*, Discussion Paper No. 13, *Seminar on Management of Public Industrial Enterprises*, (Govt. of India and U.N. Sponsored), New Delhi, December 1959, pp. 2-3.

18. I.L.O. *The Improvement of Human Relations in the Undertaking*, (Reprint from Industrial

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The complex part of the management desiring to achieve higher productivity lies in influencing the workers to devote his best to the industry. In a progressive industry, the management may periodically find the need to introduce new methods and instruments, which may dislocate the existing distribution of work and relationship. In such cases, the management should try to make the workers realise the importance of accepting new skills or acquiring new methods. This is a difficult task, but the management should face the task with understanding and caution. To quote,

"Any attempt to raise productivity implies a change in the existing methods of doing things, and change—as had been constantly reiterated by the social psychologists—represents a most jarring challenge to the existing order of personal relationships. It is very important for economic progress that this challenge be met successfully. In this case success would mean that the changes required in order to improve productivity are accepted as improvements by the workers involved . . ."[19]

In earlier parts of this paper we referred to workers' participation in management, Grievance Committee, etc., as means for improving industrial relations and, consequently, productivity. These tools would be successful if only they could command the adherence and respect of the management, as no tool is stronger or more useful than the spirit with which they are utilised or handled. The management should not only accept these new tools suggested to them, but also make use of them sincerely and willingly. The creation of a spirit of comradeship and the longing for solidarity in the industry is entirely a management responsibility. The essential condition of success in a scheme of productivity improvement through better industrial relations is the compromising and positive attitude of the management. The tools for better industrial relations placed at their disposal should only be used to promote the legitimate purpose for which it was designed. For example,

> ". . . . . that whatever the management does to associate the workers with the undertaking it should never try to split them from their union or endeavour to persuade them that their interests are more effectively protected by the company."[20]

In concluding, it should be pointed out that an increase in productivity is not an improvement of production per-man hour, even though productivity is generally measured by production per-man hours. Productivity is a product of the cumulative influence of various factors, labour being one of them. The contribution of labour to the total investment on it is to be taken as an approximate index, but not as "precise measurement" of labour productivity, other factors of production being the same throughout the productivity comparisons. Higher productivity of industry can be effected by improved utilization of :

"1. manpower resources ;
2. equipment resources ;
3. raw materials ; or
4. any or all of the above."[21]

Throughout this paper, reference has been made only to the first aspect, of improved utilization of manpower resources, as specifically confined to industrial relations. Workers' education and training for particular activities, proper job evaluation and distribution, training for supervisory and management staff have been left out so as to confine the discussion exclusively to the field of individual and collective relations of workers with the Management.

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ational Labour Review, Sept.-Oct., 1954), Geneva, 1954, p. 10.

19. Tilles, S., *Productivity in Under-developed Countries*, (Reprint from *International Labour Review*, Dec., 1955), I.L.O., Geneva, 1956, p. 13.

20. The *Improvement of Human Relations in the Undertaking*, I.L.O., Geneva, 1954, pp. 21-22.

21. Tilles, S., *Productivity in Underdeveloped Countries*, I.L.O., Geneva, 1956, p. 6.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ENGLISH

SHUJA-UD-DAULAH. Vol. I (1754-1765) : *By A. L. Srivastava. Second revised edition. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. Private Ltd., Agra 1961. Pp. 283. Rs. 12.50.*

We had the pleasure of noticing the merits of this scholarly work in its first edition many years back in the pages of *The Modern Review*. The second edition is now presented before us with a few improvements. The author has utilised fresh material in the shape of a Persian manuscript from the Central Record Office, Allahabad, which was written in 1833-34 A.D. He has also made use of the newly-published 15 volumes of Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar edited by G. S. Sardesai. The work retains its place as a first-rate and indispensable authority for the period of modern Indian history with which it deals, *viz.*, the first eleven years of the reign of Shuja-ud-Daulah as the Wazir of Awadh and Allahabad.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHI FACES THE STORM : *By Gene Sharp, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, Pp. 71, Price Re. 1.00.*

This small book is written by 25-year old Shri Gene Sharp an American Pacifist and conscientious objector. This is an attempt to show the inner Gandhi during his last two years, his evaluations of what had gone wrong, where he had failed, what was needed if India and the world were to go forward to a society of peace and Justice.

Shri Sharp is an active worker of the Peace-maker Research Committee of America. The work is a reverential study of Gandhi, and as such is bound to be welcome to all who care to understand Gandhiji.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA'S FREEDOM : *By Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, Central Book Depot, Allahadad, pages 51. Price Rs. 1.25 nP.*

The author who is now a naturalized American had his early education in the State of Baroda. He went to America in 1920, for further studies with only 350 dollars in his pocket.

In these few pages he has given a short account of the Indians who worked for Indian Freedom Movement in USA with the assistance and co-operation of Sympathetic Americans—the period covered is 1914 to 1947. He narrates the activities of the Ghadar Revolutionary Party of California, (1913), the Friends of Freedom for India (Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose and Mr. B. K. Roy and others) and also works of Lala Lajpat Rai in America. The activities of Dr. Syed Hussain, Dr. Anub Singh, Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani and of the author himself are given in some detail. Beside political associations some cultural and religious societies also worked for better understanding between Americans and Indians and for interpretation of the East to the West.

As an introduction to the subject this brochure deserves wide circulation.

COMMON MARKET—What it is : *Published by N. M. Joshi, School of Trade Unions, New Delhi, pages 104. Price Rs. 3/-.*

When Great Britain is negotiating to join the European Common Market (ECM), the publication of this book is welcome, particularly in India, who being a member of the Commonwealth has considerable trade with England. The other members of the Commonwealth are no less interested and anxiety has been expressed also by Canada, Australia, New Zealand and African

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members. Trade facilities and benefits now enjoyed by the Commonwealth countries in relation to England and mutual advantages are likely to be curtailed and possibly abolished if Britain joins ECM.

The book is divided into three parts: Part I contains an article *Historical Background of the ECM*: by M. K. Pandhe, Part II contains three articles, *India and the Common Market*: by S. A. Dange, *Britain and the Common Market*: by R. Palme Dutt and *West Germany and the Common Market*: by L. R. D. Part III contains *Reaction: India and Abroad*, Africa, Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, France, Soviet Union, Hungary—Community of the E.E.C. Part IV contains four Appendices: (i) Communique of Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council; (ii) Direction of India's Foreign Trade; (iii) Questions and Answers on the Common Market and (iv) ECM Council Agreement on Farm Policy. Mr. S. A. Dange has written a foreward of fourteen pages presenting his views on the subject with a version "India must not fall a prey to this power-politics and become its associates in any form though a section of vested interests are trying to pull us in that direction."

The articles have been written from the workers' point of view but the presentation and treatment of the subject is clear. Even a layman will be able to understand the implications of Britain's entry into ECM without bothering about theories of international trade, tariff and customs. Part III and Appendices will help the reader to know the views of writers and authorities other than those expressed in Parts I, II and III.

A. B. DUTTA

BRITISH STATESMEN IN INDIA: *By V. Kulkarni, Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Gol Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 20/-.*

A very comprehensive, critical and careful survey of British rule in India. The author has covered the regimes of fifteen out of the thirty-three Governors-General and Viceroys of India of the British period. The regimes of Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Moira, Bentinck, Dalhousie, Canning, Ripon, Curzon, Minto, Chelmsford, Irwin, Willington, Linlithgow, Wavell and Mountbatten have been very carefully visualised through a study of the personalities and administration of the respective periods.

The author deals more with events than with the personalities and the reader will get an authentically vivid picture of what happened in India during the British rule, within the compass of a little over 500 pages.

The last chapter, "India since Independence" records in short India's achievements since independence. The book is a valuable contribution and should be interesting even to the general class of readers and will enable them to have some idea as to the blessings of British rule in India. None should be blind to the facts that the British gave the country a rule of law, introduced the Western institutions and the Parliamentary systems of government. This legacy of the British to India is precious and enduring.

C. K. H.

IMPOSTER AT THE BAR: *By George Campbell. Published by Hodder and Stoughton, London. Price 25s net.*

The book under review presents a fascinating study of the period beginning from the late 17th and ending in early 18th century. The deposition of James II and Mary of Modena preceded by their endeavour to impose a suppositious Prince of Wales on the English nation and events that followed provided a dired background to the activities of notorious scoundrals and libellers who thrived during the period. The imposter at the bar, William Fuller by name, headed this band of unscrupulous men and women who resorted to all sorts of mean tactics to achieve their personal ends. Fuller served as a double spy for William III and the exiled James II, then living at St. Germain. He was paid at both ends and for some time he enjoyed the confidence of both the courts. He became notorious as soon as he was unmasked and people started taking interest in what he said and did. He claimed to be the confidant of kings and queens and the intimate friend of the 'greatest men of the nation.' As a spy and double agent Fuller had hardly any equal. He was a brazen-faced liar and his lies often went beyond all bounds of probability. Yet people heeded what he said and both Houses of Parliament, though often deceived, heard him many times and his tales against the then leading statesmen of the English court were carefully heard and scrutinised. Ultimately he was found to be an incorrigible liar and gaoled. His repeated appearance in the pillory made him a laughing stock in the latter part of his life. His accusations were no longer heard and he was taken to be a confirmed criminal. His end was tragic and sad.

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The age in question had its spies and double agents of great notoriety and Fuller occupied a special place amongst them. The history of the United Kingdom of this period was plagued by confidence tricksters and cunning plotmakers and the author George Campbell has taken immense pains to give a faithful account of the then England. Mr. Campbell toiled laboriously in the Public Record Office and the British Museum and gave us a socio-political history of the period while presenting the life of this notorious imposter. He deserves commendation for the historical research and a word of praise for the lucid style in which he wrote.

The publishers must be thanked for the good get-up.

SADGURU SREE RANA DEVI: Golden Jubilee Souvenir: *Published by the Golden Jubilee Celebration Committee, Car Street, Mangalore-1. Price Rs. 12.50 nP. only.*

The assurance of Lord Krishna to Arjuna rings into the ears of eternity and we come across men and women in human history who attained divinity. The affiliated progeny of Adam look for peace and that is why they look for a Sadguru who could guide them in their spiritual quest. We come across such Sadgurus here in India who by their practice and profession have shown us the way to truth and peace. We adore them, go to them for practical guidance. They readily help us in our distress. They give us knowledge and bless us while we struggle to know the Truth. We surrender our reason and intellect and wait patiently for the grace to come. All our efforts would go in vain if in our spiritual quest we fail to have the blessings of a Sadguru. For, inscrutable are the ways of God to men. If we judge the divine dispensations by the ordinary criteria of moral evolution or material consideration, we will be mistaken. When we are concerned with the Ultimate, we must not apply the ordinary yardstick. The Vyavaharika order cannot supplant the Paramarthika order. From the lower to the higher one must ascend. And this process of ascension must be guided by one who knows the Truth. He or she must be one who has direct communication with the God-head. Mere knowledge of the scriptural texts will not take us very far. Discursive reason was not considered a sufficient guide in this quest. That is why people flock to god-intoxicated men and women and listen to their wise counsels in matters of self-realisation and god-realisation. Their messages have a special significance for the world intoxicated with brute force and morbid fear. So, the book under review carrying the message of the advent and activities of Sadguru Sri Rama Devi is a welcome addition to the already existing volume of literature on Sadgurus of the world. These world teachers must be listened to and their messages respected. We should adore them and let the world know that we adore them. This will bring men and women of similar spiritual affiliation together and help to build a society better than the one we live in.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

THE INDOMITABLE SARDAR: *By K. L. Punjabi. Published in 1962, by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7. Price Rs. 15/-.*

In two years' time the author has given us monographs on Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel. It is, I should consider, a very laudable use of his retirement from the Indian Civil Service. He has brought to bear upon his endeavour a painstaking study and devotion coupled with a shrewd sense of discernment, and it makes his book a pleasant reading.

In the preface the author speaks of 'a conspiracy of silence aimed at obliterating his (Patel's) memory'. If he is aware of such facts and circumstances as to justify him thinking like this, it was certainly incumbent upon him, the biographer, to state them for what they are worth and let the reading public judge. To omit to do so, after such a broad hint is categorically given, is to cast reflections on those in authority, who happened to cross swords with him. It is, however, absolutely certain that there is not the faintest breath of murmur to the full, unstinted praise for Patel's consummate statesmanship in making much over five hundred princes dissolve their states to make one United India. In fact Patel has done what Asoke and Akbar dreamed. Patel, again, nobody tires saying with oblique glance at Nehru, did not support referring Kashmir to the U.N., and had warned him with regard to the *bona fides* of Shaikh Abdulla. However, the author's grievance is that there is not in the country basketfuls of Patel's biography, he has to rest content with the reason that after all, Patel had to play the role of a second in-command. In the first stage of his public

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he was thoroughly under the thumb of ...hiji with no individual contributions in ...ht or action; and in the later stage, he ...just the Deputy to the Prime Minister. He ...given and given ungrudgingly the Field Mar...'s baton, but was never the Supreme Comman... It is, however, really true that with the ...ticap of having had to drive the car from the ...k seat, he acquitted himself so creditably that ...many a crucial matter he was held high over ...head of Nehru; and today there is, possibly, ...unanimous endorsement of the author's cita... of the nation's verdict: 'Had Sardar been ... today, India would not have seen such ...us days'.

The author has to the best of his light and ...ledge disposed of Azad's mean, cowardly ...k—criticism it is not—on Patel after he was ... I cannot help saying in this connection ...t Rajagopalachary, so guarded in the expres... of his opinions about his fellow-workers, ...s about Azad's *India Wins Freedom*. He says, ...s a hard book to read'—really a hard book ... any decent man to read—and that Azad's 'ego ...rwhelmed his perception'—Read Mounica Fel...'s *I Meet Rajaji*.

A political biography can ill-afford to be a ...ral oration. Just as a hero-worshipper pre...ts his subject of memoir highlighting his fea...es of elegance, he would have his impact felt ... the more tellingly were he to mention at least ...e well-publicized scars. In the light of this, it is a ...or omission on the part of the author to have ...ked out the fact that Vallabhbhai stretched ...self to the full length of his ingenuity and re...ces to thwart the Will of his elder brother ...lbhai directing that his 'assets', after making ...minor gifts, were to be made over to Subhas ...for political purpose. What, by the way, is ...point in portraying Vithalbhai, the Swarajist ...r and the one-time President of the Indian ...slative Assembly, as a 'thriftless' hanger-on, ... throughout his life'—even when the Presi...—was 'supplied with funds' by Vallabh... The point of his impecuniosity being thrice ...ed—at pages 17, 82 and 231—one might feel ...ed to scan if Vithalbhai had the right for ...rodigal disposal of what he called his 'assets.' The author needed to explain—in the ...ence of any there is only one conclusion that ...has none to offer—why Patel entered into a ...spiracy with Nehru to keep Gandhiji com...ly in the dark with regard to their agreeing ...ept the division of India. Even, if Gandhiji's ...ion could well be anticipated, they owed ... least the courtesy of a consultation. Dr. ... who attended the meeting of the Congress ...ing Committee accepting Partition, speaks of 'the exceedingly rough behaviour of these two chosen disciples toward their master'; 'they barked violently' whenever Gandhiji tried to oppose them—read his *Guilty Men of India's* Partition. The irony of history is that Patel and Nehru fell out after they had settled down into their respective jobs; and their bickerings disturbed Gandhiji so mightly to the last moments before he was shot dead. In the context of the above the author's analysis of the points of difference between Patel and Nehru is well worth a perusal.

All told, the author has given us a fine portrait of Patel—the very very poor boy, who rose to an eminence the pampered child of opportunities would do well to envy; and who, to the last, employed himself to the betterment of his motherland.

JOGES C. BOSE

SANSKRIT

SAMAVEDIYA SANDHYAMANTRA: *By Sri Indramohan Chakravorti. Translated in English and Bengali with critical notes. Published by Sri Bimalendu Chakravorti, Gita Chakra, 12, Hara Chandra Mallick Street, Calcutta-5, pp. 80. Price Re 1.25 nP.*

In these days of growing scepticism we think very little of religion or religious practices. "Social reconstruction," as Dr. Radhakrishnan opines, "in the light of religious ideals seems to be of great importance in these difficult days." But a few of us care for revaluation of our ancient culture or ever try to understand the real significance of our most ancient religious rites. The Vedic hymns considered to be the treasure-house of our cultural heritage are really difficult to understand. The book under review stands as a challenge to this modern sceptic mind. The author discusses in detail in the Introduction to the book, the inner significance and purpose of our daily rite **sandhya**. The book contains the original Vedic hymns connected with the **Samaveda Sandhya** and English and Bengali renderings of the same. The translations are in verse written in lucid and beautiful style. The book evinces the author's mastery over Vedic language, and his critical and poetic acumen. In the translation, the true spirit of the original has been well-preserved. Sri Chakravorti deserves our hearty congratulations for having produced this very useful and nice monograph.

Gopikamohan Bhattacharya

:o:

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Exports of Iron Ore

The Economic Weekly of Bombay, has the following editorial in its June 23rd issue :

While efforts to promote new exports are most welcome it will not do to forget those traditional items where exports can be boosted to a very considerable extent. This is particularly applicable to iron ore in which India has nearly 25 per cent of the world's total supply, her percentage of the world trade is barely 4 per cent.

There is no fundamental reason why India should not export very large quantities of iron ore. Orissa iron ore, for instance, is considered to be among the finest produced. Besides, India's proximity to Japan, which is one of the largest importing countries (importing nearly 20 per cent of world iron ore imports), should put her in a very competitive position against other sources of supply like South America ; the main defect that bedevils India's iron ore trade is the transport system which is not developed sufficiently to deliver the goods in time.

The importance of transport in the manufacture of steel was presented by Mr. Cartwright, Managing Director of the Steel Company of Wales, in a recent paper on transport of steel. He pointed out that the cost of ore from certain overseas deposits to European steel works was as follows : Cost of mining—25 per cent; Rail transport to port—11 per cent; Loading into ship—2 per cent; Sea freight and cost of discharge—65 per cent. It can, therefore, be seen that the most important factor determining the c.i.f cost of iron ore is sea transport. If freight-rates are high, then naturally the f.o.b. price paid for iron ore from that source of supply is very much lower than from other sources of supply.

Sea freight-rates are affected mainly by the time that is taken in loading and discharging the cargo and by the sort of the vessel that is utilised. Although distance plays some part in it, normally it is so small that it does not make much difference.

In this lies a certain moral for India; for, although the countries that import India's iron ore (60 per cent of it goes to Japan) are able to accommodate large 45,000 tonners and are able to discharge these ships at the rate of 10,000 tons a day, we are still faced with very high freight-rates from India to Japan because Indian ports are neither sufficiently deep nor fast. The State Trading Corporation, which handles India's iron ore exports, does not seem to realise the vital importance of building up ports for export; they go on using small ports like Masulipatam which load at the rate of 400 tons a day, causing long delays to ships and thus pushing up the price for service of transport. If ports were built nearer to the sources of supply and adequate facilities were given, it would be possible to reduce freight-rates and thus help to put India's iron ore on a much more competitive position.

Vizag as Ore Port

Some efforts in this direction are being made; in 1964, the Visakhapatnam port scheme is likely to be completed which will make this port a major iron ore exporting port for this country. However, it is not clear that this is the ideal location for a major ore port. Visakhapatnam is over 450 miles from the Kiriburu mines in Orissa which will be the source of supply in the next three years. In fact, there is so much iron ore in Orissa that there are serious grounds for giving the highest priority to developing a port in this area. The Chief Minister of Orissa has put forward, as a possibility, the development of Paradip into a major port. There are certain many advantages in doing so in view of the fact that the distance from the mines of Tomka Kiriburu, to Paradip is only about 80-90 miles. However the Railways have not favoured to provide rail facilities and the present scheme is to transport ore in trucks. Two schemes therefore will lead to a substantial waste as transporting iron ore in trucks is not a sensible proposition. The key to successful development of such a port is the assurance that regular supply of ore will move from the mines to the port. It is, therefore, desirable that all the Ministries concerned should co-operate and co-ordinate in such a scheme, and, indeed, it is the kind of scheme that could ideally be decided by the new Minister for Co-ordination; for it is most wasteful to develop port handling capacities if there are insufficient transport facilities with the hinterland as we should have realised after Kandla. It is absolutely essential to have a regular supply of wagons continually bringing enough iron ore to be loaded as fast as the ship can take it. Another port that could be carefully considered for supplying to western countries is Mangalore. Once again, this port would be very close to the Bellary-Hospet mines and could, provided sufficiently developed, become one of the most important exporting ports that the country will have.

The Board of Trade should seriously consider these problems rather than the problem of developing the port of Bombay. After all there is not much that can be exported from Bombay and, so far at least, it has proved itself sufficiently large to handle all the traffic that comes to it. If we are serious about exporting, there is no reason why we should not concentrate on those exports which are bound to give us a sure

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Can Democracy Work ?

We reprint in part an article by Reinhold Niebuhr, published in the *New Leader* of New York of May 20th. The portion in italics has been italicized by us to show how casual American authors of repute can be when dealing with Asia-ian affairs. Reza was a Brigadier General of the Persian Cossack and the British did their best to trip him up at every step, as is known to every honest historian.

Perhaps the moment has come for an "agonizing reappraisal" of the position of our battle-lines in Asia and Africa. The question is whether we have not too simply regarded Western-style democracy as the alternative to Communism in non-European cultures.

These cultures may or may not possess two prerequisites for democracy : One is a degree of ethnic and linguistic uniformity sufficient to serve as a community base for a free society. The other is a degree of literacy and of technical development sufficient to provide the intellectual maturity and social flexibility necessary for a system of self-rule. Democracy may be the ideal instrument of justice in any culture : irresponsible power is always dangerous. But the question remains whether democracy is not also a luxury which only advanced nations can afford.

Consider the hazards of democratic life in the "client" nations the United States supports, as revealed in the current news. In accordance with the Geneva peace treaty of a decade ago, which in effect emancipated it from French domination, the old territory of Indo-China is now three very competent new nations. Laos and Cambodia are neutralist in terms of the agreement ; Vietnam is divided, in the fashion of Korea, and South Vietnam has become the U.S.' responsibility. We took it over from the French and have since poured billions of dollars in military assistance and foreign aid into it.

In Laos, after the Eisenhower effort to support a pro-Western government failed, Washington decided to back a neutralist regime. Three royal princes control the three factions, pro-Western Boun Oum, neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma and Communist Prince Souphanouvong. As this is being written, long negotiations aimed at establishing peace in Laos on the basis of a genuinely neutralist government have not yet produced results.

In fact, the neutral control commission under British and Russian auspices has been unable to bring stable internal peace to Laos. Two factors, perhaps, are operative here : The Chinese Communists are not the most cooperative partners in the "Socialist camp" ; and Nikita Khrushchev's promise to President Kennedy last June at Vienna, pledging help in establishing an independent coalition government in Laos, does not appear to amount to much in substance. Whatever the reasons, the Communist-led Pathet Lao forces recently violated the cease-fire and routed the Royal Army in the north.

In South Vietnam the situation is even more serious. The U.S. military assistance group there has more and more become involved in the actual fighting between North and South, which continues unabated. We have been training the Southern forces in guerrilla warfare, and perhaps participating in it, though such warfare requires a friendly peasantry to be successful. Recently, several American soldiers were wounded and two sergeants were captured. On being freed, they declined under orders to reveal the nature of their experience.

The political situation is as grave as the military, if not more so. It is so serious, indeed, that the question must be raised whether it has not been a mistake to commit our prestige unqualifiedly to the defense of this nation. President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam had some early success in consolidating the economic life of his half of the nation and in settling refugees from the North. But his Government has become increasingly corrupt and repressive.

Diem's brother and sister are infamous for their relation to corrupt Government contractors. His jails are full not only of Communists but also of anti-Communists who criticize his rule. In 1960, his regime survived an Army revolt ; not long ago, two Air Force officers bombed the Presidential palace. After escaping to Cambodia, the pilot declared the bombing was the Army's gesture of protest against the Presidential clique.

Recently, too, the distinguished journalist Homer Bigart of the New York *Times* was nearly expelled by the Saigon Government for ventilating some of the unsavory facts about the regime. Pressure from Washington prevented Bigart's

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pulsion. But no amount of pressure, including a visit from Vice President Lyndon Johnson, has been able to prompt the Diem government to carry through the reforms which are the litmus test of minimal justice in moribund feudal economies.

We face the question, in short, of whether South Vietnam has sufficient political and moral health to invest its struggle against Communism with the necessary moral capital? Or, to put the question another way, have we been mistaken in investing our moral prestige in Asia in this kind of struggle?

Even the severest critics of the present policy know that strategic considerations enter into any political equation. There are times when we find it inescapable to support questionable leaders who, in the words of FDR, "may be bastards but are at least our bastards." The loss of South Vietnam to the Communists would mean a considerable strategic loss in South-east Asia. But as it is now, the loss of moral prestige through the support of an unpopular and unviable regime is also a great hazard.

The problem is, of course, wider than Indo-China. In South Korea the United States once supported the corrupt regime of Syngman Rhee. It was overthrown by a military coup, but the succeeding regime did not eliminate corruption either. It was, in turn, ended by another military revolt led by the tough, U.S.-trained General Chung Hee Park, who learned honesty but not democracy from his American tutors. He has suppressed all political life and freedom in Korea.

The instances of non-Communist nations not conforming to minimal standards of justice are too numerous to mention. But one other instructive case is worth citing here—Iran, whose Shah recently visited this country.

Iran protects the northern border of the non-Communist world. Economically, it is still feudalistic; politically, it is under the sovereignty of a feeble Monarchy which boasts 2,000 years of dynastic rule. The present Pahlevi dynasty, however, is very young: *It was instituted by the Shah's father, an army sergeant until the British gave him a leg up on the royal ladder.*

Mohamed Reza Shah Pahlevi, the current ruler, is well-meaning but ineffectual. He has encouraged land reform, both on his own Royal estates and among the nobility. Yet Iran's poor peasants are neither encouraged nor helped by a law which requires them to pay for their land in 25 annual instalments. They do not have enough money to pay one instalment.

In addition, Iran's bureaucracy and intellectuals are disaffected, and the nation is ripe for rebellion. Most of the country's oil wealth is used to pay the Army. For many years, the U.S. has engaged in a creative agricultural assistance program. Village by village, we have been teaching the peasants to farm with more modern implements than those used at the time of Cyrus. We have also vainly tried to persuade the Parliament of landlords to institute tax reform. But the landlords are, of course, reluctant to tax themselves at least, as long as strategic considerations prompt Washington to assist Iran with about a billion dollars a year.

Clearly, one of the most pressing issues in United States foreign affairs is to determine when we must and can support the less than ideal democracies scattered throughout the world. And where the U.S. does decide to support such nations, it has to determine how much it can interfere in their internal life in order to create economic and social conditions which will make democracy viable.

Shri Aurobindo, who adorns the cover-page of this issue, was born on the 15th August, 1872, and died on the 5th December, 1950. The following from his paper **The Bande Mataram**, dated May 3, 1908, reflects to a great extent his political creed: "A band of men is needed who can give everything for their country, whose sole thought and occupation shall be the stimulation of the Cause by whatever means the moment suggests or opportunity allows."

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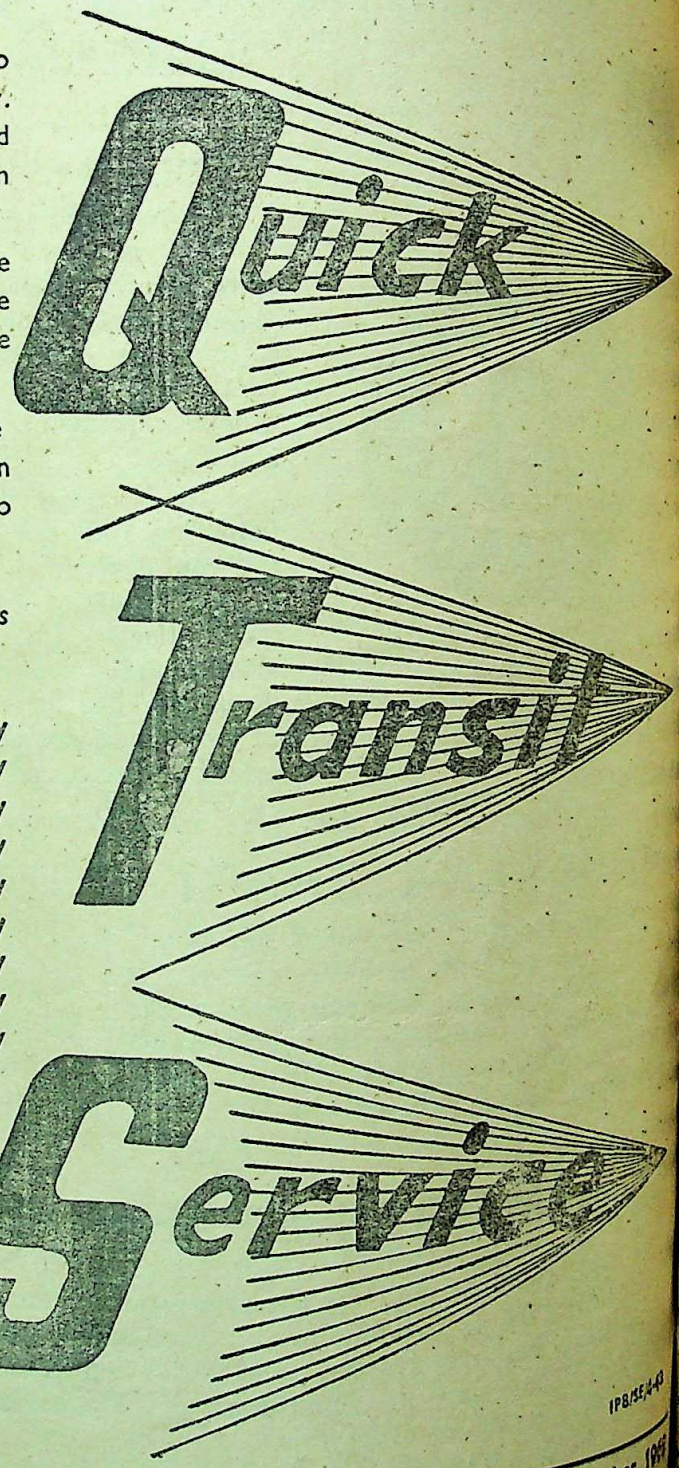

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ব্যাসদেব কৃত মহাভারত পুরাণ-ইতিহাসের অন্তর্গত হইলেও, কাব্য হিসাবে ইহা মধুরতম। বস্তুতঃ মহাভারতের মত বিরাট গ্রন্থ আর দ্বিতীয় নাই। একসঙ্গে সহস্রাধিক চরিত্রের যথাযোগ্য মর্য্যাদা দান কম কৃতিত্বের কথা নয়। অপূর্ব্ব ইহার আখ্যানভাগ। তেমনি অপূর্ব্ব চরিত্র-বিশ্লেষণ। রাজনীতি সমাজনীতির গূঢ়তত্ত্ব ও তাহার অনুশীলনী ইহাকে আরও গুরুত্ব দান করিয়াছে। বস্তুতঃ, ব্যাসদেব শাস্ত্র-সাগর মন্থন করিয়া অমৃত পরিবেশন করিয়াছেন। 'যা নাই ভারতে, তা নাই ভারতে' এই প্রবাদবাক্যটিই মহাভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ পরিচয়।

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আজ মুখে মুখে এই মহাভারত সর্ব্বত্র প্রচারিত। ইহার ফল একদিকে যেমন ভাল হইয়াছে তেমনি মন্দও হইয়াছে শতগুণ। মূল কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত আজ নানা কারণে বিকৃত—যিনি যতটুকু পারিয়াছেন, তিনি ততটুকু আপন মনোমত রচনা ইহাতে সংযোজন করিয়া দিয়াছেন। এই প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি ও ভুল পাঠের পুনরুদ্ধার করিতে আজ পর্য্যন্ত কেহই সাহসী হন নাই। তাই রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত এই মহাভারতের এত সুনাম।

পূর্ব্ব সংস্করণ শেষ হইয়া যাওয়ায় পাঠকের আগ্রহাতিশয্যে বহু অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া এই অমূল্য গ্রন্থের পুনর্মুদ্রণ শীঘ্রই আপনাদের হাতে পরিবেশন করিতে পারা যাইবে।

ভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ শিল্পীদের অঙ্কিত প্রাচীন রঙীন চিত্র প্রায় পঞ্চাশটি সন্নিবেশিত সুন্দর ছাপা ও সুন্দর কাগজে এই সংস্করণ আপনাকে লোভনীয় করিয়া তুলিবে।

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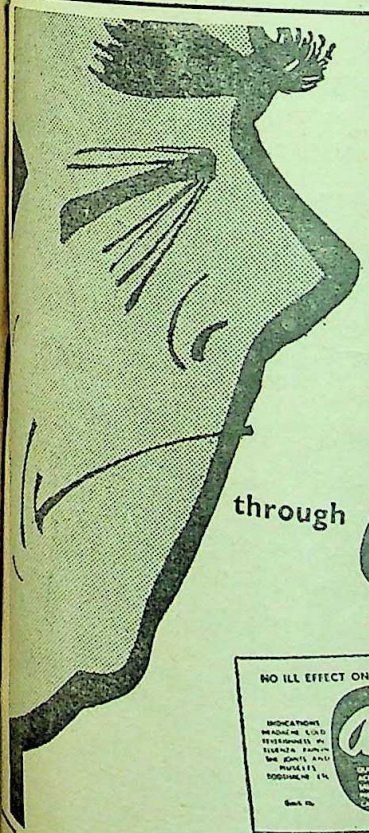

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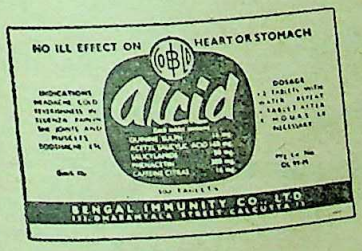

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Krishnan works in a small hotel in Bombay. "My wife and two children live in Kerala", he said. "We have a little land there, and I send home a little money every month." Last year floods ravaged his property. His bullocks were washed away. His house was damaged. He *had* to go home to set things right and to save his only possessions from ruin. Money was needed urgently.

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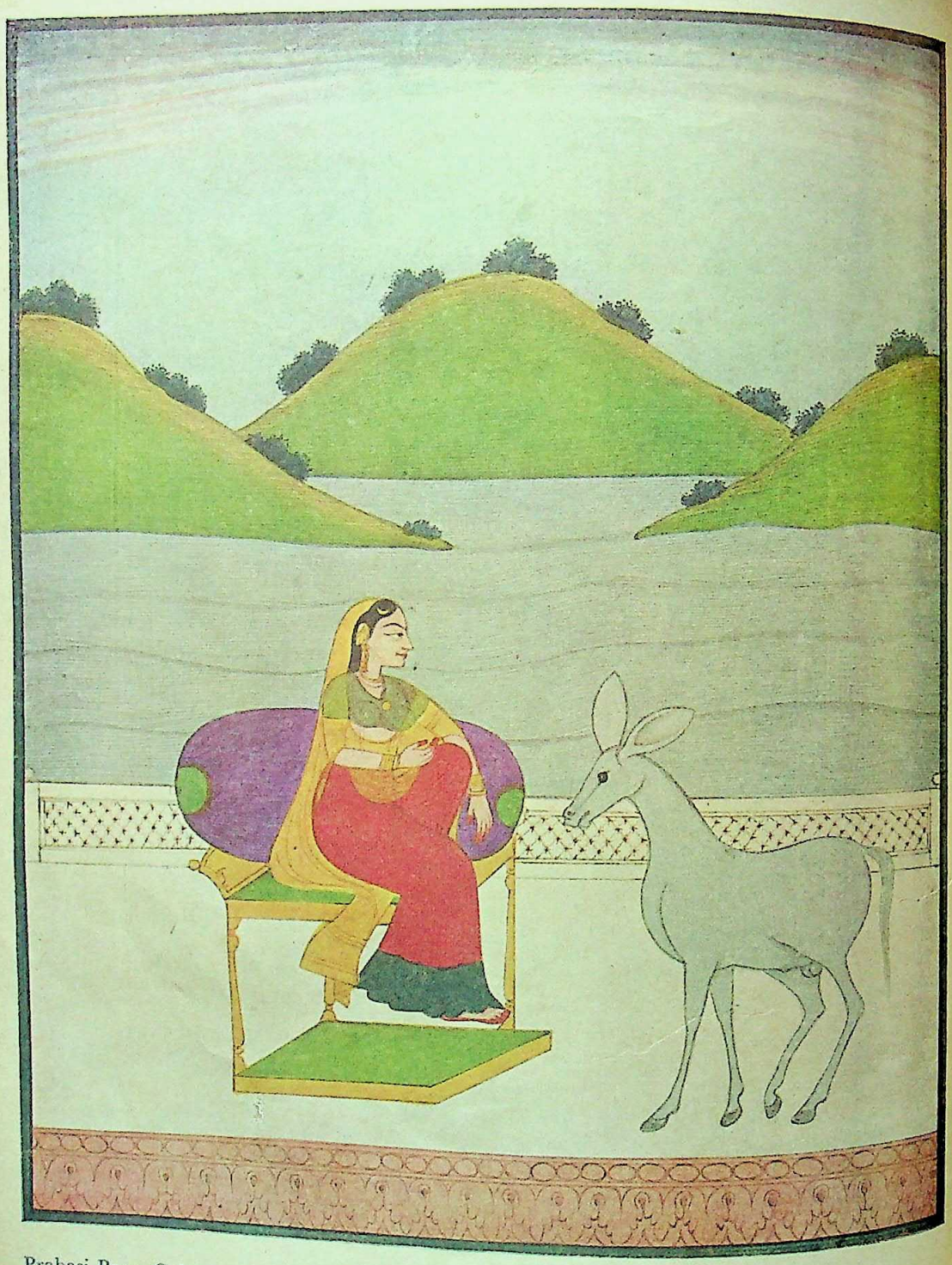

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SEPTEMBER 1962

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NOTES

The World

While World tensions have lessened in certain areas like Laos, where an arrangement for the establishment of a neutralist Government with elements taken from the warring Royalist and Pathet Lao factions is under trial, and South Viet Nam where the U.S. military mission is actively participating in manoeuvres on the Malayan model against the Viet-Cong jungle guerrillas, the two main fronts remain with the tensions unabated.

At Berlin there was the possibility of a flare-up following violent public reaction against the shooting and killing of an East German refugee who was trying to escape over the Wall. Soviet vehicles were stoned while proceeding to a war memorial in West Berlin and an ugly situation developed which has not altered to any significant extent since then. The anniversary of the building of the East-West Wall, which was erected on August 13, 1961, was marked by noisy demonstrations on the Western side, including stone-throwing at the Communist guards, but passed off without any major incident occurring. The shooting of the refugee took place four days later.

The nuclear tests have been resumed by both the U.S. and the Soviets. Last year, just about this time, the Soviets ended the moratorium on nuclear tests that had been observed for nearly three years by the Big Three: The U.S., the Soviet and Britain. There seems to be little prospect for any agreement to be arrived at for the ending of the tests. Indeed there is hardly any lowering of tensions, where the bombs and the Berlin Wall are concerned, although a year has passed since the critical phase developed. The latest source of uneasiness, where the West is concerned lies in the prospect of a Russian peace treaty with East Germany, which might put new pressures on the life lines of West Berlin that lie through East German territories. The only relieving factor in the whole situation is the apparent willingness of both sides to carry on with the negotiations for a truce and the disinclination of either side to press the crisis on to the brink of war.

The other area where tensions are still unabated and the possibilities of War still remain, is in the Ladakh region of Kashmir. Here in the Galwan Valley and beyond the Chinese confront our frontier guards. The talks that were proposed by the latest Chinese notes have not as yet been decided upon. The mendacious and shifty nature of the Chinese notes have posed a problem before the External Affairs Ministry. Pandit Nehru is still in the same undecided, though exasperated mood as before, though the Defence Ministry seems to be steadily going along with its preparation for conflict.

The Chinese are thoroughly irresponsible in their expansionist moves, exhibiting neither care nor concern about the possibility of disastrous consequences to their ventures. If they are really in

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possession of nuclear secrets and are in preparation for atom bomb explosion tests, then a world holocaust may occur far sooner than the European and American War lords imagine.

Linked to the Chinese designs on the Kashmir region of the Himalayas are the equally insatiable desires of the Pakistanis to annex, by hook or by crook, the territories of India adjacent to the areas illegally occupied by her ever since her aggression in the Kashmir region was brought to a halt by Indian armed forces. Pakistan has been trying to expand and consolidate her illicit gains in the Kashmir region through the agency of her allies in the anti-Soviet Organisations of the S. E. A. T. O. and C.E.N.T.O. The most active amongst these allies has been the U.S., whose moves to enlist the support of the representatives of the smaller nations in the Security Council of the U.N. have been recently exposed by an inadvertent leakage of a diplomatic communique issued by Professor G. P. Malalasekera, Chief Delegate of Ceylon, and a candidate for the Assembly presidency at the U.N. This document which was in the nature of a confidential report to his Chiefs at Colombo, created a diplomatic storm. The significant part of the report is given below :

An authenticated copy of the report showed that he said it had been "for a long time a cardinal U.S. policy that India could be the deciding factor in the eventual outcome of the cold war," and that "India held the balance and the U.S.A. had up to now done a good job to keep her that way."

Unfortunately, he said the U.S. policy was "so firmly geared to strategic considerations that Pakistan was at last able to exert pressure, especially with the military overlords of the Pentagon, and contrary to higher political considerations of the Administration, by the threat of withdrawing herself from SEATO and CENTO."

"The acquisition of Kashmir by Pakistan would materially change the whole strategic situation at a time when the cold war is shifting from Berlin to Asia," Dr. Malalasekera wrote. This was evidently the bait that was dangled before the U.S. militarists and they succumbed to it.

"In order to escape the responsibility in the eyes of India, the U.S. delegation tried hard to get the smaller nations of the council to present a resolution. But they were not willing at all and we watched with amusement how the pressure grew stronger with each day that passed. Meetings of the council were fixed and put off on various pretexts, and it looked as if the U.S.A. would have had to admit defeat.

"Mr. Stevenson, who had been away in the West Coast, himself took charge. But even so only Ireland was found willing to sponsor a resolution.

"When the resolution was introduced, the Russians realized immediately its implications and the high stakes involved and announced at once that the Soviet Union recognized Kashmir as being irrevocably Indian and that she would use her veto to maintain that position.

"The result was that the Pakistani cause collapsed, with a vote of seven in favour, two abstentions (UAR and Ghana) and two against (Russia and Rumania), when the Soviet veto was cast. Mr. Stevenson made a tirade against Russia which impressed no one and merely intensified the cold war."

Meanwhile, Prof. Malalasekera said that his views were similar to those of 75 per cent of the U.N. delegates.

The other candidate for the presidency of the U.N. Assembly is Pakistan's Muhammad Zafrulla Khan.

Meanwhile, having been foiled in her nefarious attempt to prejudice the U.N. against India and thus to expand and consolidate her illicit gains in Kashmir, Pakistan is openly negotiating with Red China for a common demarcation of boundaries in the Kashmir Himalayas. Not much agreement has been reached as yet, according to stray reports, in this attempt at the division of loot by the two parties whose only common ground for meeting is their rapacious greed for other people's possessions. Public opinion in India is hardening, however, since the clumsy attempt by the "friends of Pakistan" in the U.N. to put India in a disadvantageous position. The wiseacres of the "Pentagon" have opened the eyes of the Indian people

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by the single-track and megalomaniac planning and reasoning of their minds and their polarized view of World Affairs.

Beyond these two areas of world tension there are localised areas of unrest in Africa and South America.

In Africa, the uneasy truce between the parties contending for political power in Algeria has broken up through the action of a junta of guerrilla colonels who forced Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella's Political Bureau out of power on August 25. It is barely two months since a free and renaissant nation came into being through the liberation of Algeria. Now there is a major crisis that might plunge the new-born State into an internecine war, similar to what was going on in the Congo. Mr. Ben Bella wrested power from the provisional Premier Mr. Ben Youssef Ben Khedda only at the beginning of August. And before the month was over Mr. Ben Bella and his four friends on the Political Bureau have had to flee from Algiers to escape capture by the guerrillas of the "Willoya Four." The situation is still obscure at the time of writing these notes.

In the Congo the position has altered very slightly since the U.N. forces took action against the interests that were trying to disrupt the new-born State into pieces—for the benefit of foreign financiers who control the production and export of minerals from the province of Katanga. Mr. Tshombe, the separationist head of the "Katanga State" has all along been aided in his intransigent actions by the very large sums placed at his disposal by the Anglo-Belgian and French controlled Union Miniere, whose headquarters were utilized, uptill they were cleared by the U.N. forces, by the mercenaries directing and leading armed action. Mr. Tshombe has had to dismiss his mercenaries but many of them are in Rhodesia under the wings of the Welensky Government. The Rhodesian Government, which is run by the reactionary European settlers under the guidance of Sir Roy Welensky, is now providing a two-way channel for the export of Katanga minerals and for the import of essential and warlike supplies for Mr. Tshombe's Government.

Recently a move has been set on foot by the U. N. Secretariat to stop this underground channel for the aid of those who are disrupting the Congo State. There is a proposal for the issue of a directive on the Union Miniere authorities for the deposition of all royalties—or at least the major portion—with the U.N.O. authorities who would divide the sums deposited amongst the various sections of the Congo Administration, etc., and the provincial government of Katanga, in accordance with an agreed budget, for the Centre and for the provinces.

Mr. Tshombe is said to have agreed in principle with the proposals. But as he makes and breaks promises with equal facility, a system for the enforcement of the arrangement has to be set up.

Twenty-eight new nations have come into existence in Africa, during the post-war years, up to date. Of these the two with the greatest economic potentials, namely, Algeria with its rich Sahara petroleum and other mineral reserves and the Congo with its copper, diamond and other minerals in the Katanga area, are both passing through a critical stage.

In the New Hemisphere, a new nation was born last month in the Caribbean island of Jamaica. Jamaica's 1,600,000 inhabitants celebrated their independence in the first week of August. This island has had 307 years of British colonial rule and is the first new nation to be born in the Americas since the State of Panama came into being at the turn of the present century, in November, 1903.

Argentina, a major South American republic, came under the control of a military junta in last March. A crisis developed within the military, due to group rivalry, during the first week of August. This major State has had only four years of civilian democratic rule during the last eighteen years, which came to an end when the military junta overthrew President Arturo Frondizi last March, the charge against whom was that he had allowed the supporters of ex-dictator Peron to run in the Congress Elections.

There is military dictatorship in Peru also. It is said that the military group that is running the interim government "has taken important steps on the road back to

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constitutional government in Peru. On the assurance that these steps would not come to a dead end, the U.S. Government renewed diplomatic relations and restored economic aid, to the extent of 83 million dollars for this year, during August last.

Controls, Real and Farcical

The Lok Sabha became rather agitated, following some sharp criticism by some members over the failure by the authorities to check the manufacture and sale of spurious and sub-standard drugs, and severe condemnation of the supine indifference of the Government regarding the protection and welfare of the helpless public. A Congress member, one of the old guards, even went so far as to say that the most grieveous failure of the Congress lay on this count, that is, the checking of spurious and sub-standard drugs, adulterated and deteriorated foodstuffs and essential consumer goods.

About a week after these sharp criticisms—from all quarters inclusive of Congress benches—the Health Minister, Dr. Shrimati Sushila Nayyar announced, at a Press Conference held in New Delhi on August 29, that the Central Government had decided on "several measures" to tighten control on drug manufacture. These contemplated measures include price control of drugs, which were priced at abnormally high rates at present as admitted by the Health Minister, and control of quality and strength.

During the Lok Sabha breeze, where asked as to what the Government intended doing about the protection of the helpless user and punishment of the criminals, who manufacture and sell spurious or sub-standard drugs, she made the singularly inane remark that "public opinion would stop these illicit and criminal practices." This remark—so characteristic of "spurious and sub-standard" Gandhism of our inept and inefficient powers that be—drew the ire of even old Congress members, who know the realities of the Executive set-up at the Centre. The realities are, of course, that led by the Prime Minister himself, the entire administration has been flouting public opinion in an outrageously callous fashion all these years. Indeed the degeneration of the services can be directly traced to the attitude and action of those who are at the head of departments at the Cabinet level. These gentlemen—ladies being above criticism they are excepted—become very contrite and susceptible to public opinion once in every five years just before elections. But once they have managed to fool the electorate into letting them through, the mask is taken off and the trend towards the degeneration of the services is merrily resumed, through patronage of sycophants and by the practice of parochialism and nepotism, which turn-"isms" have put more inefficient and/or corrupt persons in power—even at the highest levels—than any other power or political factor.

The measures announced by the Health Minister at the Press Conference amount to little more than pious resolutions, that would certainly provide some jobs for the relations of some persons with "influence", and do little else. *The Statesman* gives the gist of Dr. Sushila Nayyar's statement as follows:

But for the moment, Dr. Nayyar said, the Government was more concerned with maintaining the quality of drugs to ensure that consumers get their money's worth.

For this purpose, it had been decided, that the country would be divided into four zones, each of which would have about half a dozen Central inspectors to help State inspectors enforce the provisions of the Drugs Act. The Central inspectors would be appointed by November.

Under the scheme, Dr. Nayyar added, States would continue to have powers to grant and cancel licences to manufacturing plants. But, all manufacturing premises would be visited jointly by Central and State inspectors and no licence would be issued or renewed unless a unanimous report to that effect was issued by both.

She said State and Central Government inspectors would undergo training so that they would be better acquainted with the working of factories. They would also be given short-term but intensive, training in law to enable them to present prosecution cases better.

Laboratory facilities for testing drugs would be increased by establishing a laboratory in Delhi and, possibly, another in the South.

Dr. Nayyar said it was also proposed to amend the Drugs Act to delete the provision under which a magistrate could impose a lighter punishment if a person prosecuted for manufacturing spurious drugs gave reasons in writing.

Under the Drugs Act, she said, State Governments were responsible for the standards of drugs manufactured and distributed in the country.

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while the Centre controlled only drugs that were imported.

Dr. Nayyar was asked a number of pointed questions at the conference on the quality and price of drugs. She stated that of the Rs. 95 crores worth of drugs marketed in the country. Rs. 85 crores worth were reliable. Only in the case of 15 per cent of the drugs, manufactured mainly by small concerns, was there any cause of concern.

But if Dr. Sushila Nayyar's scheme for the control of quality and the (problematic?) control of prices of drugs seems to be somewhat unsubstantial and illusory, in the form it was presented at the press interview, the statements made by the Minister of Planning, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda during the course and at the end of the two-day debate on the progress of the Third Five-Year Plan in the Rajya Sabha regarding price control may be dismissed as being mere back-heroics.

All the information regarding the "Government's determination to hold the price line, regardless of *enormous difficulties*, as contained in newspaper reports is that—

"Steps for control of prices of essential commodities are understood to have been discussed at a meeting of the Planning Commission on June 30."

"The meeting follows the statement by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister of Planning in both Houses of Parliament that Government was determined to hold the price line and that measures were under contemplation to give concrete shape to Government's policy in this matter."

"During today's meeting, the view seems to have been expressed that steps to be taken in the direction of regulation of prices should be in two phases."

"The first phase, it appears to have been expressed, should include decisions which can have an immediate impact on the prices of the essential items required for consumption by the lower income groups."

"The second phase, it was suggested, should include measures which will take longer time to show results but which are necessary to hold prices in check."

"The need for the opening of fair price shops and consumer co-operatives in larger numbers is also believed to have been reiterated at the meeting."

"Measures to regulate retail prices of essential commodities, like insistence on prominent dispay of prices by retailers, are also understood to have been suggested."

"The Planning Commission, meanwhile, is having discussions with other Central Ministries like the Food and Agriculture Ministry, the Commerce and Industry Ministry and the Finance Ministry with regard to steps for controlling rising prices.—"

We confess that we are unable to find even a vestige of anything concrete in shape or substance in all this. The Plans have succeeded in lowering standards in all directions; they have imposed terrible hardships on those who form the intellectual core of the Nation,—on whose sacrifices and extreme dedication was based the struggle for independence, and on whose existence depends the progress of all Nation building efforts—to the point of complete annihilation. It has opened the way for wholesale corruption and black-market practices to such an extent that we are inclined to agree with Shri Mahavir Tyagi's statement that there is a hundred times more corruption in the administration than there was in the British period.

What has the Nation gained? Even the bogus statistics compiled by the "tame" statisticians in Government pay cannot point to more than a three per cent increase in national income!

Real laws are needed, with teeth and claws, for the punishment of the corrupt and their pets, the dishonest and unprincipled traders, industrialists and financiers who are battening like vultures and carrion-eating predatory animals on the prone flesh of the helpless common citizen, ground down by the soaring prices of all essentials of life.

The controls imposed by an *effete* and inefficient supreme executive have fettered the poor and honest citizen, burdened to the breaking-point by the exactions of direct and indirect taxes. They mean nothing to the corrupt official or dishonest merchant or industrial princes. The Constitution by its peculiar legalistic framing by persons who were more intent on legalistic procedure for the defence of the law-breaker than on the protection of the law-abiding, has left open a thousand escape routes for the anti-social and dishonest elements. If the guilty ones have the wherewithal to engage alert lawyers and to

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bribe corrupt officials, then their chances of escaping punishment are a hundred to one, in their favour.

The only ray of hope, we see in all these talks about controls is that some of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha Congressmen seem to have realized that their allegiance is primarily pledged to the nationals of India and not to the "spurious and sub-standard" Gandhites who are the dictators of the Party in Power.

THE EDITOR

National Integration

The Government of India and its parent body the Indian National Congress, are run on make believes and on committees and conferences which are packed with carefully selected persons who can be depended upon to think nothing, feel nothing and do nothing. India's national disintegration has been slowly and steadily stimulated by her national leaders and is now well advanced. The causes of this break up are clearly known to all who have cared to look into the origin and nature of the problem. The creation of a number of politically self-contained States with their own ministries, parliaments, police, judiciary, economic program and plans has been the basic cause of our national disintegration. The attempt to establish a Hindi raj over India by pushing an undeveloped language upon the peoples of India and by granting advantages and privileges to undeserving persons for reasons connected with "India's politics" have further aggravated the situation. The Indian National Congress has not put right the territorial claims of some of the States upon other States and linguistic minorities have been created in the latter States who are denied their fundamental rights by the imposition of Rules and Regulations of a transparent kind which help the majorities of these States to exploit and even to expropriate the minorities.

All these are well-known to the Government of India and the leaders of India. So they have now set up a National Integration Committee with Mrs. Indira Gandhi as its Chairman. A clear case of one of the accused, viz., a Congress leader, being made the judge. A five point Integration Plan has been adopted according to which (1) Inter-State music, dance and drama festivals should be organised, (2) Tamil Classes should be started in North India, (3) Short Stories for children at cheap price should be published, (4) a special Secretariat with its branches in States will be set up and (5) a pledge campaign of national integration should be carried out on mass scale. This Committee and its five point plan are typical of Congress methods of solving an urgent national problem. For the Plan will achieve nothing and will merely cause a waste of funds which will enable certain selected persons to earn some money or carry out some secret scheme or other to advance the party policy of the Congress. We have repeatedly said that India can only become a single nation by abolishing the States and by administration of the country zonally without reference to language or culture groups. Most of the local parliaments and the ministries can be done away with and the judiciary and police centralised. These steps will prevent persons or cliques from attempting exploitation of the people for their advantage and the formation of caste or language groups. The fraternisation of the police with the local criminals will also stop. But the adoption of such a plan of Government will put a large number of politicians out of business. Will the Congress be able to stand the strain ?

A. C

Technical Education for Indians

Pandit Nehru rightly emphasized the importance of technical education in a developing country, while inaugurating the Sarder Patel College of Engineering at Bombay. He said that given enough trained men, India would soon "build up a scientific and technological civilization on the basis of a spiritual foundation." We have not quite clearly understood what Pandit Nehru meant by the spiritual foundation of a scientific and technological civilization. Was it just a phrase for accommodating non-scientific and non-technical personnel on the pay rolls of the nation? For most of the people who dominate India today are completely devoid of all knowledge of science and technology

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s a matter of fact India is the one country in the world where there is such an amaz- g absence of proper training and educa- n among Ministers, members of Parlia- ent and job holders. All important tional work is carried on in India on the sis of the personal feelings of a few top who who feel and express opinion elabo- ely and at length quite frequently thout knowing much about the subject tter of their feelings. This ignorance scientific, technological and factual. And, suppose, the glory of this very elaborate extensive ignorance provides the spiri- l foundation to the non-existent scienti- and technological civilization that ndit Nehru is building for the poor orant masses of India. Pandit Nehru has de a complete break with Mahatma ndhi's policy of national regeneration. e Mahatma thought of building up the ion by individual effort in every little lage throughout India. Industry was only ant for providing such necessities as ld not be produced by the people with- the aid of giant machinery. The hatma's civilization was spiritual and only that much of science and techno- gy in it as was unavoidable. There was glorification of industry in his scheme things. He rather thought industry was mful in many ways. And he was quite ht too. Pandit Nehru thinks that science technology are the first requirements the nation. He is willing to interfere th the life of the people at numerous ts in order to establish his thesis. All ons of the West have developed their culture, animal husbandry, forests, erals, communications and commerce to fullest before expanding their indus- es. They have not depended on borrow- for progress; nor sacrificed the peoples' ll being for the purchase of foreign chinery. Russia's amazing progress was ieved without any foreign loans. Ger- ny twice recovered from utter penury ing the last half a century without reign aid. If the people work, the nation kes progress. Pandit Nehru's plans pre- nt the people from working. He prefers outward symptoms of a civilization to civilization itself. India is slowly becoming a C3 nation in point of individual well being, and she is making very little progress in science and technology.

A. C.

Railway Accidents

Accidents on the railways can only occur for certain reasons. These are (1) accidents caused by the ignorance, lack of intelligence, negligence or deliberate misconduct of human beings; (2) accidents due to reasons or faults connected with the mechanical and material factors present in railways; and (3) those caused by acts of God, such as, storms, floods, earthquakes, etc., etc. It is quite common with our railways to ascribe all accidents to sabotage, or at least all excepting some which could never have been caused by sabotage. And even sabotage can be carried out by disgruntled railway employees. Generally speaking, therefore, one should begin enquiries about railway accidents by looking very closely into the human element associated with the particular railway or the place where the accident occurred, as well as the personnel of the railway train or trains. Then there are mechanical defects. These may be there due to the negligence of the makers of the machinery, appliances, rails, structures, etc., or may be brought about by lack of maintenance, faulty repairs or unskilled operation. Latterly Indian railways have been employing, posting, promoting and managing personnel in a lax, corrupt and unwise manner. Persons in high position have been practising favouritism and enforcement of discipline has become impossible due to interference by persons in power. In one case a signalman who used to go away from his box and leave his work to a boy, could not be punished on account of having a patron who always gave him protection. This signalman later caused a terrible accident in which many died. We all know the defects of our railway organisation and the defects are becoming more and more serious. Trains seldom arrive on time anywhere and the reasons are traceable to the persons who take things easy on account of having influential connections. This disgraceful practice of pushing undesirable relations or proteges into positions of great responsibi-

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lity has caused the death of many on our railways. And the disease is not restricted to railways only. India's Very Important Persons are a great menace to society, for they have no sense of decorum in pushing their favourites into employment. Our national services are going from bad to worse every day due to this evil.

A. C.

Diwan-i-Aam of W. Bengal

Mr. P. C. Sen is a bold, energetic and intelligent person. Soon after becoming the Chief Minister of West Bengal, he has begun to attempt a "clean up" of the administrative junk heap that is present in every State as an inheritance from the British imperial era. Life goes on in India in spite of the apathy, corruption, exploitative greed and primitive mechanism that one finds in the governmental organisation in every State. It is highly amusing, in fact, to see the great national leaders of India proceeding along the ruts left by the Moghuls and the British, seated in their multiwheeled governmental chariots of vast proportions and talking glibly and often in the best tradition and diction of Tub Thumpers without achieving any actual progress worth talking about. In our youth we were forced to read a text book named "England's Work in India" which gave an exaggerated and fictitious account of the boons that India had secured through British imperial governance. What we get in our newspapers and over the radio now is akin to that concocted history and utterly impossible valuation of British rulership of India. That Mr. P. C. Sen has left the beaten track of Congress guardianship of the Indian nation and is trying to do something factual and real is a good sign and may actually lead to something. His Diwan-i-Aam or public hearing of complaints is a very good move in a right direction. Things will be done much sooner if the departments know that the Chief is taking a personal interest in matters. But what is more necessary is the abolition of the numerous Diwan-i-Khas discussions which are held between ministers and the patrons of persons and or business houses in order to get things done against the public interest. If Mr. P. C. Sen makes a rule that all decisions taken must be discussed openly and in an above board manner and not by "influence" or by listening to behind the screen talks, he will achieve a great national good. For corruption has become a sort of fourth dimension of the governmental organisation, and, unless this is uprooted, the condition of the people will not improve noticeably. It is also high time that the so called political sufferers were told to put in their claims of an economic nature by such and such date, after which they will have to line up with all others. The old civil servants who carried out the orders of the British so faithfully upto 1947, should also be retired **en bloc** now so that a new atmosphere can prevail in administration.

A. C.

Mobilising Gold

Shri Morarji Desai has had yet another brain wave. Someone has told him that India has 4,000 crores worth of gold in many small and large hoards, in the shape of jewellary and, may be, in gold coins. He has, therefore, thought of making use of this gold for the stop gap purpose of importing foreign goods for the Plans. If we have 4000 crores in gold, i.e., Rs. 100|- in gold per capita of our population; then the distribution of that gold must be very wide, scattered. About 75% Indans have no gold being too poor to posses any. The other 10 crores of our population may have about 3 tolas each; but then Shri Desai has knowledge of large and small hoards. So in order to satisfy his contention we should leave about 1 tola from each owner of gold for the hoards which may be worth 100 crores more or less. The other 3000 crores will not be worth mobilising, being 9, 12, 14, 18, 22 or 24 carat in quality and in the shape of light ornaments of $\frac{1}{8}$ to 1 tola in weight of a total number running into perhaps 1000 million pieces. Buttons, ear rings, thin bangles, rings, nose studs, hair pins, pendants, chains, etc., weighing less than $\frac{1}{4}$ tola in most cases. Even the soul of a Congress leader will quail at the thought of mobilising 100 million buttons, 100 million pieces of ear rings, 100 million **Churis** 50 million nose studs, 250 mill

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rings and all the rest of the stuff. Detaching **Chumkis** from **saris** and gold thread from pieces of **Kinkhab** will be a hopeless task. Then the gold covered ornaments with lac filling will also defy all efforts at mobilisation of the precious metal. Coming to the hoards, if they do exist, how is Shri Morarji going to borrow the gold or to buy or confiscate it? If he issues gold bonds repayable **in gold** at a future date, he may get some gold. But the usual practice of our public Finance experts is to borrow money when its purchasing power is x and to repay the loan when the purchasing power has gone down to $\frac{1}{2}$ x or less. If gold is borrowed and the repayment is in gold too the time honoured secret levy on capital will not be there and our spendthrift Government may find that inconvenient. For, so far, we have always repaid our National Debt only partially and a large share of it has been just wiped out by the aforementioned secret levy on Capital. Gold bonds purchaseable and repayable in gold only will make real values too conspicuous. The Government of India will stand exposed in the matter of public debts if this happened. So that gold bonds will not be popular. Shri Morarji may however beg for one tola of gold from a selected group of 2 crore Indians. This will yield 50 crore worth of foreign exchange. In exchange the donors of gold may be given permits to buy cement, steel, clean sugar, guaranteed medicines, pure ghee or seats in railway trains.

A. C.

Gold Racket in Calcutta

One of the signs of a Socialist system of economic organisation is the prevention of exploitation of the members of the community by those who are in a strong position in point of control of finances, material or other economic resources. Preventive legislation has been introduced from time to time in many countries in the various sectors of the economic field for the purpose of controlling exploitation and these are known as Labour Laws, Social Security legislation, Acts controlling the formation of trusts and Kartels and their operation, and preventing cornering of essential commodities and so on and so forth. No one has, of course, so far discussed the problem of exploitation of the people by political parties or by Mlitary Dictators and that leaves a fruitful field for research by scholars of economics and history. That such exploitation is possible is well-known to all people who have and are suffering from the effects of this sort of exploitation. There can be various other forms of exploitation of persons in a weak economic position by those in a stronger position, which are too numerous to mention here. Such exploitation by political groups are carried out by what is known as nepotism or corrupt favouritism; while private individuals achieve the same objectives by bribery, winning the favour of persons in power by any means, buying results of "impartial" tests, trials and examinations and obtaining, by similar means, contracts, permits, licences and what not?

A new racket and corrupt system of buying and selling land has now grown in the big cities of India. In Calcutta powerful financial groups are now buying up all building sites in advantageous and popular spots in the name of their proxies and they are, thereafter, making enormous profits by selling the same at exhorbitant prices to the persons who badly need land to build houses. Thus lands purchased a few month ago at Rs. 5,000/10,000 per katta (720 sq. ft.) are now selling at Rs. 20,000/- Rs. 30,000/- p. k. There have been cases of sales at Rs. 50,000/ and even Rs. 90,000/ p. k. The city Improvement Trust which buys out the poor residents of Calcutta living in congested areas at low prices, now-a-days auctions the same after improvement. These are bought up by the rich financial groups which later release the same at very high prices to those who build houses. Thus many Calcutta people have been forced to sell their ancestral homes to the Calcutta Improvement Trust at prices which were quite low and the sellers have seldom been able to buy back anything. Now if anyone goes to the agents of the racketeers in land to buy any particular plot, the would-be buyer is asked to make a written offer. If that is done, the offer is merely shown round to be bettered by others. No one gets the plot until a

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very rich builder of mansions or flats turns up and offers a very high price; probably half in "black" and half in white money. The "black" money is off the record and that saves taxes and in stamps. Also the buyer can use his illicit earnings by paying off the record cash. These transactions are anti-Social and are causing great inconvenience and loss to ordinary buyers of land. The State is also lossing. What about some immediate preventive action by Government?

A. C.

L. I. C.

By making a state monopoly of life insurance in India the Government of India had successfully managed to control all savings of Indians in the shape of premia paid on the policies. They have also by this means, set-up newer standards of inefficiency in every little thing connected with this very essential socio-economic institution. There are just thousands of complaints all over India now of receipts not being issued, notices not being sent, sitting over first premiums without granting cover, delay over settlement of claims and so on and so forth. If half of these alleged acts of gross negligence and mismanagement are reported correctly, it gives a grim picture of state "management" of the affairs of this essential public utility organisation. The Government of India are very proud of the achievements of their public sector. But when we look round the public hospitals, check up on the police force and its failures in the field of prevention and detection of crime, wait for long hours on railway platforms for trains running late, never receive our letters, telegrams and money orders, watch the houses of millionnaires and governmental palaces go up by the dozen while we wait for our mites of cement or steel, get no transport for our raw materials or finished goods, run around the market to get some genuine medicine and live through our years of independence in anxiety, want and frustration; then we slowly develop our doubts about the sincereity, honesty and ability of our national managers of the destiny of the nation. We begin to feel that a nation cannot live entirely on newspaper headlines. Nor on the promises and statements made by the leaders of the nation. Fomerly, we could, at least die happily, knowing that we were leaving behind our Life Insurance Policies to safeguard the well-being of our family members. Today with the amazing mismanagement that prevails in the bureaux of the L. I. C. We feel shakey even to die.

A.C.

Everybody's Grazing Ground

And nobody's responsibiity. That is Calcutta. We often hear how clean, modern and well-developed Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Kanpur are, and we feel sorry for ourselves; but when we look round the streets of Calcutta we find a great change has come over it since the days of our youth. It appears to us that the entire surplus population of eastren India has come to live in Calcutta. And their way of life determines the life of Calcutta. Very few of them pay any rates or taxes and many live more or less on the pavements and in rickshaws or upon push carts. They carry out their ablutions and look after their ultimate personal needs in full public view all over the city. They also lead a simple life and do not believe in sending their clothes to the wash. When they have a shave, once every six months, or shave their heads, twice a month, the debris left at the site of the two-brick hair dressing saloon is mountainous. And if four hundred thousand persons discard one tooth brush (branch) every day, the volume of the chewed up timber would lie, at the rate of 200 pieces p.c. ft., about 2,000 c. ft. p. day. That is roughly 20 lorry loads! No wonder the City Fathers feel helpless when they see the size of the job they have to do. Moreover, they find that their conservancy staff create more filth than they can remove.

A.C.

How Dogs Live and Die

There are roughly a couple of lakh of stray dogs in Calcutta. There are also a similar number of cats. There are two well-known organisations in the city which look after the well-being of the animals. This means that all dogs and cats which have well-to-do owners are properly looked after in the city. The stray animals live and die uncared for. Most of the dogs are mangy and suffer from all known and unknown forms of canine malady. They die untreated and occasionally in a very painful manner, e.g., by being run over by motor vehicles or rabies. Recently a dog developed rabies in a fairly modern part of the city. The organisations referred to

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above refused to do anything about it; for they thought that suffering from rabies was not the same as being subjected to cruelty. This subtle philosophical distinction between acts of humans and of God eventually caused the police to be brought into the picture. The dog, thereafter, beaten under repeated *lathi* blows and was left dead in a nearby drain. The Calcutta Corporation, by the way, informed the rate payers concerned that they had no arrangements for destroying stray or diseased dogs, as such arrangements were objected to by dog lovers !

A. C.

India in Asian Games

In spite of all restrictive impositions made by the Government of India, who love to see the Nation shine in International meets without giving up any part of their absurd and nationally injurious foreign exchange policy; the Indian team has been doing well in the competitions. Japan, which was almost totally destroyed by the war can, it seems, earn and spend any amount of foreign exchange for the atheletes of the nation. India, being ruled by men and women who have no constructive nation building ideas, excepting such as are connected with buying foreign machinery; is in an unfortunate position. She has 400 million people of whom more than three-fourths cannot find any ready market to sell their labour at a good price. The Government of India cannot read the economic lesson provided by Russia, Germany and Japan and they go after borrowing the products of foreign labour while they keep their own man-powers idle. This way of looking at the economy of the nation is setting back the nation by 50 years. When we emerge out of these dark ages of Indian economy it may be too late to pick up the lost opportunities. To go back to the Asian Games, we have to say that very many top-class sportsmen never got a chance to join the competitions. This prevented India from earning greater distinction. It also created a sense of frustration among sportsman which was no good for the cause of atheletics in India.

A. C.

Who are Indians

Mr. Phizo, who became famous with foreign assistance in his campaign for an independent Nagaland recently said that his people were not Indians but were a separate race of humans who did not want Indians to come into their country and swamp them by force of numbers. Now, we think, Mr. Phizo's source of inspiration is the same as that of the makers of Pakistan who also thought they were a separate nation by virtue of their acceptance of Islam as their religion. As a matter of fact, the Nagas are no more or no less Indians than all other Indians. The same is true of the people of Pakistan. For really Indian is a name given to the dwellers of the subcontinent of India without reference to the socio-anthropological differences that may exist between the various groups and communities that inhabit India. So that one might assert that the majority of the Indian people have a right to demand a common state for all Indians. The right of local self-government should also belong to the people of all Indian zones and sub-zones. But not the right to break away. The British violated this fundamental principle once by creating a Pakistan. This cannot be permitted to be done a second time.

A. C.

To Whose Credit ?

Truth and the necessity for keeping a correct record of all that has happened in the process of the development of human civilisation, demand that no incorrect version of any significant historical incident should be permitted to be propagated without contradiction. In India political parties and their followers are the most outstanding distorters of the facts of history as related to what they consider to be their moral territory of work and achievement. This evil has spread from political parties to individuals and to other groups of persons too. So that the true facts of social or political history are becoming obscure and refabricated day by day. Some of these attempts at false presentation of facts are deliberately made by organised bodies, while others just happen due to the overflowing *bhakti* of loose thinking persons who cannot always keep separate their wishful thoughts from the realities of life. Thus a Communist may say that the Law of Gravitation was discovered by Karl Marx or an ardent Congressman ascribe the authorship of the *Bhagabat Gita* to Mahatma Gandhi. In a small way, perhaps, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may be given credit for inaugurating the League of Nations and the U.N.O. or Shri

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Atulya Ghosh honoured for starting the Swadeshi Movement. We should make a list of all incidents of National Importance right now and give each one its true historical weightage and mention truthfully who did what.

A. C.

The ECM, Britain and India

Understanding about the real significance of Britain's application for being allowed to join the European Common Market and its implications to India appears to be informed by a vagueness of which good advantage, it would seem, is being sought to be derived by the Union Finance Minister, by the rather extravagantly optimistic forecastes made by the later since his recent return from abroad, and which would seem to be further confounding the prevalent confusion on the matter. At the time of the conclusion of the now famous Rome Treaty organizing an European Economic Community, binding them together into a common customs union some years ago, Britain spurned the offer to join the favoured Six and sought to neutralize the possible impact upon her trade of this new kind of international coustoms union by devising the European Free Trade Association. At the time of the Rome Treaty Britain did not, understandably, apprehend any very serious repercussion on her trade from this new customs union, as she was well set in her developing trade abroad and most of the countries of the Six were only just emerging into econmic self-sufficiency after the devastations of the Second World War. What little threat, she felt, there might eventually develop from this new Union to her trade, would be more than fully neutralized by her new creation, the EFTA.

Unfortunately for Britain and most countries of the EFTA, things did not pan out in the manner they were expected to, and the new Economic Community created by the Rome Treaty not merely emerged into daily developing virility with a corresponding hold upon Europe's trade to an extent never before envisaged as even remotely possible, it also developed into much more than merely a loose customs union between the countries concerned, and has fast been acquiring also a most significant strategic importance at the same time. Britain had, of course, certain inherent difficulties in joining such a community as this. For one thing, she had her obligations under the old Imperial Preferences, now the Commonwealth preferences, and these she could not lightly repudiate not merely because of their international political implications, but presumably, because of their visibly beneficent effects upon her own home economy, derived from Commonwealth trade. Most of the undeveloped and underdeveloped (and most of the Commonwealth countries are such) members of the Commonwealth not merely did and continue to provide a lucrative market for surplus British exportable merchandise, especially in the shape of heavy capital-exports, they have also been providing a happy and profitable dumping ground for a sizeably large proportion of British unemployables, masquerading as so-called technologists and experts, at highly remunerative rates. Britain obviously could not lightly repudiate these profitable ties which it might be necessary to at least considerably loosen, if not completely sever, if she had agreed to join the newly conceived European Economic Community at the time of the formulation of the Rome Treaty.

Things, however, panned out quite differently from what was anticipated and the Six developed an economic and industrial potential within the very short while it has been operating which was not merely not previously apprehended as being possible, but which has been the cause of Britain's being steadily but surely pushed out of her traditional markets not merely on the continent of Europe, but even elsewhere in the world. Even some of the developing Commonwealth countries preferred to make their purchases of heavy capital goods from the Six at more economical terms and the inevitable result has been a serious threat to the British economy which has to sustain itself very largely by its exports abroad. Dwindling British exports and the corresponding effect of the situation upon the growth of the British national product compelled the Government of the U.K. last year to seriously reconsider the earlier decision to keep away from the E.E.C. Reconsideration was, obviously, neither easy nor facile. Britain had to consider in this context her obligations under Commonwealth Relations. There was also the matter of the EFTA to be considered. These are one, a traditional obligation and the other one which was created primarily at her own instances and initiative, which could not be lightly dismissed or repudiated. On the other hand, her

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...lling trade which she could not conceive of ...r other alternative means to save from, were ...ing a real threat to the maintenance of the ...ish national standard of living at their present ...l. One can sympathise with Britain in her ...ate decision to apply for admission into the ..., proposing certain safeguards in respect of ...h her Commonwealth and EFTA obligations as ...condition of her admittance.

The community of the Six, understandably, ...e been in no mood for accepting any condi-...n, however. Negotiations have been going on ...r more than a year now, Britain being almost ...inuously and progressively compelled to re-...e and restate her demands in respect of Com-...wealth concessions so far as the application ...the Common External Tariffs of the ECM are ...cerned, but the Six as steadily proving in-...table in respect of almost every new propo-...l put forth by Britain in this regard. One of ...e latest proposals put forth by Britain, and ...ch intimately concerned India, was that a ...atorium should be extended in respect of ...ish imports from the Commonwealth, espe-...lly from India and Pakistan duty free and ...respective of quota restrictions, for a period ...ually agreed before the Common External ...iff were to be clamped down on them. There ...s initial expectation that such a proposal ...ld be acceptable, especially in view of simi-... concessions having already been granted to ...ain African countries, former possessions of ...e French Empire and which, perhaps, was one ...e visible reasons for Mr. Morarji Desai's ...d of optimism. Nothing, however, has so far ...ntuated to encourage the hope that the Six ...ld be likely to accept even such temporary ...essions. Latest indications available, on the ...rary, evince a considerable hardening of the ...ude of the Six in respect of British proposals ...rding agriculture, and it does seem likely ...t the British application for admittance into ...e Community may even be indefinitely post-...ned, if not altogether rejected. The French ...ident's rather devastatingly cryptic comment ...t Britain has been endeavouring to eat the ...e and have it too at the same time, would ...ms to summarise, in concrete terms, the con-...ion Britain has been seeking to make as part ...her terms for admittance into the E.E.C. Tem-...rarily, at least, there would seem to have been ...certain accession of strength in the British atti-tude in respect of her conditions for joining the Community qualified, perhaps, by the recently reported upward lift in the quantum of British exports to West Germany and other countries of the European Economic Community in spite of the deterrant common tariff. But how long this, what may be only a fortuitious and very temporary accession of strength is likely to last is a matter of quite uncertain speculation and it is not impossible that in a very short while again, she may find herself reduced to her original position of a somewhat abject suppliant.

What would seem to have been considerably accentuating British difficulties in the way of joining the Community apart from the Community's intransigence in respect of her proposals for Commonwealth concessions, is the fact that the Six, apparently, are no more in a relenting mood in respect of the European neutrals whom Britain had roped in into her former EFTA escapade, and about whom both the governing party and the opposition in the Community's counsels seem to be completely indifferent. It may, on the face of it, seem rather strange that any European country could afford to be quite indifferent to these West European democracies. But the Common Market Community being not just an ordinary customs union, but something far more potent both in respect of political and military implications, it may be difficult for the Six to tie in, or provide concession to countries which are unable to accept the political implications or the joint military responsibilities of the Rome Treaty. The penchant for maintaining the "neatness around the edges" of the Community even after enlargement as being currently discussed, may be considered of such paramount importance that it may conceivably be difficult to envisage that the boundaries of the Community may be allowed to loose its present sharpness of outline as between those who are in and those that are out, and merge into vague and indeterminate lines as, it may be apprehended, would be bound to be the case if the countries of the EFTA were to be included within the favoured perimeter of the Six or the Seven, as the case may be, without a complete reversal of their political or military neutrality.

Whether one agrees with the political and military contents of the policies of the European Economic Community or otherwise, the fact seems to be unambiguously clear that so far as

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India is concerned, there is no real cause for the Union Finance Minister's unseasonable optimism, and in the event of Britain's being eventually allowed to join the Community, India may be faced with a further serious threat to her already very precarious export balances. As present indications shew, there is quite a possibility that Britain's application for admittance, if not on the grounds of her conditions for Commonwealth or other conditions, but at least on account of her demands in respect of British agriculture, a position from which she cannot obviously resile on account of the dire threat its ultimate repudiation would be bound to pose on her own basic economic structure, may be rejected or, at least, indefinitely postponed. It is in India's own interest to hope that it may be so, and instead of spreading confusion by way of wishful optimism of the manner in which our Finance Minister seems to have been indulging, the country should make ready to meet the challenge of leastwise the breathing space that is thus bound to be available, and make the most of her advantages in the British markets.

K. N.

Development Planning in Underdeveloped Economy

One of the fundamental bases of development planning for an underdeveloped economy like the one in this country, it should be recognized, must be progress in agricultural production. In fact, looked at from the point of view of the requisite conditions of industrial development, growth of an agricultural surplus would seem to be one of the essential conditions-precedent to industrial growth. The history of the U.S. economy, undoubtedly the most highly developed industrial economy of the modern world, would demonstrate that the rapid pace of industrial development in this country followed, not preceded, the growth of very substantial agricultural surpluses. Even today, despite America's overwhelming industrial potential not merely from the point of view of installed capacity but also from that of a correspondingly rapidly rising incidences of productivity, U.S. agriculture is blessed with large surpluses to an extent where the price levels of agricultural produce have to be sustained by a cleverly devised system of organized price-support. Examples in the U.K. and other European countries especially belonging to the favoured group of the Economic Community, would demonstrate a similar trend of agricultural growth preceding rapid industrialization.

Development planning in India would not, however, seem to demonstrate a clear understanding of such a postulate to industrial growth. The very substantial deficits in the country's food production potentials requiring the diversion of very substantial amounts of precious foreign exchange for the importation of food cereals from abroad no doubt caused a certain emphasis to be laid upon creation of necessary irrigation facilities and the production of requisite quantities of fertilizers in the First and the following Plan programmes, but results up-to-date do not appear to have been sufficiently encouraging to agricultural growth at the rate at which it would be considered an ample incentive to industrial development at the pace programmed for. Estimates of agricultural production during the first year of the Third Plan in 1961-62, provided for only marginal increase over the previous year, although it would seem obvious that the achievements of the Third Plan would have to depend, more than on anything else, upon the steady improvement in production incidences that would be likely to be evinced in the agricultural sector of the national economy.

In fact, there would seem to be a concentration of attention and concern upon a rapid rise in the industrial potential of the economy to the comparative neglect of the need for agricultural growth as an essential economic base without which ordered industrial growth may, despite the creation of necessary capacity therefor, be altogether jeopardised. In all that is being sought to be done currently in respect of development planning one would look almost in vain for a practical and purposive approach to this most vital requisite of development planning.

Although attention has, from time to time, been drawn to the fact that the levels of output envisaged for agriculture in the Plan will have to depend on the progress of irrigation and availability of chemical fertilizers—and it must be recognized that the output envisaged is, in itself, far short of the level at which an agricultural surplus would be expected to be in sight—the outlook, to judge by experience, would not seem to be very much encouraging. Although irri

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gation facilities have, in their potentials been programmed for a considerable improvement from about 48 per cent in the first year of the Second Plan to about 70 per cent in its last year, it is still bound to be a very long time before sufficient irrigation facilities are created and utilized to the full requisite extent. Against the Third Plan target of 12.80 million acres to be covered by minor irrigation potentials, achievements of the first year of the Third Plan in 1961-62, is estimated to have been only 1.67 million acres, while in respect of major and medium irrigation works, utilization during the year is estimated at 1.84 million acres against the Third Plan target of 13.64 million acres. In respect of fertilizers production, the Third Plan had to get off with the heavy backlog of the Second Plan. In accordance with an estimate provided in the Rajya Sabha by the Union Food and Agriculture Minister, the total requirements of fertilizers in 1962-63, in terms of nitrogenous contents are estimated at 5,89,000 tonnes, indigenous production at 2,02,000 tonnes, imports at 2,15,000 tonnes, leaving an uncovered shortfall of 1,72,000 tonnes.

Unfortunately, however, authority seems to be strangely complacent about this rather dismal picture of immediate agricultural prospects in the country, although on the very face of it it would seem that the bare outlines of success even in respect of merely achieving the physical targets of the Third Plan would have to depend on very substantial food imports at what may only be described as suicidal expenditure of foreign exchange. Looked at either way, lack of sufficiently purposive programme for agricultural growth at the minimum requisite rate, the fundamental postulate that industrial development has to follow agricultural growth at a sufficiently rapid pace to make the eventual emergence of an agricultural surplus is accepted as correct, might jeopardise the very purpose of development planning currently being undertaken at such huge expenditure both in terms of material resources and immense human sacrifice.

Another very pertinent question in this connection would seem to be the type of industrial growth that would be likely to suit the present conditions and stage of development of the Indian economy. One of the fundamental determinants of economic growth universally accepted all over the world, is the corresponding growth of the employment potential that such economic growth would sustain indicating, thereby, the growth, in turn, of both the area and content of *effective demand*. The economic advisers of the Planning Commission and of the Government of India alike appear to us to have been over-emphasizing the need for consumption-restriction as both a generative factor in capital-formation as well as a necessary restraining element against inflationary pressures. This emphasis on consumption-restraint would, however, seem to disregard a fundamental economic fact that consumption-restraints would apply only to the existence of a corresponding consumers' surplus. Where such a surplus is non-existent or, as very well may be the case in most instances in this country, it is a negative quantity, consumption-restraint would be a foolhardy thing to look for. Be that as it may, there is nothing in the results of the First two Plans so far emerged, nor in the prospects of the Third Plan currently under implementation, that would indicate the prospects of any substantial improvement in the employment potential in the country. It is not merely a question of having to provide for the growth of new employment seekers estimated at approximately 2.1 per cent of the population annually but even of the backlog of the huge army of the unemployed or only very partially employed, that has to be considered in this context. The question would seem to be pertinent in this context that planning for huge capital intensive industries of the modern type alone, which seems to be the current pastime of our development-economists at the Centre and in the States, would be likely to achieve anywhere near this purpose. The employment potentials of capital-intensive industries, it is pertinent to remind oneself at this stage, is comparatively low. In fact, the growth of capital-intensive industries in U.S.A. and, later in Europe of the modern type have been the direct outcome, on the one hand, of the need for profitable employment of surplus idle capital and, on the other, to obviate the difficulties of labour shortages, conditions which would not seem to apply to the case of India even remotely. The glamour of a highly mechanized, even automatized industrial system may be very fascinating to an outside onlooker but where necessary conditions for their adoption do not apply, their importation into the system of an underdeveloped (for all

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practically purposes really a completely undeveloped) economy like that in this country, may be completely suicidal. Conditions here, it would seem patent, do not even remotely encourage the establishment of large-scale capital intensive industries in this country yet. Our problem is certainly neither unemployed surplus capital languishing for profitable investment, nor a lack of human labour. It has been complained that considering the very low productivity of Indian labour, the production-process is inordinately expensive in this country despite our low economic potentials and the need for developing competitive efficiency makes the establishment of capital intensive industries a dire necessity. If the purpose of economic growth is to provide for a corresponding rise in the incidence of the national product in the benefits of which the people in the country are intended to participate, this would certainly not seem to be the way to go about the matter. On the contrary, considering that the capital base of a modern mechanized capital intensive industry is in the proportion of 10,000 to 200 against cottage industries per capita of employment in the industry concerned, going in for capital intensive industrialization in India at the present moment would distinctly seem to be contra-indicated.

In fact, a careful scrutiny of the programmes and processes of Development Planning viewed in the context of the results achieved during the last eleven years, would seem to indicate the vital need for a great deal of rethinking on the matter and, perhaps, a complete reversal of the policies and programmes that we seem to have been fruitlessly pursuing in this country during the last decade at considerable sacrifice to the people. One of the elementary contents of progress is, obviously, the ability to own up mistakes and the courage to start afresh if need be.

K. N.

THIS MONTH'S COVER

As we remember the late Ananda Mohan Bose on the front page of this issue we cannot do better than recall what Dr. Rashbehari Ghose said as Chairman of the Reception Committee to the 1906 Calcutta Congress :

"In the death of Ananda Mohan Bose, everyone felt as if he had lost a personal friend ; for he was of an eminently winning disposition, distinguished not less by his amiability than by the purity of his life. To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working 'as ever in the great Task Master's eye'. Indeed, in Ananda Mohan Bose patriotism grew to the height of a religion. And it was this happy union of the religious and civic elements in his character that sustained him when, with life fast ebbing away and with the valley of the shadow of death almost in sight, he poured out his soul in that memorable swan song of the 16th of October, 1905, when a whole people plunged in gloom assembled together in solemn protest against the ruthless dismemberment of their country".

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ARE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES UNNECESSARY?

By VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

Despite the fact that the programme for the development of cottage industries has been an organic part of our national planning since the first of the series of five year plans was launched in 1951-52, it is curious that some of the students or critics of our planning refuse to understand, much less to appreciate, the place of these industries in the Indian economy. The latest among such critics is Mr. Paul Johnson who decries the value of this sector of our plans in an article which is prominently featured in the **New Statesman.*** He considers that cottage industries constitute "perhaps the biggest artificial burden the economy has to bear" since they are "heavily subsidized and protected." The fact that these industries have been allocated Rs. 264 crores in the Third Plan shows, he avers, the immensity of the burden, for does this not, he asserts, represent 25 per cent of the total allotted to agriculture?

This kind of criticism can come only from a superficial—if not jaundiced—student of Indian planning, particularly one who has made no attempt to study the stark realities of our economy. That the number of persons engaged in small establishments is at least three times that of those employed by factory industries should denote the importance of this sector of our economy and the imperative need in any programme of planned development to ensure that the large numbers engaged in these occupations are enabled to increase their levels of earnings and hence to raise their standards of living which are much below those of the smaller numbers employed in factory industries. Moreover, the aggregate contribution that these small establishments, through their productive efforts, made to the national output was, until some five years back, of the same magnitude as that of factory industries; notwithstanding the intensification of the process of centralized industrialisation even today it is only slightly lower in proportion. It should have been obvious to any discerning student of the Indian economy that no planning authority could ignore the claims of this important section of our industrial workers.

It is arithmetically true that the sum of Rs. 264 crores constitutes roughly a little under a quarter of Rs. 1,068 crores alloted to agriculture under the Third Five-Year Plan. But while the allocation for agriculture has gone up from Rs. 530 crores in the Second Plan to Rs. 1,068 crores in the Third Plan and the percentage from 11 to 14, for the village and small industries sector the percentage of allocation remains the same, just 4. The percentage allocation for organized industries and minerals remains the same, that is 20, but the quantum has gone up from Rs. 900 crores to Rs. 1,520 crores, which figure is nearly six times the provision for the small industries sector. This provision, besides, is exclusive of the allocation for power which has gone up from Rs. 445 crores to Rs. 1,012 crores, the percentage rising from 10 to 13.

A student of our Plans should also have noted that out of the increased allocation for the cottage and small industries sector, handlooms and Khadi, which are mainly the target of Mr. Paul Johnson's attack, account partly for just 15 crores out of a total increase of some 85 crores. It is mainly the mechanized section in this group that has secured the bulk of the additional provision. The allocation for small-scale industries, principally other than the traditional ones, is Rs. 84.6 crores as against Rs. 64.6 crores under the Second Plan and for industrial estates, chiefly intended for small and medium industries Rs. 30.2 crores as

* "The Tortoise and the Hare" By Paul Johnson, *New Statesman*, 1st June, 1962.

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compared with Rs. 11.6 crores in the Second Plan. If this increase of Rs. 40 crores is deemed a burden it has been accepted by the planning authorities not out of any desire to subsidize or protect the traditional cottage industries but by reason, presumably, of a desire to diversify the industrial pattern by the encouragement of new industries producing miscellaneous articles with the use of power, providing an outlet for petty entrepreneurial talent and diffusing employment among skilled workmen or young persons with a modicum of training in the handling of machines. Both the economic and sociological value of this cannot be denied by any student of economics.

In the columns of a weekly devoted to the cause of socialism it is amazing, however, to see a statement such as made by Mr. Paul Johnson that if rural employment is to be reduced "it would be preferable to keep the workers alive by paying a dole." In the first place, no person making such an assertion could possibly have any conception of the magnitude of the problem of rural unemployment in India, or even of Indian demographic conditions with its preponderant rural population four times as large as the urban population and with agriculture being the source of livelihood for nearly seven out of every ten persons. In an unplanned society, the surplus rural population may be left to die of slow starvation or have their standard of living lowered with the growth in numbers without any corresponding increase in the income from agriculture. But any scheme of unemployment doles for the huge numbers concerned would present a most stupendous task for a planning authority even with the amplest of resources as its command. Again, the pattern of our agricultural operations is such and varies so greatly that it is not only for those who are wholly unemployed that provision has to be made. Those who are unemployed in off-seasons or those who have just a little work to do every day or the rural artisans who have lost their occupations or who can finish their daily job in a few hours' time—the chronically under-employed—will also claim attention. The grant of doles to the wholly unemployed, even if practicable and desirable, can by no stretch of imagination alleviate the misery that rural under-employment spells.

But apart from the financial aspect, what is astounding is the casual, if not callous, manner in which this problem of unemployment is approached. How a system of doles can meet a situation such as confronts planning in India passes one's understanding! It is not the planning authorities in India but a delegation from the United Nations who after a survey of our economy arrived at the conclusion recently that "unemployment and under-employment are major causes of poverty and the objective of providing more and more productive employment is a major element in the broader objective of promoting higher levels of living." The problem is as acute today, if not worse, as it was when these words were penned or when prior to the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan, the statistical and economic experts associated with the formulation of that Plan put forward their recommendations. The expansion of "household or hand production," observed Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, "would quickly generate a large volume of work all over the country," a view echoed by the Panel of Economists which called for a positive policy for the stimulation of additional employment opportunities for self-employed persons as a major plank in the programme for relief of unemployment. Supplementary occupations, it was noted in The Tentative Framework of the Second Five-Year Plan, would have to be found for considerable numbers.

It is after a sustained and serious study of the problem of unemployment as it exists in our country today that this programme for the development of cottage industries finds place in our Third Five-Year Plan. Allowing the large numbers involved to remain without work and keeping them alive—to reproduce Mr. Paul Johnson's elegant phrase—with the aid of doles is a proposition which would be repugnant to any social scientist, economist and administrator because of sociological and moral considerations, apart from financial ones. One should have thought that the days had gone when it could be seriously

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suggested, particularly by any one subscribing to a socialist school of thought that it would be in the interest of a national economy as a whole to keep a portion of the people—and in India the portion is pretty large—idle rather than help them to get engaged in useful productive effort. That these persons would thereby be enabled to have the satisfaction of contributing to the national pool upholds their dignity and is in itself no small national gain.

For the provision of expanding opportunities for does employment and work in cottage industries not constitute the most suitable medium? The statisticians and economists associated with the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan thought so, very definitely. Accepting this view, the Planning Commission appointed, as far back as in 1955, a Committee containing two eminent economists to formulate the lines on which such expansion could be planned for. The traditional industries producing consumers' goods in common demand provide, especially in rural areas, a field of effort where considerable expansion is possible—without the necessity of setting up costly plants or investing large sums of money. As it is, their impact on relieving under-employment either in agriculture or in artisan industries has not been inconsiderable; and large numbers have had fuller employment or work from which the families can supplement their meagre incomes. Over the entire period of the Plans, the increase in employment provided through large-scale factory industries is hardly ten lakhs. With the very much smaller outlay incurred, the cottage industries sector has provided additional employment for far larger numbers. All this has been achieved—and is capable of being extended in growing magnitude—on a basis which should be welcomed by social scientists. As the U.N. survey referred to earlier, has observed, "an opportunity for productive work is not merely a means to a higher income. It is a means to self-respect, to the development of the human personality and to a sense of participation in the common purposes of society." There may be alternative paths of economic development, but in the context of our present-day economy we have to select paths that provide work, forthwith, for large numbers. Then alone can many share in the benefits of progress.

Another of the points of criticism is that the encouragement of production through cottage industries has led to the raising of the price level for consumers' goods and that the limitation placed on the production of large-scale industries in the interests of the corresponding cottage industries or the imposition of differential duties has clogged progress. The classic illustration of this imaginary phenomenon that might be cited would be the cotton textile industry. But no one who has studied the varying fortunes of that industry during the entire period of planning will take the view that its progress has been checked because of either differential duties or by reason of the ceiling fixed for production. The small cess originally imposed in the interest of the cottage handloom industry is but a negligible fraction of the duties now levied by way of indirect taxation for general purposes. When the textile industry spokesmen protested in 1950 against a nominal ceiling placed on production, cloth production actually went above the ceiling and caused a slump, the blame for which could scarcely be laid at the doors of cottage industry. The anticipated increase in the per capita consumption of cloth to meet which the industry clamoured for a higher ceiling has not materialized till this day, because of the absence of any increase in the purchasing power of the people, the large bulk of whom are agriculturists and dwell in villages. That increase can take place only with the diversification of the rural economy, deriving strength from a policy of protection for cottage production.

This is an aspect on which Prof. Mahalanobis, Prof. D. R. Gadgil and other economists laid considerable stress when the Second Five-Year Plan was formulated. Until unemployment was liquidated or brought under control, observed Prof. Mahalanobis, it was necessary to prevent competition between factories and household industries by not permitting investments to be made in such consumers' goods

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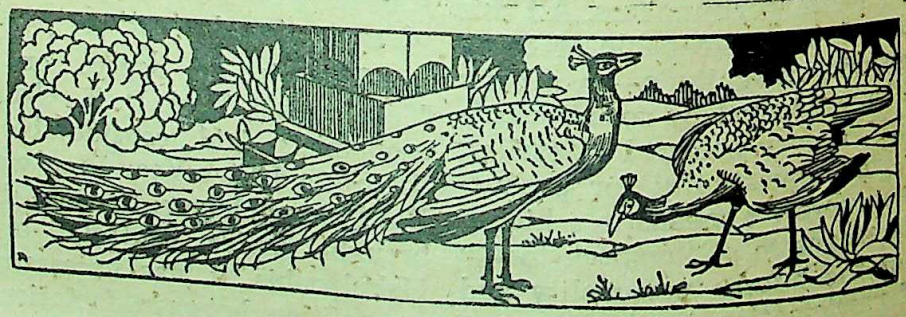
factories as would prevent the expansion of or lead to a shrinkage of employment in the home industries. Expansion of the productive capacity of factory based consumption goods industries was disfavoured by the Panel of Economists on similar grounds. "We want to provide employment opportunities," the Panel of Economists emphasised, "for those who are already engaged in the small-scale industries and find employment for the new additions that are being made to the labour force every year." The grant of protection (to) and encouragement of small-scale (cottage) industries assumed importance, to quote the words of The Tentative Framework for the Second Five-Year Plan, as a means of preserving a balance between the supply and demand for consumer goods, quite apart from their employment potential." In his recent work entitled **The Transformation of Man,** Mr. Lewis Mumford enunciates a similar thesis. According to him "we may favour certain types of products and certain systems of production and reject others with reference to the effect that work has upon the human personality; we shall weigh its influence upon love of fellowship, family life, citizenship, not upon merely mechanical efficiency.

One last point. It is only someone who is indifferent to cultural traditions or is unacquainted with India's heritage who would hazard the view that there was nothing worth preserving in Indian village handicrafts that could not be better or more economically made under modern economic conditions. It would be enough for Mr. Paul Johnson to pay a visit to the British Museum to find for himself the exquisite workmanship which India developed and which made a number of its handicraft products, including textiles, famed all over the world. Our contact with the west, the domination of our economy by a predatory regime and the impact of the machine age have all had an adverse influence on the creative instincts of the people. Notwithstanding all these factors, the traditions have not gone into the limbo of oblivion and the aptitudes and skills handed down from generation to generation still form a part of the culture that India cherishes.

The application of modern machine based technology is not the **summum bonum** of a sound and stable economy. As Prof. J. K. Galbraith has more than once emphasised, apostle of an affluent society as he is, the use of advanced technology in productive processes is, after all, a concession to labour shortage. Conditions in India being quite otherwise, small industries with their larger employment potentials may, conceivably, play a crucial role even in a developing economy. Besides, as Mr. Aldous Huxley said during his recent visit to India, "Europe has behaved as though man was made for the machine and not the machine for the man". Pure efficiency should not override, he urged, the human imperative. If countries seeking to develop industries acted otherwise, an appalling danger confronted them, for man might verily be in danger of being sacrificed to the moloch of the machine.



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BRITAIN IN ECM—IS INDIA AFFECTED ?

By Prof. N. SEN

The E.E.C., as the E.C.M. is officially called was formed after signing the Rome Treaty with France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg with the main objectives of building up a strong economic and political unity among these nations by adopting the principles of common external tariff which is very very high, quota restrictions of import of goods from non-member countries, free trade among the member-countries, a certain measure of common economic and industrial policy and abolition of bounty and subsidy to agricultural farms. Britain did not then join this custom's union as she failed to obtain terms favourable to herself. Having failed to secure her entry into this market, she not only believed that the common market would inevitably collapse in no time, but that she formed a counter custom's union with the outer-seven, officially called EFTA (European Free Trade Association) with Austria, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland.

Crises in U.K.

Now Britain is in the face of trade deficits and a run on sterling and growing economic difficulties. Her exports are falling sharply, her industries are outmoded, the prices of goods are not competitive and the productivity is low as compared to many other advanced countries of the West, particularly West Germany, France, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Moreover, the EFTA, which is not a viable economic block with such backward countries as Portugal and with a dispersed and scattered market of only 86 million people, cannot provide a good market for U.K. In fact, in 1955, Britain accounted for 20 per cent of the world's export of manufactured goods, which fell sharply to 16 per cent in the year 1960. In the Commonwealth countries, like Australia and New Zealand, U.K. is steadily losing her market which she monopolised so far as she is being gradually ousted from these markets by Japan, U.S.A. and Common Market countries. Her export to Australia fell from 72 per cent to 51 per cent in the last 6 years and in New Zealand from 85 per cent to 72 per cent during that period. Her export to E.C.M. has risen only by 6 per cent since 1958 as compared to Italy's 44 per cent, West Germany's 30 per cent, France's 25 per cent, Holland's 25 per cent and Belgium's and Luxembourg's 23 per cent each. It is on the background of these hard economic crises in Britain that she ultimately decided to negotiate with the ECM with a view to an entry into that body to boost up her exports and to improve her trade position, for, she has now come to realise that she cannot sacrifice a developed market with 170 million people. This was announced by the British Prime Minister Mr. Macmillan on 31st July, 1961 and negotiations have since started under the leadership of Mr. Edward Heath ; Lord Privy Seal. It is still in the negotiation stage and stiff bargaining from both sides is going on. No final decision has been reached yet.

Problems to Join

Her decision to join the ECM, however, has now posed a serious problem—problem with her own agriculture, with EFTA and with the Commonwealth countries. If she joins the ECM, she has to abide by all the rigorous rules and regulations of the Rome Treaty under which the EEC was formed and has to subscribe to its basic principles.

Regarding British farmers, the situation would be grim. Subsidies paid by the British Government to the farmers have to be stopped as per the spirit of the principles of Rome Treaty. Farm products from the continent, which are comparatively much cheaper, would enter U.K. duty-free. At the same time the proportion of external

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tariffs for agricultural products in the continent is very high. This is the protective measure which the E.C.M. adopted to safeguard the agriculture of the continent, which it would not in any case be willing to give up as the President of France has made it quite clear. So Britain, if she joins the ECM, would have to apply the same external tariffs for wheat, butter, meat and other foodstuffs which are now imported from Australia, New Zealand, Canada and other countries absolutely free from any duty. They are at the same time much cheaper too. So, her entry would bring a complete annihilation to her own agriculture. Her entry has also been strongly opposed by the National Farmers' Union of Britain at its Annual General Meeting held in the recent past, which resolved:

> "If we enter the Common Market it will be the end of British Agriculture and the end of the British Empire. The Government should make an all-out effort for trade promotion with the Commonwealth and with the rest of the world."

Regarding EFTA, there may not be any serious problem at all if they are also allowed to join the ECM along with U.K. If, however, for some reason or the other, it is considered not feasible to grant full membership to them, they may be granted associate membership and thus will enjoy the advantages and preferences as are enjoyed by the 14 African countries (associate members) mostly former French Colonies.

Regarding the Commonwealth, real problems would arise here. It is feared in some quarters that the British Commonwealth might dissolve if Britain enters the Common Market under the conditions of the Rome Treaty. At present, between U.K. and the Commonwealth, there is free trade and no quota restrictions and tariff walls, i.e., the Commonwealth goods enter U.K. duty-free. As soon as she joins the ECM, she will have to impose restrictive and prohibitive duty on the Commonwealth goods, which most of the Commonwealth countries particularly India would be unable to bear and virtually there would be a collapse of trade and commerce between U.K. and other Commonwealth countries.

But Britain believes that by joining a rapidly expanding economic block of about 20 crores of people, it would not only strengthen her own economy and contribute to the growth of this large market, but would serve best the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole. She maintains that only an economically strong Britain will be able to provide an expanding market for the products of a developing country and what is more important is that she will be able, in co-operation with others, to be a source of investment funds for the execution of its economic plans. She also maintains at the same time that she would make a stiff bargain with ECM for a substantial tariff cut and safeguards to the Commonwealth. But ECM is reluctant to grant any concession. The French President says:

> "She (Britain) cannot eat the cake and have it too. She cannot have the best of both the worlds. If she joins the six-nation custom's union, she cannot maintain the Imperial Preference. She cannot enjoy the benefits of free trade in ECM and at the same time keep the Commonwealth market for herself."

Impact on India's Trade

In view of this decision of U.K. to join the ECM, India is likely to be the worst sufferer of all the Commonwealth countries. Her export trade would get a rude set back at the time she needs boosting up her export to earn more foreign exchange resources to meet the requirements of the Third Five-Year Plan. So long, India received Imperial Preference along with other Commonwealth countries in the matter of export to U.K. As it has been made clear, the six would not grant any concession in respect of external tariffs. It can, therefore, be clearly imagined as to what would happen to India's 27.3 per cent export to Britain. The trade between India and Britain now stood at about 300 million dollars each way, while India imported some 400 million dollars worth of goods from the Common Market and exported only 100 million dollars worth af goods to U.K. Indian exports to the E.C.M.

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were practically duty-free, while exports to the Common Market were subject to high tariffs and quota restrictions, on account of which her imports from them were always in excess of her exports. India's export trade particularly Sewing machines, Kirloskar Diesel Engines and other light engineering and electrical goods, textiles, jute goods, hides and skins, tea and vegetable oils, would suffer greatly. This is no doubt a disturbing prospect, particularly when India has been doing all within her power to step up her exports.

Tea and Jute

Our tea enters the British and other Commonwealth markets with nothing to be said except the price. Almost half of our export earnings are derived from tea and jute and nearly all of it goes to U.K. West Germany and other E.C.M. countries charge 52 per cent duty on our tea. The danger, therefore, is that when Britain joins the E.C.M. she will also have to impose a duty of not less than 52 per cent on tea which is now duty-free.

Textiles

The duty levied by ECM on textile goods is very high. It imposed still higher duty on Indian, Pakistani and Hongkong textiles from January, 1962, on the grounds that they are from low-priced countries. In 1960, British import of cloth from the Commonwealth were 394 million sq. yards in addition to 9.2 million pounds of Indian cotton yarn. The present position is that we enjoy a levy of 17½ per cent on cloth and 7½ per cent on yarn which is charged by Britain to the non-Commonwealth countries. The ECM charges on an average 15 per cent duty on textile goods. So, Britain also will have to charge a levy of at least 15 per cent. India's loss will, therefore, be great when we consider that cotton textile, jute and tea earn nearly Rs. 150 crores in foreign exchange from Britain. After all, we cannot be treated on the same footing as Japan and China, especially in regard to cotton textiles.

Machines

The ECM duty on machines and machine tools and light engineering and electrical goods from Commonwealth countries is exceptionally high. Moreover, further restrictions and more duty on the Commonwealth goods were imposed from January, 1962. To illustrate this, West Germany, Italy and France imposed restrictive and exceptionally prohibitive duty of as much as between 55 and 60 per cent in addition to the present duty on Indian Sewing Machines and Kirloskar Diesel Machines and other electrical goods from India. The former are in great demand in the continent and last year India exported as many as 14,000 of these machines to U.K. Britain would also have to impose this duty on her joining the ECM.

Hides and Skins and Vegetable Oils

More or less similar is the position with these items also, for, on an average Common Market's tariff range between 25 per cent and 45 per cent on different commodities which India is unable to bear at least at this infant stage of her economic development. Thus, Indian exports to U.K. and ECM. would be virtually put a stop to, disrupting her economy very badly.

Associate Members

It has been suggested from some quarters that India should be linked up with the E.C.M. as associates like the 14 dependent African territories associated with France. But it is absolutely out of the question for an independent country like India to be an associate member so that she may be treated on a par with the dependent African countries. Again, association with the E.C.M. means acceptance of the political and military implication of the Treaty of Rome, to which India cannot agree on account of her non-alignment and neutral foreign policy. On the other hand, E.C.M. also cannot agree to the proposal.

Solution

The only way out, therefore, is that (1) there should be a substantial liberalisation of tariff and commercial policies in the Common Market as a whole, (2) suitable transitional arrangements should be made so that the benefit of preferential treatment

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at present enjoyed by Indian exports to U.K. disappears only in slow and gradual stages, and (3) there should be a complete abolition of quota restrictions on import of goods from Commonwealth countries.

Our all-out efforts to increase our export to the E.C.M. and U.K. to cope with the requirements of the Third Five-Year Plan, cannot succeed without these concessions, for, otherwise, we would be forced to run a heavy adverse balance in our trade with the E.C.M. Any way, what most we can get now is only some reduction in the common external tariff in respect of some of our manufactured goods and that also only for the transitional period. We should, therefore, make every endeavour to produce quality goods at the cheapest possible competitive cost so that eventually we may be able to have a bigger market in what is going to be the largest trade block in the world. It is best to plan on that basis without pleading for an advantage by way of reduction of the common tariff and other concessions.

Afro-Asian Common Market

Concurrently, there should also be a move for the formation of an Afro-Asian Common Market with all the Asian and African countries. While Asia and Africa need enormous quantities of Europe's manufactures, particularly capital goods, Europe needs the raw materials and some of the manufactures from the East. On the other hand, America and the entire East European countries are absolutely beyond the influence and control of the E.C.M. U.S. is also affected by the policy of high external tariffs of the E.C.M. and she is facing problems of sending goods to the Common Market. She has, therefore, recently proposed to adopt a reciprocal reduction in tariff between E.C.M. and U.S. If, however, this does not materialise, she has decided to establish her commercial connection with the Commonwealth on the basis of tariff-free agreement. We hail this idea. Let there be a bigger Common Market in the world to counter the E.C.M.

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COMMON ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS : FILLIP TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION

By Shri G. L. RAVAL*

Now that the general elections are over and governments, both at the Centre and in the States, have begun to function as before, it would be worthwhile knowing "who is what ?" in the administrative set-up and "what is called what ?" in the official language (or languages) of India.

As laid down in India's Constitution, the President is at the apex of the huge structure of the administrative pyramid ; and as we descend, every brick, from the apex to the basement, is referred to by a definite single unequivocal term in English, *e.g.*, the President, Vice-President, Prime Minister, Cabinet Minister, Minister of State, Deputy Minister, Chief Justice, Auditor-General, Commander-in-Chief, Governor of State, Chief Minister, Chief Secretary, down to the office of the Cashier, Clerk and a Chaprasi.

But there is no such uniform use of administrative terminology in Indian regional languages. For example, the Prime Minister is called 'Pradhan Mantri' in Hindi and 'Wada Pradhan' in Gujerati. He is referred to as 'Pant Pradhan' in Marathi and 'Maha Amatya' in some other Indian languages. Even in one and the same language and in one and the same language press too, the Prime Minister is mentioned by different words. The Gujerati language alone uses 'Wada Pradhan', 'Mukhya Sachiva', 'Maha Mantri', 'Pradhan Mantri', 'Maha Amatya', etc., etc., for the Prime Minister. This heterogenous terminology in different languages and in one and the same language for one and the same office causes a lot of confusion in the minds of the people. The student would get confused and feel perplexed when different text-books in one and the same

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language uses different terminology for one and the same administrative post.

A citizen in India, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and Calcutta to Cutch, is closely knit with the administrative structure laid down by India's Constitution. He, very frequently, comes into contact, with one or the other administrative unit of the Government, in one way or the other, directly or indirectly. If, therefore, all citizens in all four corners of India were to use a common terminology for all administrative units of the Union and the State Governments, the spirit of national cohesion would be fortified. It would give a great impetus to national integration.

The English language, which was the official language of the British Government in India, became unwittingly an instrument for forging a sense of Indian nationality. Hindi, the official language of India, will very soon replace English in India. So, it would be very much preferable if the officially recognised administrative terminology, as approved and accepted by the Union Government in Hindi, were to be the official administrative terminology in all the other Indian languages. This terminology has been formulated by the combined wisdom of experts drawn from all the regional languages of India.

The terminology used in this chart could be used by all languages, in educational and government institutions, and more particularly by all the newspapers and periodicals in India. It is desirable that the President is called Rashtrapati, and the Prime Minister the Pradhan Mantri in all the languages of India.

The following chart gives an idea of the contemplated structure of uniformity.

UNIFORM TERMINOLOGY

India—*Bharat*

President—*Rashtrapati*
Vice-President—*Upa-Rashtrapati*

Parliament—*Samsad*

The House of the People—*Lok Sabha*
Legislative Assembly—*Vidhan Sabha*
Speaker—*Adhyakha*
Deputy Speaker—*Upa-Adhyakha*

The Council of State—*Rajya Sabha*
Legislative Council—*Vidhan Parishad*
Chairman—*Sabhapati*
Deputy Chairman—*Upa-Sabhapati*

(U in Upa is pronounced as in Urmila)

Member—*Sabhya*

Member of Parliament—*Samsad Sabhya*

Member of Legislative Assembly—*Vidhan Sabhya*
Central Government—*Kendra Sarkar*
Cabinet—*Mantri Mandal*
Prime Minister—*Pradhan Mantri*
Minister of State—*Rajya Mantri*
Deputy Minister—*Upa-Mantri*

Member of Legislative Council—*Vidhan Parishad Sabhya*
State Government—*Rajya Sarkar*
Governor—*Rajya Pal*
Chief Minister—*Mukhya Mantri*
Minister—*Mantri*

Secretary—*Sachiva*

Chief Secretary—*Mukhya Sachiva*
Deputy Secretary—*Upa-Sachiva*

Joint Secretary—*Samyukta Sachiva*
Under Secretary—*Avar Sachiva*
(Avar rhymes with cover)

Secretariat—*Sachivalaya*

President's House—*Rashtrapati Bhavan*

Governor's House—*Raj Bhavan*

Shri Giridhar Lal Raval is a C.I.S. (Central Information Service) officer in I & B Ministry, Government of India.

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PROHIBITION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

By S. N. QANUNGO

Very few poets of satisfying creative achievements in the Middle Ages did not compose a couple of couplets about woman and wine—'the daughter of the vine.' Wine warmed their hearts and poetry. A tired soldier used to find in it the stimulant for further exertions; the Caliphs and the Ulemas enjoyed wine like rich and warm friendship in their secret chambers or in their own social world. Is it not paradoxical that Harun-al-Rashid—the beau ideal of the Islamic State—would regale himself with wine and relish the poem of his boon companion Abu Nuwas in praise of 'khamriyat' (wine)? Wine is a drink forbidden to Muslims by their religion and to the Hindus by custom. Religion to many is a matter of convenience when it interferes with pleasure or does not suit our climate of thought. Though forbidden by Islam, wine was religiously sanctioned by at least one school of Muslim jurisprudence—the Hanafites. They believed that prophet Muhammad used to drink 'nabidh' which was prepared by soaking grapes, raisins or dates in water and allowing the juice to ferment slightly. Wine approved or unapproved became indispensable in the social life of the Muslims in the Middle Ages. The Christians and the Jews were no better. In fact, they were the most notorious boot-leggers and in their monasteries all the superior kinds of wine were available to the delight of the laity. In India, wine was not unknown in our glorious ancient days; the country-made 'tadi' now humorously called as 'Indiana' is as old as the Indian villages. However, before the advent of the Muslims, we did not have anything like 'majlis-al-sharab'. In 'majlis-al-sharab', the aristocrat host and his guests used to perfume their beards with civiets; the rooms were made fragrant by ambergris or aloes wood burning in a censer; the dainty songstresses would entertain the guests as they would gently slip the 'shirazi' from gold cups. In the Middle Ages, the people were intoxicated by power and passion, wine and women, ideas and religions.

In medieval India, the soldier's indispensable companions were his bottle and wine-cup. The tutors of children and women who were otherwise pious, were known to indulge in little drinks in secret. In Amir Khusran's Mata-ul-Anwar, we find the love of wine of the Ulemas so passionate as their love of God. In those days there were superior and expensive kinds of wine as those of Portugal and Persia—and the strongest of all was Bokhara wine (Babar-Nama, p. 83). The cheapest but pleasant in taste and flavour was 'tari' or juice of cocoanut, palm or date trees (Pedro Teixeria, p. 198; Thevenot Pt. III, Chap. VIII, p. 17). There were Jaggery extracted from black sugar (Arington p. 238), Kherra and Bhadawar (Peter Mundy, II, p. 98) and Mahwa (Ain-i-Akbari, p. 70). The Goaenese were very fond of cocoa-juice which was strong after the third distillation. (Linschoten, II, p. 47). The Kashmiris prepared a kind of wine called buza.

There was a faint beginning of the consciousness of the evils of drink in the early days of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Mamluk Sultans felt that wine should not be permissible to those who were weak-brained; they, however, did not introduce any prohibition measures. With the fall in standards of morality, the consumption of wine and other intoxicants gradually increased, wine-parties came to be regarded as an index of one's riches. The wine parties of Ahmad Chap during the Khaljis regime were notorious for their little concealed debauchery. Alauddin Khaljis ascended the throne after drowning all opposition with the generous flow of gold and wine. After his accession, Alauddin found wine to be one of the root causes of

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formation of dangerous conspiracies. Wine parties promoted fellowship and under the influence of liquor, people started speaking of treason. With such a political motive, he prohibited public manufacture or sale of wine and declared use of wine in feasts and festive gatherings a penal offence. Alauddin broke his wine vessels and threw away his stock of wine near the Budayun Gate in Delhi. Wine flowed freely on the streets. The jostling group or crowds suspended their idleness or business, ran to the spot, kneeled down, made scoops of their two joined hands and drank the wine, while being badly beaten by the officials. Qutubuddin Mubarak, son of Alauddin Khalji frittered away his marriage: his only motive was the pursuit of pleasure. Wine, once again, began to lighten the social gatherings and add to the joy of the passing hour. Firuz Tughluq, the restorer of the waning fortunes of Islam in the Sultanate period, used to regale himself with wine in his secret chamber. Once he felt very embarassed when he was caught by a noble in the act of enjoying the forbiden drink.

The Mughals cultivated the softer graces of life along with the virtues in the manly game of war. Unfortunately, the curse of drunkenness lay heavy on the house of Babar. Babar writes in his charming Memoirs, "The new year, the spring, the wine and the beloved are pleasing. Enjoy them Babar, for the world is not to be had a second time." (Babar-Nama, 365). Though the tide of his animal passions was strong, Babar never allowed his private pleasures to interfere with public business. Humayun was interested in wine, opium and almost all kinds of intoxicants. A typical wine party of Humayun may be seen in the Mughal Painting, No. 630, I.A.E. at Jannatabad in Bengal. He was so much engrossed in pleasure that his courtiers waited to get a glimpse of him as of a new moon and even then their desire was not fulfilled.' (Jauhar—Tazkirat-ul-Stagiat, 18).

Akbar's life is a magnificent masterpiece. He made of monarchy a serious profession and he knew the art to be sober in the cups. Jahangir refers to his father as very occasionally in cups (Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 2) without 'the destruction of understanding.' But once in a wine-party Akbar displayed bravado due to the effects of liquor. In 1573, when Akbar was encamped near the fortress of Surat, European wine brought by the Portuguese of Daman was served in one of his pleasure parties. (Akbar-Nama, III, p. 31). His two boon companions—Khan-i-Azam and Lashkar Khan—almost became senseless. At the party the conversation turned on the feats of bravery and the defiance of death. It was related that some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear and two desperadoes would run from opposite sides against the points so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs. Akbar in his wine-flushed head wanted to repeat the performance by fixing the hilt of his sword into a wall and dashing his chest against it. Man Singh struck down he sword to save the life of the Emperor and the latter knocked him down and tried to throttle him to death. Meanwhile Muzaffar Khan intervened and Akbar too came to his senses. Akbar was conscious of the ends of drink as his brother Hakim and his two sons—Murad and Daniyal—died of intemperence. In 1604 as the Royal Physician stopped the supply of alcohol, Prince Daniyal fell to weeping, bribed his attendants to get him wine in phials concealed in their turbans and pursuaded one Murshid Quli Khan to bring doble-distilled spirits in the barrels of an old musket. It only hastened his inevitable end. Before his death, Daniyal inscribed the following verse on the musket. (Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri pp. 34-36).

"From the joy of the chase with thee,
life is fresh and new,
To everyone whom thy dart strikes,
it is the same as his bier."

Akbar realised the importance of controlling the evil effects of drink in his scheme of social reforms. He fixed all liquor prices himsel, compelled shopkeepers to buy licenses for sale and allowed use of wine in moderation for medical purposes.

In 1585 Prince Salim was induced by a servant to take a cup of wine to drive away the fatigues of a hunting expedition and

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after that 'a little wine' remained his life-long companion. Jahangir writes in his memoirs. "Wise men do not consider it right to drink to such an extent as to destroy the understanding and it is necessary that from drinking only profit should be derived" (Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 306). By 1594, Jahangir's little wine consisted of twenty cups of doubly distilled liquor, 14 of which he drank during the day and the rest at night. It is surprising to note that this wine-bibber monarch reversed Akbar's practice of allowing the sale of wine for medicinal purposes and prohibited public sale of wine. He forbade the nobles from entering the Ghusalkhana (Diwan-i-Khas) when drunk (Rol, Vol. II, p. 304).

Shahjahan had not soiled his lips with wine till he was twenty-four. His father, on the occasion of his solar birthday on 1st February, 1616, offered him a cup of wine to drink. The embarassed prince obliged his father but took a vow never to touch it again. Though this oath was taken only to be broken, Shahjahan in the sixth year of his reign prohibited the sale, public or private of wine. During Deccan campaign he threw the entire stock of wine into the Chambal and broke cups of gold and silver (Qazvini, pp. 90-91).

The recorded facts contradict Tavernier's assertion that he saw Aurangzeb drunk on three occasions. On the early days of his romance, Aurangzeb's beloved Hira Bai once offered him a cup of wine and disregarded all his professions of reluctance. The ardent lover was about to drink when she snatched away the cup and said, "My purpose was to test your love and not to embitter your mouth with this wicked and unlucky liquor." In 1668, Aurangzeb issued orders strictly prohibiting the use of all intoxicants (Muntakhal-ul-Lubab, p. 283). A special department was created for that purpose. The pots in which liquors were prepared were daily broken by the Muhtasils (Storia do Mogar, II, pp. 5-7). The wine-sellers were flogged and thrown into prison. In 1693, a Rajput Mansabdar was transferred and in 1702, Raja Man Singh Rathor was degraded as penalties for drinking. The prohibition measures failed in spite of the best efforts of Aurangzeb. We find Daud Khan, sent in command of an expedition to the Carnatic in 1701 drinking openly to the health of the King of England (A Pepys of Mughal India, p. 299). In February, 1703, wine was selling freely in the Bazar-i-Mansabdaran.

In Medieval India, there was really no responsive atmosphere for the success of prohibition. There was no intensified campaign of prohibition and there was no temperance educative propaganda. The Sultans did not realise the importance of prohibition as a socio-economic reform of national importance. They wanted prohibition because wine was forbidden by their religion. There is no evidence of deep seriousness except in Aurangzeb who even proscribed the Diwan-i-Hafiz! (Mirat-ul-Khayyal, p. 298). Prohibition was not in tune with the tenor of the medieval society. Even the philosopher Ibn Sina wrote:

"Mai dushman-i-mast wa dost-i-hushiyar ast
Andak tiryaq wa besh zahr-i-mar ast."
(Wine is a raging enemy, a prudent friend; a little is an antidote, but much a snake's poison).

Wine was, indeed, a prudent friend of Jafar Khan, who was for seven years the Wazir of Aurangzeb (1663-1670). He told the Emperor that by drinking wine he got sight for seeing, power for weilding the pen in the service of His Majesty, and felt strength in his feet to run to court when His Majesty called (Manucci, Vol. II, p. 157). A very important cause of the failure of prohibition was the permission granted to Europeans—mostly gunners in imperial service—to distil wine and use it. Tavernier emptied two bottles of Shiraz wine in the open street at Patna. Moreover, it was very difficult to check smuggling. In the days of Ibn Battuta (14th century) the villagers used to smuggle wine concealed in loads of fuel in carts. It is futile to expect prohibition measures during the days of the Later Mughals when corruption and inefficiency disgraced all branches of the public services and rottenness showed itself at the core of Indian society. Wine stimulated only the baser appetites of the Emperors and the Nawabs. In Oudh

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Sadat-Ali, successor of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula turned out to be such a drunkard that he had to be carried to his bed almost every night. (Sarkar: Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. IV, p. 349).

Drinking has increased in India after Independence in spite of temperance propaganda. The consumption of country and foreign liquor during 1961-62 was 90,924 and 3,35,810 gallons respectively as against the corresponding figures of 83,478 and 2,65,230 gallons for 1956—1957. The success of prohibition depends much on the moral climate of the nation. The trouble is that in India, where we find the co-existence of past centuries with the present, prohibition follows the path of its Middle Ages.

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THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN—A CRITIQUE

By KARUNA K. NANDI

In a previous discussion initiated in the last July issue of The Modern Review, we have already seen how extravagant were the claims of Government in respect of the achievements of the First and the Second Plans in so far at least as they related to the rise in national income as well as in per capita income as a direct resultant of planned development economics, when computed not merely in face values alone, as they had been doing, but also in real terms. As these various claims were obviously intended to create a favourable background for the Third Plan structure as well as its physical targets, it might be helpful towards an adequate understanding of both the prospects and potentialities on the one hand, as well as the dangers and pitfalls in the processes of our national development economy, on the other.

Financial Resources

The basic foundation of any process of development planning must be laid upon the financial resources that can be pressed into its service, both by way of what has been described as new investment-outlays, as well as for financing current servicing outlays on projects already laid down in a continuing plan-process as in India at the present moment and for other social welfare, development and other ancillory services. The total resources that, it has been envisaged, would be available for the Third Plan is estimated at a gross of Rs. 11,800 crores for the entire Plan period, including Rs. 7,500 crores for the Public Sector and Rs. 4,300 crores for the Private Sector. The physical targets of the Third Plan in the Public Sector as formulated and finally adopted, however, would call for a gross resource of Rs. 8,000 crores, but the estimate of Rs. 7,500 crores is a measure of the actual resource that would be available, leaving an unbridged and a somewhat unexplained gap of some Rs. 500 crores in the Plan. Of the 7,500 crores estimated to be available, Rs. 6,100 crores would be required to cover Central projects of the Plan, leaving a gross balance of Rs. 1,400 crores for financing the State projects included therein. The breakdown of the sources as envisaged from which this resource Rs. 7,500 crores would be derived are detailed thus:

(i) Balances Out Of Current Revenues

The balances at the existing levels of taxation estimated to be available for the States and the Centre have been envisaged at Rs. 550 crores. It may be interesting to note in this connection that the estimates in this behalf in the Second Plan amounted to Rs. 350 crores, but actual realizations disclosed a negative balance of Rs. 50 crores despite the downward revision of Plan outlays from Rs. 4,800 crores to Rs. 4,600 crores. The current estimates, it is additionally important to note, have been arrived at on the

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assumption that prices during the Third Plan would remain more or less stable and constant and that Defence expenditure will not evince any substantial upward tilt. Moreover, it has also been assumed that non-Plan expenditure of any description will be kept under rigorous check and will not be allowed to evince any material inflation, an assumption which, patently, is easier to imagine than effecively control. According to most financial journals of repute in the country, non-Plan expenditure during the Second Plan had been rising at a rate much faster than the growth in revenues. On the other hand also, it has been demonstrated that central revenues in general have been comparatively bouyant during this period and the estimate of figures from current revenues have been rather under-pitched. Besides, some of the taxation measures introduced during the latter part of the Second Plan period would be conceivably likely to yield larger revenues during the Third Plan period. Taking all these facts and factors into consideration, and on the assumption, of course, that prices do not evince any substantial upward tilt during the current Plan period, estimates in this behalf of surplus revenue resources may not, altogether, be considered too extravagant. The over-riding consideration, however, would seem to be that prices are maintained at a constant level and that non-Plan expenditure are not subjected to any very large upward pressure.

(ii) Contributions of Railways And Public Sector Enterprises

In the Second Plan, the estimates of contributions from Railways was assumed at Rs. 150 crores inclusive of the additional revenue yeilds expected to be derived from an upward revision of the passenger fare and freight structure. In the estimates for the Third Plan, however, credit has not so far been taken for these increases and the estimates have provided for a net contribution from the Railways of Rs. 100 crores.

At the same time, credit has been taken for a gross contribution of Rs. 450 crores from out of the surpluses of Public enterprises. The Second Plan had not provided for any such contribution mainly because the number of such enterprises capable of yielding a net surplus was comparatively small, but also because many of the Public Sector projects had not then arrived at a level at which surplus revenues would be likely to eventuate. With a number of public sector projects now at full production level, it may not be regarded as unreasonable that a gross revenue surplus from these of Rs. 450 crores would eventuate during the Third Plan period, especially when regard is had to the fact that these estimates also include amounts that would be drawn down from depreciation funds for expansion of central enterprises.

(iii) Loans And National Savings

Under the head loans, a net amount of Rs. 800 crores have been taken into credit, whereas the amount likely to be available from the national savings campaign has been put down at Rs. 600 crores. Second Plan performances in these regard were found to have been Rs. 750 crores and Rs. 400 crores respectively. The loan from the public in the estimates of the Second Plan, however, included investments by the Reserve Bank of India and investments by the State Bank of India from out of PL 480 funds which were held with it until recently. When these amounts have been excluded, the net public contributions to the Government's public debts would be found to have been only Rs. 300 crores. In the Third Plan estimates, moreover, resources of the PL 480 funds have been taken into credit under Foreign Assistance and the Reserve Bank of India's support to Government's loans has been included under deficit financing. When these facts have been taken adequately into consideration, it would seem that the estimate of Rs. 800 crores to be derived from public debts would have to be realised from out of actual public and banks' investments in Government loans which, when regard is had to the requirements of the private sector also at the same time, may be quite a subsantial over-estimate.

Small savings collection during the Second Plan was claimed to have aggregated Rs. 400 crores in view of which the current

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estimate of Rs. 600 crores would be bound to be considered somewhat optimistic. It is, however, argued that the attractions of the Prize Bonds, if adequately exploited by carrying them beyond the urban areas into the villages with determination, might augment past resources available from this source to the requisite level. The recent survey carried out by the National Council of Applied Economic Research in savings trends in urban and rural sectors would appear to lend some support to this view of the matter. At the same time, having regard to the continuing pressure on the price structure which does not seem to be under any sort of control mechanizm, potentialities in this behalf would also appear to be correspondingly circumscribed. It is difficult in the circumstances to definitely aver that estimates of available resources in this behalf would be likely to approximate to actual realizations.

Contributions from other miscellaneous funds such as Provident Funds, the balances available from the Steel Equalization Fund, other miscellaneous receipts over disbursements, etc., together have been estimated to yield Rs. 540 crores. The actuals for the Second Plan in this regard was Rs. 230 crores. Comment would be supurfluous.

(iv) Additional Taxation

The target for additional taxation for the Third Plan has been put down at a gross figure of Rs. 1,710 crores, Rs. 1,100 crores to be accounted for by additional central taxation measures and Rs. 600 crores by the States. The corresponding estimates of the Second Plan were Rs. 850 crores comprising Rs. 450 crores of additional taxation yields and leaving an uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores. The actual yield from additional taxation during the Second Plan—I have already observed that original estimates were actually considerably under-pitched in this behalf—was Rs. 1,052 crores against original estimates of Rs. 450 crores. The estimates of an yield of Rs. 1,710 crores by way of additional taxation, therefore, may not be very unrealistic, though account must be taken of the fact that there would still be a gap (between physical targets and financial resources) of some Rs. 500 crores to be made up.

The Content of Foreign Assistance

One of the principal bases of the Third Plan would appear to be its Foreign Exchange contents which is expected to be made up out of foreign assistance. The gross estimates in this behalf have been put down at Rs. 3,200 crores in the Public Sector leaving a total balance of Rs. 4,300 crores to be met out of internal resources. The foreign assistance content of the Plan, therefore, would seem to be patently very large, comprising some 74.4 per cent of the requisite internal resources and as much as 42.66 per cent of the total estimates for the Plan in the Public Sector.

The breakdown of the total contents of foreign assistance as estimated, has been:

For new items in the Third Plan Projects	Rs. 1,900 crores
Maintenance imports	Rs. 200 crores
Payments	Rs. 500 crores
PL 480	Rs. 600 crores

The above estimates, however, are based upon a most vital assumption, that India's exports during the Third Plan will gross Rs. 3,700 crores as against the just over Rs. 3,000 crores during the Second Plan, over the current Plan period. This would mean an export boost of some Rs. 150 crores more per year over the years of the current Plan compared to the actuals of the Second Plan. This would appear to pose a formidable challenge, a challenge, however, which has to be met if at all it is intended, as envisaged, to raise annual exports during the Fourth Plan period to double the size of current estimates, that is, to between Rs. 1,300 crores to Rs. 1,400 crores per annum. The Planning Commission's estimates, however, would seem to be based upon certain facile assumptions, such as, for instance, the achievements of production targets envisaged in the Plan would be actually realised, that effective restraints would be possible to restrict consumption of certain commodities, that the price line would be held at a constant level, and that production costs would be substantially reduced to enable competi-

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tive advantage to be gained by India's exports abroad. But even if all these assumptions could be proved to have been correctly measured, export targets would still be likely to remain tantalisingly beyond reach. And, yet, there is no doubt exports have a pivotal role to play in the country's development planning and, in fact, the success, even comparatively modestly compared to current estimates, of the current and future Plans would be bound to largely hinge upon the response that exports may provide to the needs and requirements of our developing economy. It might be interesting to note in this context that India's share in global exports which, comparatively insignificant as it even then was, was 2.1 per cent in 1950 and which has now dwindled down to a mere 1.1 per cent in 1960 as estimated by the Planning Commission themselves.

Deficit Financing

The amount that would be needed to be covered by the process of deficit financing after all the items which have been accounted for in the foregoing lines of this discussion have been taken into credit, would then appear to amount to Rs. 550 crores. The amount which it was originally estimated, would have to be met for financing the Second Plan was Rs. 1,200 crores, but the actuals are considerably less, a sum of Rs. 950 crores, in fact. The Union Finance Ministry may, therefore, be claimed to have been praiseworthily circumspect in its resort to this, what in some quarters is regarded, as quite a dangerous financial expedient. Compared to the burdens of the Second Plan, those, as estimated, for the Third Plan would be considered quite modest in fact. The question, however, remains as to the extent that deficit financing, however modestly resorted to, may have been directly responsible for the current inflationary pressures on the country's price structure. There is no doubt that prices have been subject to a steady and gradually rising upward pressure during the Second Plan, a trend which would seem to have been continuing well into the first year of the Third Plan period.

It is true that deficit financing as such may not be regarded as directly generative of inflationary pressures although it may very well be attended with such a phenomenon. In certain quarters inflationary pressures would not seem to occasion much concern and there is also a school of opinion which even regards a certain inflationary pressure on the price structure as conducive to development by enforcing forced withdrawal of consumption. But when the pressure on the price structure relates primarily to the sector of the consumer market consisting of the barest essentials of existence, such a theory would not seem to apply at all. This, largely, has been the trend in the country and the pressure on prices has not merely reduced the potentials of public savings, infintesemal as it always has been here, but has led to profiteering of a most overt kind on the other hand at the same time.

Deficit financing has been very aptly described as a mechanism for drawing advance drafts on future savings under a developing economy. The extent of the measure in which this particular technique of financing development can be safely used must, therefore, be conditioned by the extent the development projects so financed would be likely to generate savings over the specified period of the operation. That is what must determine the safe limits of deficit financing and not what the Planning Commission by their arbitrary rule of thumb may prescribe. It is praiseworthy that Second Plan operations in this behalf were kept at below original estimates, and it is possible that Third Plan measures in this behalf may also not over-step reasonable bounds. But what should be looked for very carefully in this connection is not the amount of resource raised in this way but actually to what extent directly resultant savings thus generated may have approximated to the measure of deficit finance over the specified period of the operation, assuming the price factor at a constant level during the period in question.

Space does not permit a more thorough-going discussion of the financial contents

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and assumptions of the Third Plan in the present instance. The financial picture as envisaged in the Third Plan in respect of resources only has been discussed in somewhat bare outlines in the present discussion which may, however, it is hoped, contribute to a more realistic appraisal of both the implications and prospects of the Plan. This, however, is only one very small aspect of the problems of Planning in this country, the most important being its likely effects on the content of progress in terms of human evolution towards more wholesome living conditions for the people whose sacrifices alone can build and sustain the structure of planned development. A further discussion in respect of those more important aspects of Planning, it is intended, will be attempted in a future contribution to these columns.

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धनराम, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

II

By Mrs. DEVIPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

(Continued from the Previous Issue)

Before I start recounting how I learnt the lesson of living with an artist, I feel it incumbent on me to tell of the making of the man who educated me on this line.

Sri Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury, to whom my thanks are due, spent his childhood in the midst of immense luxury. Both his parents descended from old zamindars of Bengal. His mother was the only daughter of the Late Maharajah of Tajhat (Rangpur) and was for a long time the only child of the Maharajah. Her parents, therefore, doted on her and even after her marriage she spent the greater part of the year at Tajhat. The story runs that a special pool was made for her to swim in and play with gold mohars.

Such was the atmosphere in which the child Deviprosad's character was moulded. It is no wonder, therefore, that he learnt to command from the age when other children were taught to obey. Later this quality developed into a part of his nature.

His inclination towards art showed its signs from a very early age but it received no encouragement from the family.

The Durga Puja used to be celebrated with great pomp at Tajhat. Arrangements were made for all sorts of amusements and crowds of people from different villages flocked in to take part in the festival. The spacious compounds of the Maharaja's huge building used to be studded with tents for circus companies, theatres, dancers, musicians, magicians, etc. Little Deviprosad wandered from tent to tent but the one which attracted his attention most was that of the artisan who gave shape and colour to the goddes Durga. Untiringly he sat and watched. The artisan's vanity was touched by finding such a keen admirer of his skill and he gave the boy some clay to play with. Deviprosad's heart bounced with joy. His fingers were itching for this opportunity. As soon as the workman left the place for his midday rest the boy started on his experiments. He modelled a cobra and left it at the back of the idol. When the artisan came back to his work and found the venemous reptile ready for a bite, he screamed for help. Though he was ashamed when he discovered his mistake, he was pleased with the workmanship of the child artist and profusely congratulated him.

Deviprosad's paternal grandfather was a great Scholar in Sanskrit. He had a fascination for academic degrees and wanted his grandson to have a stamp of the University. With this idea Deviprosad was sent to a School where he became a leader of a gang. The routine work of the school

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made no impression on this child of nature. He grunted and sweated under pressure of its weary rounds He found no joy in the books that were prescribed. Some sort of diversion was, therefore, absolutely necessary for him and he found that in mischief of all sorts. He put marbles under the legs of the chair of his class teacher but was at hand to save him from a fall. He tied a grasshopper with the shikha (tuft of hair) of his pundit while he was dozing. He made it a point to occupy a seat on the back bench where he kept some wet clay in careful concealment. According to the fancy of the moment he would select one or other from the class as his model, no matter whether he was a teacher or a student, and make a study of his head accentuating the peculiarities of his features while the lesson was in full swing. None of his classmates dared expose his secret. Who would dare to risk his displeasure and bear the consequences? One day Deviprosad became so absorbed in his work on the clay that he did not notice the approach of his tutor until he stood beside him. The master stared at the clay model of his own image and then looked daggers at the artist. The subdued noise of choked laughter emerged from all parts of the room. This increased the irriation of the teacher and he resolved to teach the culprit a good lesson for his daring misdeed. As a rule, the Headmaster acted as the Chief Justice in this sort of serious cases. But luck favoured our little artist for the time being. The Headmaster was not in his room. The case, therefore, had to be postponed for some future hearing. In the meanwhile the boy realized that it would no more be possible for him to continue with his creative hobby within the four walls of his class-room. Under the circumstances he decided to depend on his instinct for guidance. In other words, he resolved to evade the Institution which failed to evoke any interest in him. He chose the Wellington Square which was just a stone's throw from his school, as his favourite haunt. Here, under the shade of a tree he modelled and remodelled all sorts of birds and beasts to his heart's content. This attracted quite a large crowd. Their number increased every day. The little artist was happy and proud. With so many spectators at his side he felt himself important. But alas, such happiness could not continue for long. The bribe that he gave to the gate-keeper was not sufficient to keep him quiet for an indefinite period of time. The incident was reported to the Headmaster and the delinquent was summoned to appear before the judge. Another case of serious offence was added to the already existing one. After being whipped to the satisfaction of the judge and the jury he was ordered to stand on a bench in the open terrace for one whole week during the tiffin period. The aristocrat in Deviprosad revolted against this humiliation. He was on the look out for an opportunity to make good his escape. He knocked the watchman down during an unguarded moment and before the fellow could recover from the shock he fled from the vicinity of his prison house determined never to return again.

A few days after this incident, Deviprosad's father received a letter from the authorities of the school regretting their inability to take the responsibility of such an unmanageable boy. He called his son, showed him the letter and then followed a policy of non-co-operation. This proved much more effective than any severe punishment. The boy felt so dejected at such treatment from his dearly beloved Babuji, as he called him, that of his own accord he went to his sire with the proposal of joining some other school. Forthwith he was admitted into the South Suburban School in Bhawanipore. For a considerable period of time he remained a changed person. The spirit of competition and the new atmosphere gave him an impetus to study and in spite of his special aversion for certain subjects he managed to secure his promotion from class to class till he reached the Matric standard supposed to be the gateway to the University. But the monotony of school life made him reckless at times. He felt that he needed a change. He discovered a small circus company very near the school, spoke to the manager, pleased him by his cycle tricks and got admitted there to act as a clown with the remuneration of Rs. 30 per month. He

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reputation as a circus-player spread so widely that to save his skin as well as his good name he had to resign the post and revert to his regular student life.

Being upto mischief is, perhaps, a part of the life of every student, specially if he is a boy. One particular day the boys of Deviprosad's group were detained by the teacher of the optional class. This, of course, was not appreciated by the students. They were aware of the teacher's weak point, he could not teach effectively unless the door of the class-room was shut. A proposal came from somewhere to unhinge the door of the class-room and was carried unanimously. But who should do it? The only capable person was Deviprosad. He jumped at the suggestion but on one condition only—that the other boys would be on guard to give the danger signal if there be need for it. This was agreed upon and the work started. But when after neatly finishing his job he proudly looked round towards his colleagues there was not one to be seen. As he was going down he came in close contact with the most ferocious of teachers, the Assistant Headmaster, near the stair case. He realised at once the cause of the sudden disappearance of the guards from their posts.

In spite of no definite proof against him Deviprosad was marked as the culprit. There was none so daring and strong as he. He was summoned to the library to pay the penalty. That was the time when the boys came to select their books. The place was crowded with students and teachers. When Deviprosad entered, all eyes were turned towards him. Hs was ordered to stretch his hand, and swish went the whip, once, twice, thrice. Red welts came up on his hand. He bit his lips but did not withdraw his hand. When blood oozed out from the wound, the teacher took compassion and ordered for the first-aid box. Deviprosad refused to accept the offer of help with a curt "thanks, not necessary." A bitter smile lingered on his lips. He ordered the peon to bring his books down from his room. It was a command meant to be obeyed and the peon did as he was bid. In the presence of an audience struck dumb he made a bonfire of his books and then marched off bidding final adieux to his school life.

He confessed everything to his father when he arrived at home and said he had decided to take up art seriously. His father heaved a sigh but did not like to hamper the career of a grown-up boy by forcing his own convictions on him.

His grandfather on the other hand was unforgiving, when he learned that a member of his family had decided to become a professional artist. This was contrary to the family tradition. His relatives from both sides rose up in arms against the idea. But the boy was firm in his resolution. The father was expected to sever all connection with the son for lowering the prestige of his family.

They miscalculated the ties of affection between the two. The result was that both father and son were treated as untouchables by their people. Undaunted the boy marched forward towards his goal. Like Ekalavya of the epic, Deviprosad chose his guru before he had the opportunity of meeting him. One fine morning he took courage and went straight to the residence of the Late Abanindranath Tagore, who had given a new impetus to art and artists. The impatient boy waited patiently before he could get the chance of a regular interview. Abanindranath was evidently impressed by the specimens of his work, for he allowed Deviprosad to enlist himself as one of his disciples. Getting inspiration from his great guru the young artist began to evince rapid progress. Soon his pictures found a place in the art exhibitions and won the best prizes. But Deviprosad was not content. Something was oppressing his mind. He discovered the gulf that separated the art of the West from that of the East. He had learnt the technique of one, why remain ignorant about the other? He must master the science of Western Art as well. Once more he was in search of a guru and found one in Mr. Boyee, an Italian master, under whom he learnt art for about three years. To please the master and assimilate his technique no work was too mean for this seeker of knowledge—from cleaning the guru's brushes to sweeping his room. After he had completed his course and was

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painting pictures in Western style in his own quarters, one day he felt the desire to present one of his works to his teacher. But when he went to the premises of his master, he found the door locked. It hurt his sensitive mind to learn that the Italian had left India for good without even saying goodbye to his pupil.

Deviprosad's search for learning still remained unsatisfied. He felt there was yet another sphere which he had not touched. The image of the artisan whom he imitated in his childhood came back to his mind's eye. Once more he was in need of a guru and he found one in Sri Hironmoy Roy Chowdhury of Lucknow. This gentleman not only knew how to guide his pupil but was also gifted with the rare quality of appreciating a fellow artist to the extent of admitting his superiority even though the person in question was his own pupil. When Deviprosad felt he had acquired sufficient knowledge in the science of sculpture he ventured to make a study of his father's head. His mother thoroughly disapproved of the work. "Does your father look like that" she asked, and then added, "It looks as if the burden of the whole world is on his shoulders. Could you not portray him in a brighter mood ?". The sensitive temperament of the artist could not bear this ruthless criticism. He threw the head down from its pedestal. A few days after this his guru came and saw the head which was still lying on the floor. Is that your work, my boy ? he asked and added, "In that case you have nothing more to learn from me." The portrait which he executed while still a student was later published in Studio (London) and was acclaimed as a very fine piece of work in sculpture.

As Deviprosad progressed in the study of sculpture, his struggle for existence became hardened. Both his and his father's allowances were stopped by his unsympathetic grand parent. He would not have borne this injustice meekly had it not been for his father. His mother he had lost. It pained him to see his father suffer for his sake. He started selling his pictures like a hawker. But there was very little demand for such works of art at that time. The amount that they fetched was not enough to fill two hungry stomachs. He must secure a permanent job somehow, which would give him a stable income. After a long search he got the job of an assistant (colour grinder) to a scene painter with the meagre remuneration of Rs. 75- per month. But when the scene painter found that his assistant was more skilled in the work than he himself he got nervous and managed to secure his dismissal under some pretext.

The spirit of the young artist was not to be curbed by these adversities. He had faith in his own ability and was determined to succeed in his chosen path.

The late Sri Ashutosh Mukherjee was then Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He went to him and begged for the job of a drill master, or any other post of that type in some school. The great scholar looked at him with surprise. "Don't you belong to the Chowdhury family of Bhawanipore," he asked, and when the artist answered in the affirmative he said "you want the job of school master ? Have you quarrelled with your people ?" Shortly after this a drawing master's post was created in the Mitra Institution of Calcutta where Sri Deviprosad was installed with the small pittance of Rs. 40 per month.

Two of his friends of whom I have often heard my husband speak with tender gratefulness are Sri K. N. Chatterji and Sri Asoke Chatterji, the two sons of Sri Ramananda Chatterji, the late Editor of the **Modern Review**. These two brothers appreciated Deviprosad and his art and helped him during this difficult period by purchasing his pictures, finding buyers for them and giving publicity to his works. With the artist's indomitable will and the help of his friends and admirers, he was soon able to establish himself as one of the leading young artists of Bengal and created a demand for his pictures in the art loving world. Though small, yet with a steady income at his command he was able to buy the necessary equipment for his work. His pictures began to sell and he received orders for painting portraits. His average income soon rose to about Rs. 500 per

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month. It was at this period that Sri Deviprosad was introduced into our family. When he came and stood on the threshold of our house, he looked more like a soldier than a struggling artist. I must admit that I was impressed by his manly structure though I did not fail to notice the peculiar traits in his character—over frank, over sensitive and overbearing. It was with this man that fate sealed my destiny. I was married to Sri Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury on the 27th of February, 1929.

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT : AN APPRAISAL

BY PROBAL KUMAR DUTT

JUDGING from reports and trends from all over the world, including those in this country, it seems certain that the subject of capital punishment will be the most burning social problem of this era. In this article we propose to study the various aspects of the problem, rather than advocate either its retention or abolition.

One of the oldest forms of punishment that continues unaltered to this day in its ultimate analysis, this subject may be studied, for our purpose, under five different headings : (I) A brief history of capital punishment itself; (II) The theories of punishment; (III) The efficacy of capital punishment; (IV) Alternatives, if any; (V) Conclusions.

(I) As we have noted already, capital punishment is one of the oldest methods of punishment to be employed even today by almost every country. True, the methods of imposing it have changed for the more humane, but the net result of indiscriminate stoning of the convicted one to crucifixion as practised in the past or of the modern hanging, firing squad, gas chamber and the electric chair is the same. The person dies. In its original sanction, it seems from a study of the Bible and other ancient texts, was the taking of another person's life by the accused—as is borne out by the maxim, 'a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye, a life for a life.'

But under the combined influence of despotic rulers, an intolerant age and an uncompromising society, this form of punishment came to be applied for a number of causes, many of them too silly and trivial in our eyes. Upto as recently as the 18th century, for instance, the death sentence could be awarded in England for some 160 different offences, including such harmless ones as the killing of a rabbit or for appearing in a mask in public ![1] Today, however, it is imposed mainly in case of three kinds of crime, culpable homicide amounting to murder, treason and war crimes or 'crimes against humanity.' Of these three, the first, which is practised at all times in almost every country, is the most important. War crimes, such as the ones for which the Nazi and the Japanese war-time leaders, and very recently Eichman, had to pay for with their lives are, naturally, associated with wars and as such occur only periodically. The remaining cause, treason, can be committed at any time, but is normally committed during war-time. Only 18 persons have been hanged in England between 1861 and 1948 on this count and all of them during the two World Wars or for activities conducted during those periods. Thus, the major crime for which capital punishment is awarded is murder. Some countries, however, have other specified crimes which are punishable by death. For example, it may be awarded for committing rape under certain circumstances in some of the southern states of the U.S.A., while in the U.S.S.R. and other communist countries it is awarded for committing 'serious' anti-social activities. But, compared to the world as a whole, these are causes peculiar to the countries concerned and normally to meet certain particular exigencies.

(II) We may now inquire as to the necessity and utility of punishments as such. Jurists normally classify punishments into four groups, viz., Retributive, Deterrent, Preventive and Refor

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mative. We may, however, use a simpler three-fold classification[2] :

(A) Crude utilitarianism was the earliest aim of punishment.[3] (B) In the next stage, this was replaced by semi-refined utilitarianism, when crimes were graded, albeit haphazardly and arbitrarily, each carrying its corresponding punishment. (C) The doctrine of refined utilitarianism, which more or less corresponds with the reformative theory of the four-fold classification, is gradually taking hold of the minds of penologists and social workers. The aim is now to hate the sin but not the sinner.[4] Simultaneously, there is an attempt to group crimes in a more scientific manner. In this connection, however, it must be added that all attempts to classify crimes must naturally be coloured by the prevailing ideas of social and private morality. Thus, the 19th century drafted penal codes of India take a serious view of murder, armed dacoity, etc., while it takes a rather mild attitude, judged by present-day concepts, of adulteration, etc.

Here it may be pointed out that according to the latest ideas of punishment, death sentence is abominable for the obvious reason that the dead can not be reformed. This deduction, however, requires some reservations and we shall come back to it at a later stage.

(III) From a study of the theories of punishment and of the needs of practical living we may conclude that punishment ought to reduce the number of crimes and at the same time wean away the criminal from his anti-social activities. We have already seen that capital punishment can never be a reformative sentence. It remains for us to see whether it is a preventive sentence or not. Let us study some recorded figures in this connection. The homicide rate of the abolitionist U.S. states of Rhode Island and Maine for the period 1920-48 were respectively similar to those of the contiguous states of Massachussets and New Hampshire where capital punishment was in force then. The homicide rate of Sweden since 1910 —the date of her last execution—has normally shown downward trends, minor fluctuations occurring only during periods of tension, such as the War years and the 1929-34 economic depression period. In its report, the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment (1949-53) has clearly stated, "There is no clear evidence in any of the figures we have examined that the abolition of capital punishment has led to an increase in the homicide rate, or that its re introduction has led to a fall."[5]

Before we proceed to the next section, we must make the following points : (a) We have stated previously that murder is the most important crime, judging numerically at least, that warrants a death sentence. But it is not the only one. No studies have yet been made, nor is it feasible, to study its efficacy in the other cases, such as war crimes. (b) Recidivism may not be a great obstacle in the path of abolition[6] and the habitual recidivist may be termed a psychopath.[7] But even a psychopath may be incurable at times and is there any sense in either letting him free to continue his depredations or in keeping him 'in' perpetually?

(IV) Keeping in mind the various reservations we have made earlier, and to which we shall return in the next section, we may assume that capital punishment may be abolished without fear of any marked worsening in our total crime situation. But before we suggest any alternatives to capital punishment we must state that real deterrents to crime are : (a) the would-be criminal's knowledge that the chances of his being detected are many times greater than that of his getting away with his misdeeds;[8] (b) his knowledge that once apprehended, conviction is more or less a certainty; (c) the knowledge that a conviction carries with it an indelible social stigma.

The alternatives to capital punishment will depend on the nature of the criminal himself and may be put as under : (a) For the normal person[9]—a long-term correctional prison sentence of the 'single' or the 'dual' type, where prisoners earn remissions in their sentences as a result of good behaviour and are also eligible to leave on parole. They are, moreover, taught how to adjust themselves as useful members of the community and the means to earn an honest living so that they might not be tempted to re-enter into a life of crime on release. Danger of institutionalisation as a result of a long-term sentence in a goal are now extremely limited thanks to the reforms carried out in prisons and prison life,—such as the system prevailing in the Sampurnanand Prison in Lucknow. In fact, in this country, at least, almost everybody would prefer prison life to the investigation and the police custody stage ! (b) For the recidivist—

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a more stringent sentence with greater attention to the correctional aspect. (c) For the habitual recidivist treatment in a psychopathic clinic.[10]

We may now make our final conclusion.[11]

(V) We thus find that as far as homicide is concerned, capital punishment is not of much deterrent or preventive value, except in the case of the habitual recidivist bent on perpetrating murders. In other cases, such as treason and war crimes, its importance is yet to be decided. But here capital sentence has an immensely practical political value which, understandably enough, no country would like to readily give up today.[12]

Similarly, certain short-term results may be efficaciously obtained by the employment of capital punishment, such as the stopping of black-marketing, etc. However, as a long-term measure it is bound to be as useful or useless as it is a deterrent in the case of murders.

Then again, if the more criminal and more extensively anti-social crimes such as adulteration of food stuffs and trafficking in women and girls are not punishable by death sentence, is there much justification to retain it in our statute books for homicides, etc.?

In short, the time has come to seriously reappraise the subject from every angle, social, political, moral, etc., but at the same time it must be remembered that 'go slow is the best go' in such cases.

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1. This, however, has since been justified as a means to check highway robberies as members of such gangs normally wore masks to prevent identification.

2. This classification is an amplification of the one suggested by Radicnowiz.

3. 'The real and only test, in short, of a good prison system is the diminution of offences by the terror of punishments.' (Rev. Sidney Smith).

4. 'The reforming element has come to predominate and that the others are carried incidentally to the reforming element'. (Lord Templewood).

5. p. 23.

6. Of the 156 reprieved murderers given to the charge of the English Central After-Care Association (1934-48), only 16 were re-convicted, mostly for stealing, house-breaking, etc., only one for murder. Recidivism in the abolitionist European countries and U.S. states is round about, and usually on the lower side, of 3 per cent. The experience of Ceylon when it had abolished the death sentence is similar.

7. Such clinics exist, for instance, in Herstedvester in Denmark and in Avereest in the Netherlands.

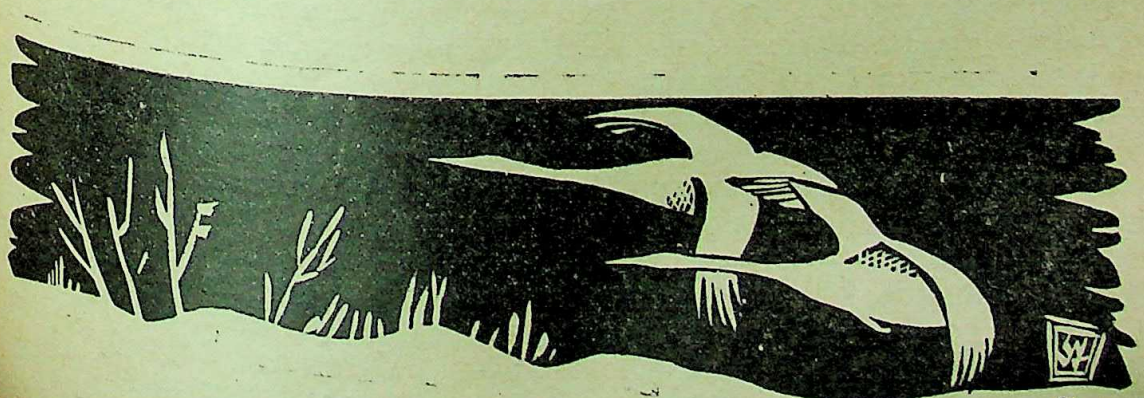
8. Even in the U.K. there is only one sentence, not of execution—reprieves bring down the figures further—for every 12 murders known to the police. Sellin holds that only some 25 per cent of the serious crimes in the U.S.A. are detected.

9. The word 'normal' is used here to differentiate him from the recidivist. Every criminal, and specially one who commits such a heinous crime as murder, is abnormal to a greater or lesser extent.

10. We may add here that we have already suggested capital punishment for the incurable recidivist who goes on committing murders.

11. The scope of this limited article prevents us from discussing the subject from a wider angle—that of reducing crimes and criminality itself by changing the social conditions and ideas. We may only note here that changed social outlook and the use of contraceptives in Sweden since 1921, Human points out, has brought down the infanticide rate in that country ever since.

12. Ceylon, for instance, re-introduced the death sentence to award it to the assassin of the late Prime Minister Bandarnaike.



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IN DEFENCE OF THE "ASS-LIKE" STUPIDITY OF THE INDIA GOVERNMENT

By SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

There has been a news item that an ass had been purchased by the Government of India at an unbelievably high price. "Who will purchase an ass for sixty thousand rupees who is not an ass himself?" This has been the verdict of the commentators about this ass in almost all the daily newspapers of Calcutta during that week, and in due course it is expected that the periodicals will also take up the Ass and have a laugh at the conduct of our Government.

I had been to Hissar and had an opportunity of having a look at this prized animal. The keepers were proud of the animal and I also felt equally proud of the wisdom of the Government of India for having secured an ass of this stature. The price must have been reasonable because it was put to auction and the India Government won the bid over other contestants. Therefore it is supposed that there were neck to neck competitors against the Government of India. It is not apparent from the comments as to why the Government was held up for ridicule except for taking the matter just as a joke by a pun on the "Ass". The ass is an ass itself. It is a stupid animal and immediately the ass is in the picture commentators get piquant and dub the purchaser to be as stupid as the ass itself it had bid for.

Despite its stupidity the ass is, however, a very useful animal. It carries massive loads which no other animal will be able to carry for its size and can travel over hills and uneven tracks. The mule is a creature born of an ass as the sire and a female horse as the mother. When an ass covers a mare the child is a mule. The mule combines in it the load carrying capacity of the Ass and its endurance for hard work for long periods with the speed of the horse. It is a composite animal and nothing can equal the mule for carrying loads over long distances across gorges and ravines and over narrow dangerous mountain paths.

The tribals living on the foot hills of the Himalaya keep mare for having foals of mules by impregnating the mare with a male ass. While a horse foal will fetch fifty rupees a mule foal will fetch two hundred rupees.

The ass purchased by the Government of India is intended to be used as a sire for breeding either replica Asses or for breeding mules directly. If this sire Ass covers 50 females in a year and does so for 6 years, which is more likely than not, it will be the father of a progeny of 300 high breed asses or mules of most excellent breed. Certainly such animals will fetch Rs. 300/- more than a horse of the same size and for 300 foals will ensure an extra income of Rs. 90,000/- during its active life period. This Ass may be also used for artificial insemination throwing out ten times more progeny. The bargain is not bad. It would have been unwise of the Government of India to let the animal pass on to Pakistan for a few thousand rupees. The value of high quality breeding sires cannot be measured in terms of money. With the introduction of artificial insemination one animal may throw off 3,000 scions, reducing the cost of insemination to a small figure.

The Mules and Asses are nearly redundant today as transport animals on account of the advent of motor trucks. But this may not be the last chapter. Natural calamity or enemy action may dismantle the Nangal Bandh, or the various Thermal and Hydro-Electric Units over the country and bring disaster to the nation by dislocation of supply of power. Calcutta today is passing through such a disaster. Partial stoppage of electric supply is forcing so many industries to curtail production. And what might not happen to the industries if the entire supply is cut off?

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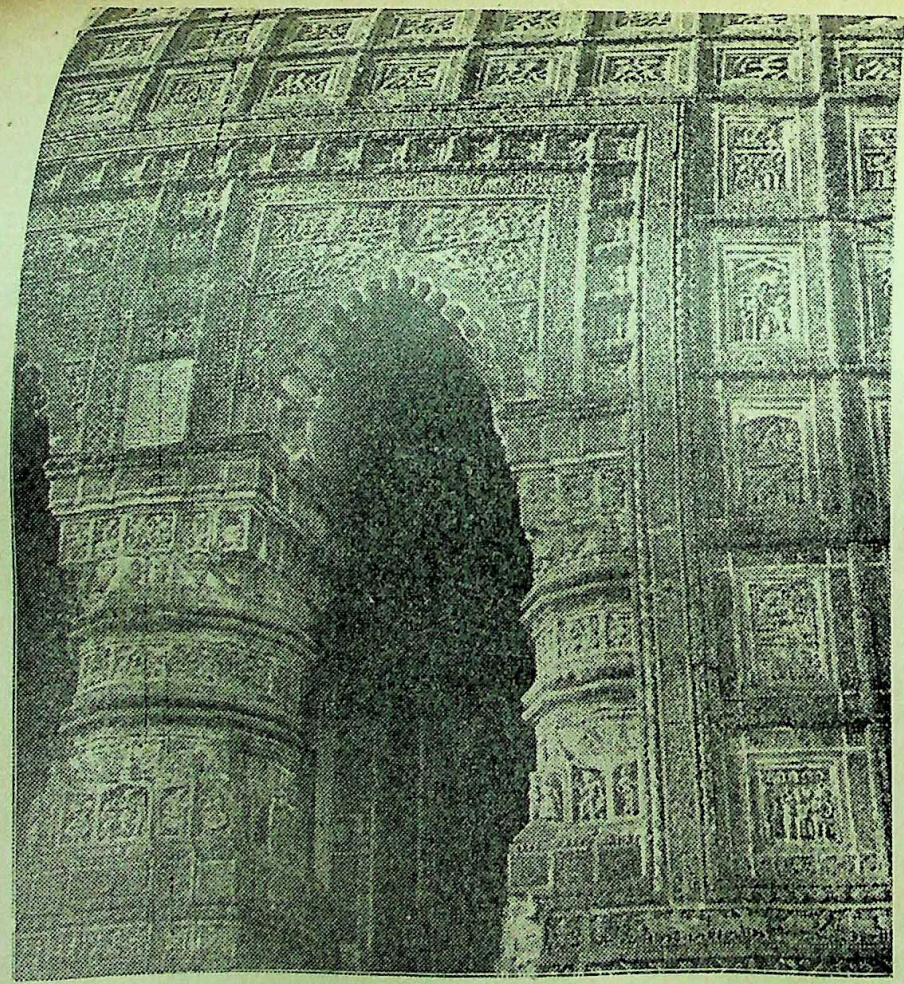
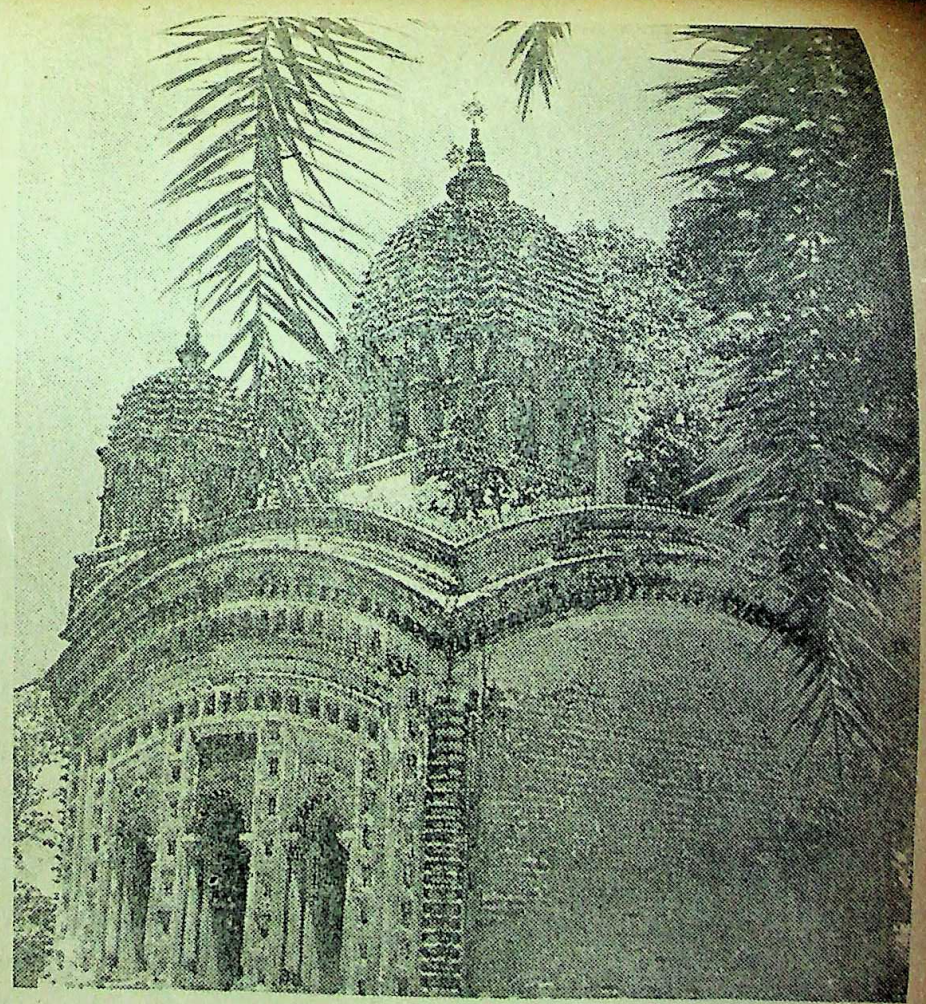


Madanmohan Temple at Bishnupur : Constructed by Durjan Singha, the King of Mallabhum



Temple of the Deity Basuli at village Chhatna in Bankura district

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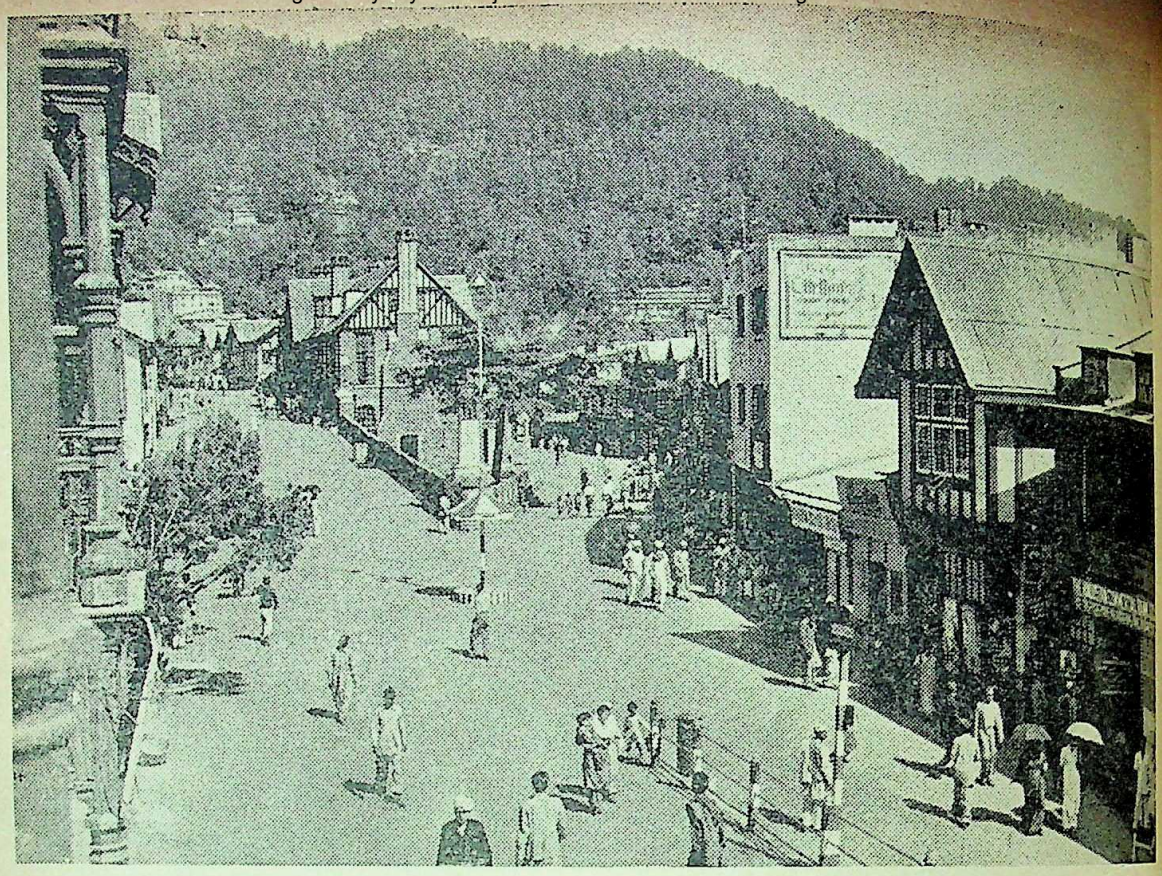
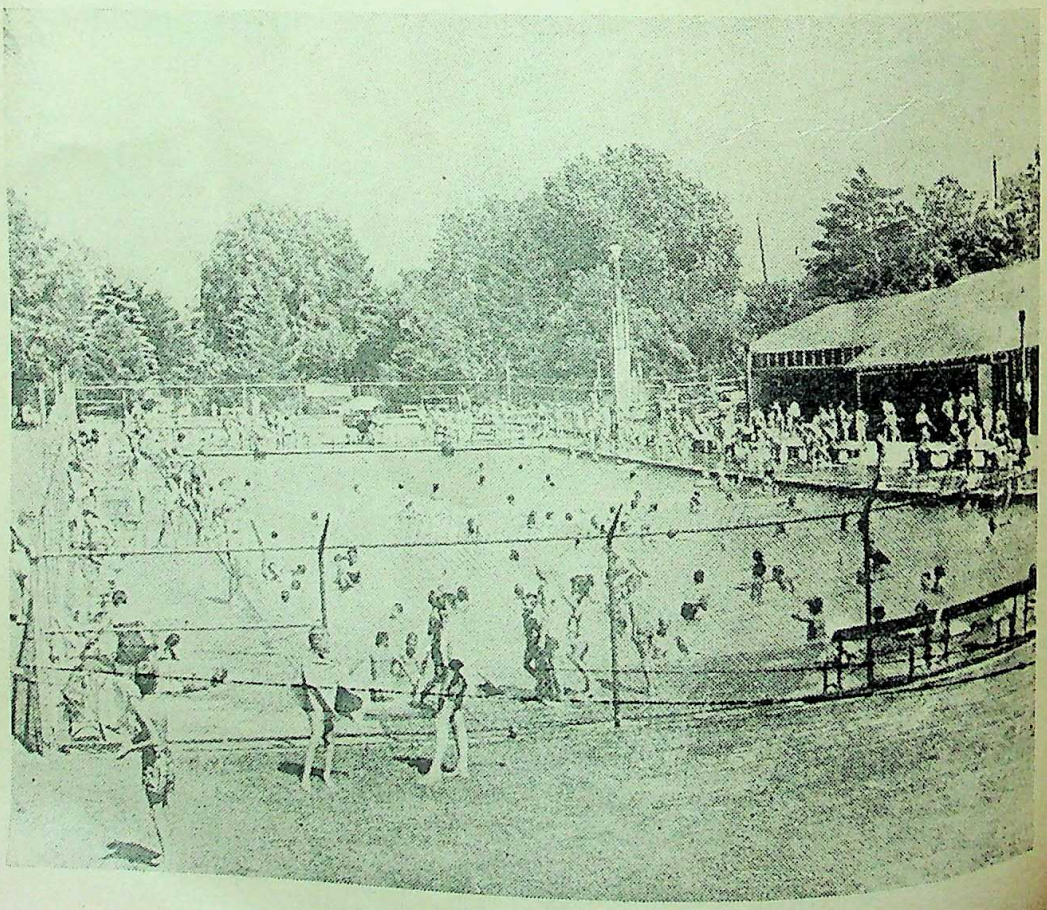


The Mall in Simla with the Scandal Point in the foreground and the Jakku Hill in the background



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Recreation for swimming-conscious people in U.S.A.

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such a disaster people are bound look to so-called primitive methods of using the hand and foot or animal power. en the Railways may remain inoperative enemy boms disturb the railway tracks the supply of coal to the nerve centres of dustrial areas. This is hardly imaginary should weigh with those who adminis- India.

The Ass is an utility animal but mules progeny of a sire Ass is still more an ility animal. The jokes about the stupi- y of the Government of India are, there- re, misplaced.

In the Chinese ridden Ladakh area and deep border interiors where there are no per roads, the Mules and Asses must be rming a substantial part of defence and ploration traction even today. The rmy Department must be utilising such imals today in the Ladakh area and serving with amazement the newspaper ctures thrown at the animals they utilise the country's defence. The Ass's cap does not fit the purchasers of this fabulously priced Ass. The cap should go elsewhere.

It may not be known how well bred sires are prized by animal-husbandry men. India is rich in animal wealth. Ongal (Madras) bulls are prized animals for breeding milch-cows and bullocks. The Chilian Government saw the high quality inherent in the better bulls of Ongal and began to purchase bulls at an exhorbitant price. The cultivators do not like to part with the animals. But they do so when fabulous amounts are dangled before them as was done by the Government of Chili who were purchasing this valuable animal to such an extent that the area became nearly denuded of quality bulls which fetched 10 or 15 or even twenty thousand rupees each. The Government of India stepped in and prohibited the export of Ongal bulls to save the area from steep deterioration of the breed of cows.

The Government of India acted wisely in this instance of the Ongal bull as in the case of the Ass of the current news item.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

By ASHIM CHAUDHURI

TER a period of luxuriant growth between th century B.C., and twelfth century A.D., ian mathematics ceased to grow and almost sed into decadence. This peculiar feature of history of Indian Mathematics strikes the d of even the most superficial student of its ory. No attempts have been made or have en made rather perfunctorily, to investigate the tors that brought about the gradual decline Indian genius. This investigation is necessary order to combat similar forces that may ple the future of Indian Science.

It is said that social, cultural and political tors account for the growth of not only liter- re and philosophy, but also mathematics ch is not a mere abstraction, but at the same e a precise representation of life's experience. In fact, Science, Philosophy and Literature grow under favourable social, cultural and political climate. The renaissance of Indian Mathematics between fourth century B.C., and twelfth century A.D., is the resultant of benign social, cultural and political forces.

Scientific inquiry started in India in the vedic period. The Aryans—the earliest settlers in India—came to this land with a wealth of spiritual energy, if not with anything else. The panorama of Indian landscapes and the surrounding serene and placid atmosphere made them forget their nomadic habits. They tasted the advantages of a settled life. A stable society, an abundance of the basic necessities of life and a spiritual urge goaded them to high thinking. They realised that their life was attuned to the Universe,

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with myriads of stars and planets. They realised that the position of the stars and planets had an influence on their lives, even though in an indirect way. They became planet-worshippers. Thus the study of the heavens—the Science of Astronomy as it is called—is the outcome of a religious inquiry, that is, it grew out of life, as life and religion were inseparably bound. Out of religion also arose the Science of Geometry—as geometrical principles were used to construct sacrificial altars. The "Sulva-Sutras," which supplemented the "Kalpa-Sutras" were mainly devoted to such principles. Thus the ball of scientific progress was set in motion.

At the close of the Vedic period, progress in these fields slowed down, as social complexities arose out of the Brahmin cult. Life weighed down under heavy religious canons and dogmas. The freedom of thought—the protoplasm of scientific inquiry—was constrained. The cultural and political life became stagnant. The scientific ardour was lost.

But two thought waves came in succession and cleared the apparent gloom. The light of reason dawned—the dark days of Brahminism became things of the past. Jainism and Buddhism not only brought about religious revival, but also social awakening and political unity. The Jainas in particular were great patrons of mathematical learning. They encouraged not only the study of Jyotisha (astronomy), but also Samkhyana (arithmetic). Thus the Jaina School of Mathematics was founded.*

In India, mathematical learning flourished under the patronage of religious sects. The banner of scientific progress was placed in the hands of the priests. People respected them and with missionary zeal and fervour they carried out their duties. The knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was considered essential for "apara-vidya" (spiritual knowledge). This faith contributed much to the progress of mathematical learning in India.

Buddhism synthesized conflicting political elements and India saw the rise of the Maurya empire, which comprised practically the whole of India. The history of this period is important, because during this period there were cultural inter-course between India and the outside world, Greece, in particular. Megasthenes and other Greek ambassadors helped in the cultural flow between these two ancient lands. Each was enriched by the other specially with regard to scientific know-how. Trade and commerce also brought these two lands still closer and closer. Prof. F. Cajori observed:

"It is well-known that more or less trade was carried on between Greece and India from early times. After Egypt had become a Roman province, a more lively inter-course sprang up between Rome and India, by way of Alexandria. A priori, it does not seem improbable that with the traffic of merchandise there should be an interchange of ideas. That communication of thought from the Hindus to the Alexandrians actually did take place is evident from the fact that certain philosophic and theologic teachings Mani-cheans, Neo-platonists, Gnastics show unmistakable likeness to Indian tenets. Scientific facts also passed from Alexandria to India. This is shown plainly by the Greek origin of some of the technical terms used by the Hindus. A part of the geometrical knowledge which they possessed is traceable to Alexandria, and to the writings of Heron in particular. In Algebra, there was probably a mutual giving and taking." (*A History of Mathematics*—F. Cajori, pp. 83-84).

North-West India served as a window to the Western World. Between third century B.C. and second century A.D., there were racial movements rather than invasions in North-West India. The Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Yueh-Chins began to pour in and cultural interchanges took place. Art and literature absorbed some of the exotic influences. We can presume that there were interchanges of scientific thought also. During this period the Greek astronomers —Hippar-chus and Ptolemy, were propounding their astronomical theories. Some of these theories must have flowed to India. We do not, however, say that India accepted Greek thoughts in toto. The astronomical treatises—"Surya Siddhanta" and "Romaka Siddhanta"—are said to be standing examples of Greek influence on Indian Astronomy.

Whatever may be the arguments for and against foreign influence on Indian mathematics, the cultural aspect, that is, interchange of scientific ideas must have contributed a good

* Dr. Bibhutibhusan Dutta has elucidated this point in details in his article—"The Jaina School of mathematics"—Bulletin, Calcutta Mathematical Society, 21. 1929, pp. 115-146.

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ad to the renaissance of Indian mathematics. conservatism stands in the way of scientific progress. During the period between fourth century B.C., and twelfth century A.D., conservatism was practically absent. This provided a great fillip to scientific progress. During the reigns of the Kushanas, (45 A.D. to 225 A.D.), the Guptas (320 A.D. to 606 A.D.) and Harsha Vardhana (606 A.D. to 648 A.D.), scientific thoughts progressed spectacularly. Politically this was the most stable period apart from occasional racial movements. Socially also this was a most happy and prosperous period. The benevolence of the kings, their love of learning and respect for the truly learned became legendary. During this period India saw the rise of a galaxy of intellectual giants—Aryabhatta, Varahamihira, Brahmagupta, Mahavira, Sridhara and lastly Bhaskaracharya.

Indian Mathematics was sublimated by these great mathematicians and astronomers. They promulgated many original astronomical ideas which were unknown to the Greeks. They laid 'algebra' on a firm basis. They gave solutions to many indeterminate problems which European mathematicians like Format, Wallis, Kroncker, Lagrange and others took years to solve. This is no doubt a remarkable achievement of Indian mathematicians. Between 648 and 1200 A.D., there were cultural interchanges with China also. Prof. Cajori observed in this connection: "There is evidence of intimate connection between Indian and Chinese mathematics. In the 7th and succeeding centuries of our era Indian embassies to China and Chinese visits to India are recorded by Chinese authorities. We see undoubtedly there was influx of Chinese mathematics to India." (F. Cajori—*A History of Mathematics*, p. 84).

Bhaskaracharya was the last great mathematician of the renaissance period. The dark period in the history of Indian mathematics was fast approaching. The Muslim invasion marked the beginning of that period. Throughout ages, India was the centre of racial movements. The Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Yueh-Chins and Arabs enriched Indian culture through social, political and intellectual interchanges. Their invasion turned into cultural missions at the end. But it appears from historical records that the Muslims came to plunder, destroy and rule India. Their racial and religious arrogance were more dangerous than the mere act of invasion. Mahmud of Gazani and Mahammad Ghori plundered northern India. Many mathematical manuscripts were destroyed. Many were buried underground and thus perished for ever. The Brahmins of northern India who were patrons of scientific learning, fled to the southern part. Thus an insecure political atmosphere and social instability—the result of foreign invasion—marked the doom of scientific ardour in India, which grew up in the most profound way through ages. At this time religious and social complexities arose to counter Muslim fanaticism.

Religious intolerance also became the order of the day. The Muslim rulers of India did not accept any scientific fact which might clash with the injunctions of the holy Koran. Preaching of truth which might be at variance with religion was considered to be a crime. At least at the beginning of Mahammadan rule in India, the learned were never patronized by the rulers. Socially the learned lost much of the former prestige. Thus in every sphere a corrosion set in.

Professor Dirk J. Struik observed—"Oriental Society moves in cycles, and there exist even at present many communities in Asia and Africa, which have persisted for several millennia in the same pattern of life. Progress under such conditions was slow and erratic, and period of cultural growth might be separated by many centuries of stagnation and decay." (*A Concise Histrory of Mathematics*, p. 15).

In India, after the Muslim invasion, Hindu Society became tradition-bound. The social life adhered to a close pattern. The liberal outlook was superseded by a high-brow intolerance. Religion was divorced from life. The scientific outlook was circumscribed by superstition.

In India Scientific knowledge was the monopoly of the Brahmin priests. They constituted a microscopic section and lived on the labours of common men who were mostly peasants. "The knowledge acquired by the Hindu astronomers was similarly guarded with greatest care, as sacred, and was supposed to be so secret that it was not known even to the Gods. It was not to be communicated to common people and being regarded as revelation to inspired saints, was only to be divulged to disciples similarly inspired." (*Hindu Astronomy*, W. Brennand, p. 27). This conservatism must have put a brake on the progress of Indian mathematics and astronomy.

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"The Static character of the Social Structure tends to preserve scietific lore throughout centuries or even millennia. Discoveries made within the seclusion of a township many never spread to other localities. Storages of scientific and technical knowledge can be destroyed by domestic changes, wars or floods."*

(* *A Concise History of Mathematics*: Dirk J. Struik, p. 16).

This practically happened in India after the 12th century A.D.

Hindu mathematical treatises were written in obscure verses. A peculiar feature of Indian mathematics is the omission of proofs of propositions. The result was that in later times people accepted them without question as they believed in their divine origin. This resulted in intellectual inertia. This factor was casually connected with the sudden decline of the Hindu genius.

The manuscripts of mathematical treatises were generally written on birchbark—a perishable material. This resulted in the loss of many valuable manuscripts. For example, the Bakshali manuscript which was accidentally discovered in 1881 and deciphered by Rudolf Hoernle was in a badly damaged condition. Who knows but that hundreds of such valuable manuscripts were lost to Indian mathematics.

After the 12th century A.D., India's political life was marked by vicissitudes. She was subjugated by the Muslims and then in parts by the French and the Portuguese. Lastly, she was over-powered for nearly two centuries by the iron-grip of British domination. She gave her everything to the foreign bandits who made inroads upon her, but suffered instead poverty, squalor, disease and consequentially intellectual stupor. But her soul—still pure and undefiled—is resonant with divine aspirations which she felt in the remotest period— the *Vedic* era. Will she not find her place in the comity of nations?

———:O:———

D. H. LAWRENCE AS A POET

By VISVANATH CHATTERJEE
Lecturer, Jadavpur University

D. H. Lawrence is primarily a novelist and it is as the author of 'Sons and Lovers' and 'Women in Love' ('Lady Chatterley's Lover' is medicore as a work of art) that he is most famous. But he is also a poet—the first of his works to appear in print was a group of poems published in 1910—and in the poetry of this century he has a place of his own. His poetry is poetry in a special sense because his mature poetry, as a rule, is written in a purely unconventional manner so far as its formal aspects are concerned. He is a poet with a difference, his most characteristic poetic pattern being a loose, long-lined free verse. As Lawrence himself has pointed out in the preface to the American edition of 'New Poems' (1920), poetry, generally, is 'either the voice of the future, exquisite and ethereal, or it is the voice of the past, rich, magnificent'. The first category of poetry is like the song of the skylark—a fast flight into futurity. The second category is like the melody of the nightingale—a gradual recollection of the past. Lawrence's poetry belongs to neither of these two categories. The treasured gem-like lyrics of Shelley and Keats are, according to Lawrence, nothing but perfected bygone moments, perfected moments in the glimmering futurity. But time past and time future Lawrence never cares to work into a perfect poetic pattern as a Shelley or a Keats does. He does not, like them, look before and after. The living present is his sole concern, as it is the concern of Walt Whitman. To quote Lawrence's own words, 'The seething poetry of the incarnate Now is supreme.'

Lawrence's was essentially a poetic genius and this is revealed as much in his poetry as in the luminous halo of the ex-

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the prose of his novels and short stories. His essays and travelogues are shot with a peculiar poetic glow. It is a pity that he could not achieve greater success as a poet. This reminds one of the case of Robert Browning. Browning's genius was essentially dramatic and a dramatic quality marks almost alll his poetry. But as a dramatist proper he could not make his mark.

Most of the writings of Lawrence are autobiographical and this is true of his poetry also. His poems, especially his early poems, are intensely personal. To quote his own words, they 'are so personal that, in their fragmentary fashion, they make up a biography of an emotional and inner life'. In a much more intimate sense than Wordsworth's 'Prelude' the poetry of Lawrence is the record of the growth of a poet's mind. All poetry, says Mill, is of the nature of solliloquy. Even a casual acquaintance with Lawrence's poetry makes one feel that this poetry at least is of the nature of a solliloquy. Highly sensitive and strangely imaginative, Lawrence seems to be thinking aloud in his poetry. The romantic poet is primarily concerned with his own feelings and he is the supreme poet of the lyric. In a sense, he is more interested in man as an individual than in man as a species, and the individual he is most interested in seems to be his own self. The Socratic maxim, 'Know thyself', is his guiding principle and the entire body of his poetry is nothing but self-exploration. The wonder that is his mind, with 'all Africa and her prodigies' inherent in it, eternally fascinates the romantic poet. No poet, however objective, can keep himself entirely aloof from his poetry, and the romantic poet, who is pre-eminently subjective, has generally only one theme for his poetry—himself. That is the reason why a great romantic poet like Shelley, even when writing the elegy 'Adonais', is mourning as much for his own self as for Keats. The romantic strain of self-revelation constitutes one of the important elements of Lawrence's poetry. As Richard Aldington has said—"He adventured into himself in order to write, and by writing discovered himself."

The early poems of Lawrence are more markedly autobiographical than the other poems. Most of them relate to either 'Miriam' who loved him (he was attached to 'Miriam' in his adolescene, the attachment never ripening into complete love in his case, since Lawrence did not think her attractive enough physically) or his mother (with whom he was entangled in a barren emotional relationship, which with his newly-acquired smattering of Freudian theories he thought to be some kind of 'Œdipus complex', his predicament being memorably described in his novel 'Sons and Lovers'). A very beautiful and poignant poem of this first group of Lawrence's early poetry is 'Last Words to Miriam':

Yours is the sullen sorrow,
The disgrace is also mine;
Your love was intense and thorough,
Mine was the love of a growing flower
For the sunshine.
.....
Body to body I could not
Love you, although I would.
We kissed, we kissed though we should not,
You yielded, we threw the last cast,
And it was no good.

Of the poems about his mother, 'Piano' is no less poignantly beautiful:

Softly, in the dusk, a woman is singing to me;
Taking me back down the vista of years, till I see
A child sitting under the piano.....
.....The glamour
Of childish days is upon me, my manhood is cast
Down in the flood of remembrance, I weep like a child for the past.

Most of these early poems demand a knowledge of Lawrence's biography on the part of the reader if he wants to appreciate them fully. They are to be read as poetry, and not as separate poems. They are like so many peep-holes into Lawrence's life. They tell the story of Lawrence's early life—his love for his mother, his love for

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Miriam, his love affairs with other girls (Helen, for instance), the death of his mother. All these experiences have brought in frustration and unhappiness and have left an agonising mark on his memory. The process of looking back is a turmoil for him. That is why it has been suggested that we should read these poems of Lawrence's as a long verse-journal, in which we are to expect neither completeness in the parts, nor an Aristotelian plot, but simply the development of an intelligent train of feeling through any number of fragmentary occasions.

'Love on the Farm' is also an early poem, and is a specimen of quite a different class of poems in Lawrence's early work—the dramatic and fictitious poem. Some of these are dialect poems (and the dialect is handled with ease) and show the influence of Burns and Hardy. The speaker in 'Love on the Farm' is a quiet sort of girl, timorous by nature. But her lover is just the opposite type—rough and tough. It is a case of Goethe's 'elective affinity': 'Not like to like, but like to unlike draws'. She is waiting for her lover. After an idyllic beginning, which gives us an intimate glimpse into the nature of the girl, comes the description of the destructive impact of the man on the natural life of the farm. It is like the entrance of a mad elephant into a hermitage. The cosily resting swallow is all a-flutter in terror. And the poor rabbit, she fails to escape from the clutches of the man: he ensnares her and she dies. Not that he does not love the girl tenderly. Her distress troubles him. He is coming nearer and nearer her lover, her fate. Gradually he draws her closer and closer, till he covers her up altogether—'two hearts beating as one'. And then, she, like the rabbit before her, dies in his fatal embrace, and heaven lies abut that death.

.....his lips meet mine, and a flood
Of sweet fire sweeps across me, so I drown
Against him, die, and find death good.

And yet God has not said a word! The opening of the poem, it has been pointed out, is almost Tennysonian. What has not been pointed out, however, is the fact that the ending is almost Browningesque.

The second phase of Lawrence's poetry mainly consists of the series of poems entitled 'Look! We have Come Through!' and this poetry is as much autobiographical as the poetry of the first phase. The poems are concerned with the early experiences of his married life with Frieda Lawrence, five years his senior. She, a German, was the wife Lawrence's French instructor and Lawrence had eloped with her.

You are the call and I am the answer,
You are the wish, and I the fulfilment,
You are the night, and I the day.
('Bei Hennef')

They travelled together in Germany, Italy and England. Though theirs was more or less a happy life, they had to struggle for an oasis of married bliss in the wilderness of life and ultimately they 'came through'. Lawrence's own words regarding the theme of this phase of his poetry are worth quoting in this connexion: 'After much struggling and loss in love and in the world of man, the protagonist throws in his lot with a woman who is already married. Together they go into another country, she perforce leaving her children behind. The conflict of love and hate goes on between the man and the woman, and between these two and the world around them, till it reaches some sort of conclusion'. The flower is not free from the serpent, and love from hatred. The Latin that a lover construes is not merly 'amo', but, after Catullus, 'odi et amo'. The early experiences of their married life are also described, and perhaps more satisfactorily, in the letters of Lawrence and in Frieda Lawrence's book 'Not I but the Wind.' The poems of this group are described as Unrhyming Poems, as opposed to the poems of the first phase which were classified as Rhyming Poems. The Laurentian quality of rhymeless 'free verse' has been developed. The later poems also differ from the earlier ones in so far as the experience behind the later poems is less diffuse and more compact. But, in spite of all this, the ealier poetry, 'qua' poetry,

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seems to read better. For all its novelty, the free verse' has no poetic magic about it. It sometimes reads as flat as prose. Take the following stanza from 'Manifesto', for instance:

I thank mankind with passionate heart
that I just escaped the hunger for these,
that they were given when I needed
them,
because I am the son of man.

Not that rhyming poems and poems showing formal craftsmanship are altogether absent in his group. There is, for example, that much-anthologized poem, 'Giorno dei Morti' (Service of All the Dead). This poem is an objective description of an Italian funeral procession. The rhythmic movement of the poem is in perfect accord with its theme:

And all along the path to the cemetery
The round dark heads of men crowd
silently,
And black-scarved faces of women-folk,
wistfully
Watch at the banner of death, and the
mystery.

With 'Birds, Beasts and Flowers' we come to the next group of Lawrence's poetry. Almost all the poems of this group were written in Italy. The most characteristic quality of Lawrence's life and writing is 'an instant physical awareness of the organic world: men and women, animals, plants.' In Lawrence's work men and women offten reveal something of the blind, instinctive nature of the animals, and his animals have many human qualities about them. In this middle period of Lawrence's literary career, Lawrence is chiefly concerned with an original kind of communion with the natural world. Lawrence's is not the Wordsworthian passive enjoyment of Nature. Lawrence does not use for the sublimation of his moral nature; he is interested in things as they are in the real nature of natural objects. And thus far the nature poetry of Lawrence is a definite break with tradition. Sometimes he would describe man's brief encounter with an animal or man's reaction when he is face to face with the secrets of the vegetable world. Lawrence cannot help being subjective in these poems. After all, when Keats happens to see a sparrow come before his window and takes part in its existence, he becomes a sparrow in a specifically Keatsian way. Had it been Shakespeare instead of Keats, he would have been the sparrow in his own Shakespearean way. It is not given to us to become a sparrow in the way in which a sparrow itself is a sparrow. What is a peach, a pomegranate or a bare almond-tree? What is the real nature of a mosquito or a tortoise or an elephant? A peach or an elephant cannot answer these questions. Lawrence can only answer in a Laurentian way.

One of the most celebrated poems of Lawrence belongs to this group: 'Snake'. Here the animal is an exiled and uncrowned king of the underworld. He is one of the lords of life. He has come to the poet's water-trough, on a hot day, to drink there. The poet likes him immensely (in 'Man and Bat' the bat aroused hostility and repulsive horror in the poet), but at the same time becomes 'afraid....most afraid'. He picks up a clumsy log and throws it at the snake. Immediately the poet regrets this act of wanton cruelty.

I thought how paltry, how vulgar, what
a mean act!
I despised myself and the voices of my
accursed human education.
And I thought of the albatross,
And I wished he would come back,
my snake.
.....
And I have something to expiate;
A pettiness.

The poem may indeed be described as an agonised confession of guilt at having humiliated a noble creature. This aspect of Lawrence is revealed as much in his novels (say, 'Aaron's Rod' or 'Kangaroo') and short stories as in these poems. The wonderful short story 'Adolf' (in 'Phoenix), with a little rabbit as the hero, is in point here. So far as as the rhythmic movement

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goes, the poems of this group show a marked improvement which continues till the 'Last Poems'.

'Pansies' constitute the penultimate phase of Lawrence's poetic development. Here Lawrence is less careful about the rhythmic pattern, all his interest being concentrated on the thought-element. These poems are perhaps the least poetic of Lawrence's verse and were written when he returned from America. Lawrence explained the title in the original foreword to 'Pansies'—'These poems are called 'Pansies' because they are rather 'Pensees' than anything else. Pascal or La Bruyere wrote their Pensees in prose, but it has always seemed to me that a real thought, a single thought, not an argument, can only exist easily in verse, or in some poetic form. It is a critical kind of poetry; Lawrence's main interest here is in the relationship between individuals themselves and the relation of the individual to society.

Sometimes Lawrence would be keenly sarcastic:

> How beastly the bourgeois is
> especially the male of the species—
> .....
> Nicely groomed, like a mushroom
> standing there so sleek and erect and eyeable—
> and like a fungus, living on the remains of bygone life
> sucking his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own.

Lawrence, in these 'Pansies', ruthlessly criticises modern life, which, to him, is nothing but a tale told by an idiot. He cannot help using a Shakespearean phrase. He loves the exquisite language of the master though he cannot appreciate Shakespeare's tragedies and tragic heroes:

> When I read Shakespeare I am struck with wonder
> that such trivial people (Lear, Hamlet, Macbeth) should muse and thunder
> in such lovely language.

Lear is nothing but an 'old buffer' to Lawrence and the 'mean and self-conscious' Hamlet can only bore him to death. Tragedy to him seems a loud noise, louder than is seemly. In order to live truly one must be fully alive and that one cannot so long as one gives the mind such an important place. The meddling, polluting mind spoils everything. Sex is infinitely significant and not at all sin:

> Sex isn't sin, ah no! sex isn't sin,
> nor is it dirty, not until the dirty mind pokes in.

Lawrence is an out and out anti-intellectualist. He wrote in a letter to Ernest Collings in January, 1913: 'My own great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood feels and believes and says, is always true. The intellect is only a bit and bridle.' Lawrence's ideas about sex are fully discussed in these poems. His other favourite ideas also are here:

> For God's sake, let us be men
> not monkeys minding machines
> or sitting with our tails curled
> while the machine amuses us, the radio or film or gramophone.

The financial system ('Money is our madness, our vast collective madness'), the industry, the machines, why have them at all? This is the question he asks in 'Why-?' Sometimes in connexion with man and his work he will think of the Hindus:

> Whatever man makes and makes it live
> lives because of the life put into it.
> A yard of India muslin is alive with Hindu life.

And sometimes Lawrence would utter a profound truth with remarkable felicity, as in the poem 'A Living':

> A man should never earn his living,
> if he earns his life he'll be lovely.

Some of the 'Pansies' were written in the last part of Lawrence's life when he was nearing his death. The 'Last Poems' the last group of Lawrence's poetry pub-

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shed posthumously, were all written when he was on the verge of his voyage to Death's other kingdom. Darkness was gathering round him, and the shadow of death loomed large in his 'Last Poems'. 'And death is on the air like a smell of ashes'. 'God' oftfen pops up in these poems. This God of Lawrence is a god who has forms of his own, and these forms are infinite. He is God only because He appears in these forms, human and non-human. Lawrence cannot think of any formless being—mere spirit—as God. God, to Lawrence, is immanent everywhere in the world, in Helen as much as in Ninon. Any lovely and generous woman at her best and most beautiful is God made manifest, and so is any clear and fearless man. Not only that. God is to be seen even in the poppies and the flying fish, men singing songs, and women brushing their hair in the sun.

> The lovely things are god that has come
> to pass, like Jesus came.
> ('The Body of God')

The world to Lawrence, as it is to Tagore, is a playhouse of Infinite Forms where even the rainbow has a body.

> All that matters is to be at one with
> the living God
> to be a creature in the house of the
> God of Life.
> ('Pax')

Man should be his individual self and at the same time he must be in tune with the living God. Only then can his life be ful-

Death, in the last poems of Lawrence, is no horror and pain for him. Nevertheless, his is not the challenging and triumphant Pauline cry—'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' Lawrence accepts death with a calm resignation which has understanding as its basis. Lawrence understands that death is as much a natural process as childhood, youth and old age (as Sri Krishna wanted Arjuna to understand). Lawrence was not old so far as his age was concerned; he died when he was only forty-five. Still he had been suffering for a long time, and was utterly broken in health. Death was no sudden phenomenon for him.

The last poems are suffused with an autumnal glow, and sometimes he would write lines breathtakingly beautiful, as in 'Bavarian Gentians' or 'The Man of Tyre':

> Oh lovely, lovely, with the dark hair
> piled up, as she went deeper, deeper
> down the channel.

The most famous of the last poems, however, is 'The Ship of Death'. It is this ship that takes the soul to its destination. Now the time is ripe for Lawrence to start on 'the long journey towards oblivion', and Lawrence must build his ship of death. He will need it. After a sprinkling of Shakespearean phrases from 'Hamlet' and 'Antony and Cleopatra', which add a great deal of poignancy to the poem, Lawrence concludes that 'all we can do [now that we are dying] now is to be willing to die.' The fragile ship is a ship of courage, the ark an ark of faith. Where it is going nobody knows. It does not matter. We know that we are going, we have started on the journey. The voyage is all. We will arrive—somewhere, nowhere. It is the end, it is mere oblivion. But is it really the end, total annihilation? No, not so.

> And yet out of eternity a thread
> separates itself on the blackness,
> a horizontal thread
> that fumes a little with pallor upon
> the dark.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A flush of rose, and the whole thing
> starts again.

Who knows but there may be a new life after death! And, to use the image used by Lawrence himself in 'Shadows', old, withered, wintry flowers may blossom forth into new strange flowers of spring.

That is the final note of Lawrence's poetry—not a note of dark despair but a note of tranquil hope.

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION-CUM-REVOLUTION AT A GLANCE

By JOGES C. BOSE

BABUR says in his *Memoirs* that 'Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it'. All the same, he settled down in India in preference to the mountain fastnesses of Kabul, and took enormous pains to induce his people of all ranks and grades to make India their home. The history of India takes a sharp turn since then, inasmuch as a new class of people, flushed with the insolence of the ruling caste, came into being. It is, broadly speaking, the seed-bed of the two-nation theory that has split this country. It is true that the Mughal rule was much more cultured than that of the Turks, and were it also conceded that Akbar's aim was the hegemony of India by a fusion of the various races, the rule, in essence, with Aurangzeb giving it the finishing touch, highlights the fact that it was virtually a military occupation on a religious and racial foundation. Should a Government that treats over some eighty per cent of the people as hateful unbelievers and, therefore, liable to a special tax, be called a national rule? The extent of the foreignness and divisiveness of Islam can be gauged from the claim set-up by the descendants of a body of converts that they are a nation by themselves, separate from the parent stock. And yet it is a pet shibboleth of a section of our people to consider the Mughal regime as a national rule. Anyway, a convention has grown up accepting the efforts to disyoke India from England as our struggle for Freedom.

Sir Syed Ahmed's great regret was that Moslem rule represented Islam in its decadence, but British rule Christianity at its apex. The rub, however, is that Islam was brought into India not by the Arabs but by the Turks.* The difference exactly is in the West being introduced into India by England and not any other rival power. In fact, if it is a miracle of history that a handful of British merchants rowed up the river Hooghly with trading scales to change them overnight into a sceptre, it is no less significant that they brought with them a dynamic civilization. It helped India to discover her transcendental self. It stirred her up to stand head erect amongst the nations of the world. Raja Rammohun Roy, even as the most puissant race of the world was stringently organising its rule, initiated the process how to redeem India, its thrall, so as to liquidate that rule. He envisaged Dominion Status culminating into complete Independence and chalked out a blueprint for it.† His worthy successor Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar laid the foundation of Female Education on lines of sturdy growth. It instilled into the woman a sense of her rights along with her obligations, for, otherwise there was every likelihood of India relapsing into the old mediaevalism.‡

The ball was thus set rolling. But the cent per cent nationalness of the go-ahead move to usher in a renaissance is the challenge of the Swadeshi Movement.‡ It worked out a complete metamorphosis; and that to an extent as to justify recalling the Biblical imagery—The valley was full of bones: bones came together, bone to bone . . . breath came to them and they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army'. With all praise, which it will be sheer meanness ever to grudge, the great leader of the Swadeshi Movement, Surendranath Banerjea, failed to rise equal to the height of the spiritual fervour it evoked. He suffered it to peter out as a political fight, whose be-all and end-all was in the undoing of the Bengal Partition. And here was the opportunity for British statesmanship, entrenched so well in political manoeuvrings, to beat Bengal leadership hollow. India, by the way, has failed signally to cope with it in every clash. If at times it looked like yielding, it was just biding the time for a drastic swoop. For India to have to submit to being broken at each conceivable point by a chain

*The point is stressed by Percival Spear in his *India, A Modern History*.

*The Modern Review, July, 1960, page 40.

†The Modern Review, September, 1960, page 208.

‡The Modern Review, Feb., 1960, page 1[illegible]

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...ers is the last monumental example.* The ...nner in which the Partition of Bengal was ...ified—annulment in no sense it was—proves ...In order to make the whole of Bengal statu... ...ly Moslem—and to the extent pro-Government ...d anti-Congress—such as Curzon intended his ...ly-created province, East Bengal and Assam ...be, Hardinge denuded her of three cru... ...l districts. This was out and out to ensure that ...ever it might be elsewhere, the ...ious opposition'—as Lady Minto has im... ...ralised the expression as a synonym for the ...ngress—must have no chance in Bengal.†

There was a time when Indians characterised ...e advent of the English as 'a divine dispensa... .... They sang hallelujah to England which ...e, almost as a tradition, asylum to the fighters ...freedom in other lands: to England which ...ent twenty millions sterling to emancipate the ...ves. But the parading of conquest by the sword ...d yet in the next breath the assumption of ...mon trust: the fact that ideals, loudly preached ...the principles of governance, were not lived ...to except under the stress of circumstances: ...cessions wrested from unwilling hands being ...ged in by reserve, residuary powers: and, on ...top of all, the well-settled policy of stirring up ...blood between the Hindus and Moslems were, ...ously, the forces to shatter the faith of adora... ...—some hectoring, bullying imperialists ...ling up the process all too well.

Again, far too worse than dotting the country ...n military and police of aggresive character ...order to stamp out the national upsurge was ...insidious employment of the Black and Tan ...ods. The stories that leaked out in grue... ...e details from Comilla and Jamalpur of the ...du population being in the hands of organised ...lem hooligans, set Hindus all over Bengal ...think furiously as to what was in store for ...There were a number of cases, in which ...the Police snatched away guns, held under ...ce, the miscreants poured in to gather the ...ends of the ruling power's brutal cow... ...ce. Robbed of arms, as the people took to ...s for minimum self-defence, *The Englishman*, ...influential British-owned daily (now defunct) of Calcutta, goaded the Government, nothing abashed, that since rifles were growing on trees, the lathi needed to be brought within the purview of the Arms Act.

Just a few months after the Barisal Conference (April, 1906) two youths saw Surendranath at his residence at Barrackpur. They flung upon him their fateful plan to shoot Bamfylde Fuller for which they had started—Fuller was the Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal and Assam whose febrile, foolish idiosyncracies had done so much to inflame the rowdy elements of the Moslem community in order to make a hell of Hindu life and property and, what is still more galling, the honour of Hindu womanhood. The Government woke up to its responsibility only when a large number of Hindu women at Dacca and Mymensingh openly gathered together to resolve to take to the use of daggers for self-defence. It took a long time for the bewildered Surendranath to dissuade these two young men. It was, however, pretty certain that the chapter of remorseless retribution and reprisal had set in. 'Blood has defiled the land and the land cannot be cleansed of that blood except by the blood of him who shed the first blood', is a text of the Old Testament, upon which Morley has canonised Cromwell. It is the maxim that has lured youth everywhere into perilous plunges. It was no exception in Bengal. They were, in fact, smitten with a blind passion to strike the blow against those who, and the system, which perpetrated the wrong. To their eternal credit, however, they struck not a single blow against the Moslems as Moslems. The murder of Kennedies, the Alipur Conspiracy case, the approver Naren Gossain shot dead within prison walls, the murder of the Public Prosecutor and the investigating Police Inspector of the case, and a host of concomitants flit by over a trail of blood. History would pause to assess their contribution in daring and sacrifice to inculcate the lesson of living dangerously for the Nation. Those who condemned them to say, 'Bengal is suspect' without having had the courage to condemn in full, ample measure the provocative circumstances that led them into it, are like the Scribes and Pharisees, who swallow camels but strain at gnats. It is, again, an incontrovertible historical truth that no British bayonet could ever check its corrosive flow, but for the phenomenal hold of Mahatma Gandhi, who provided another and no less potent an outlet.

*The Modern Review, January, 1960, ...40.

†The Modern Review, May, 1957, page ...

...The Dragon's Teeth.

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It was to make impossible the rule by an organised refusal to do anything which helped British commerce in the exploitation of the country and the Government in its administration, unless and until the conditions were changed in the manner and to the extent the people demanded.

Rabindranath Tagore is, however, the pioneer in the field to suggest a gradual withdrawal of co-operation, on which hinges the Administration, and organise the village in order to provide the Hindus and the Moslems the scope to work in integration of their common economic interests. He has given us two epic characters: one is Dhananjoy Vairagi with his techniques of passive resistance—how to stand up to the Power that be, if it chooses to ride roughshod over the rights of the ruled; and the other is Gora, with his title deed of challenge for the day and prophecy for the future by spurning a life of ease and affluence and facing what sufferings the alien Government might choose to inflict on him. At the age of twentyone, Rabindranath in a lecture at the Chaitanya Library Hall, Calcutta, urged the *elite* to go to the mass and tell them that English rule and Fate were not convertible terms. Subhas Bose says in his *The Indian Struggle* that Rabindranth went to the length of a stout line of action in the manner of the Sin Fein's 'state within a state'. Any way, he influenced the shape of things creating the demand for a new pattern of work.

But before we get on to this alignment, a reference to the dazzling interlude, Shri Aurobindo Ghose, is called for. He was a type by himself. At the age of twentyone, he flared into a sombre prominence by his views, so clinching in outlook and incisive in expression. In an article in the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay, he wrote that whoever succeeded in understanding the proletariat and eliciting the strength that was dormant in them held the real key to the political situation, and was destined to be the master of the future: regarding Tilak, he wrote that he had Indianised Indian politics. R. C. Dutt, then the Dewan of Baroda, counselled moderation, and Ranade the sovereign virtue of patience. But the volcanic soul recked no consequence. He gave up his prize post at Baroda and came to Bengal to serve her in exclusive dedication at the call of the Swadeshi. He pleaded that to stabilize the forces of upheaval the one thing needful was to bring the mass into the consciousness of the Nation, so that the humblest of the humble might feel that in the freedom of the Nation he was free. He canvassed the potentials of Passive Resistance and Non-co-operation. He wrote in the issue of the *Bande Mataram*, dated 29th September, 1907,—'We must remember that alien absolutism in this country depends helplessly on the co-operation of our people. Let that co-operation be withdrawn and bureaucratic absolutism tumbles like a house of cards.' He peeved; he despaired of the feasibleness of a 'bloodless installation of Liberty.' He, therefore, forswore no violence to compass it. And across his path, says Ramsay Macdonald in his *Awakening of India*, the shadow of the hangman fell. His creed can be summed up in his call for men who would give up everything for their country in the attainment of her Freedom by whatever means the moment suggested and opportunity provided. His last political gesture was his desire conveyed to the Congress leadership to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan and thus stave off the division, which stared India in the face.

Aurobindo to Gandhi is a far cry. To Gandhi, however, goes the supreme credit of burning all-India resistance to foreign rule for long twentyeight years. That leadership, again, can well be reckoned as a force in the evolution of mankind, steeling itself to the thought that were brute reciprocity to remain the last say in human affairs, civilization bade fair to be wiped out. The great tragedy, however, is that it has, by accepting the division of India, gone back upon the sworn objective of her revolution, namely, the Freedom of the various peoples of India fused into one Nation. It is idle to speculate if non-violent non-co-operation, left to itself, would have achieved our Freedom. What, however, Sir Stafford Cripps said in Parliament as Chancellor of the Exchequre on 5th March, 1947, bears directly on the question. He pinpointed the absurdity of a considerable reinforcement of British troops to enforce administrative responsibility in India. In other words, it is, thanks to Netaji Subhas Bose, the refusal of India to yield her shoulders for British guns which compelled Britain to quit.

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MAN VERSUS THE STATE

By VIPIN CHANDRA MAGO

A historical study of the problem of citizen-state relationship as it has come down to us through the ages.

Some of the most crucial problems which have been taxing the minds of mankind since times immemorial and to which adequate solution has not yet been found are the questions of Freedom vs. Authority, Man vs. the State, Individual vs. the Society and Anarchy vs. Order. A little serious pondering over them would, however, reveal that these problems are only superficially different from each other, by the mere fact of their terminology. In essence all of them centre round one and the same issue—the limits of political obligation and the right of resistance to the authority of the State, which itself is interlinked, if not identical, with the problem of demarcating proper spheres of action for the individual and the state respectively. This issue has become all the more important today in view of the increasing expansion of State activity and State interference in the life of the individual ever since the inception of the idea of welfare-state which seems to be gradually diminishing the antithesis between Socialism and Individualism even though the leaders of the two ideological camps into which the world of today is divided stubbornly refuse to recognise this fact.

The problem as I said above, is not new to us but is a historical one. Political thinkers from the ancient Greeks down to the present day have sincerely engaged themselves in evolving a formula which would ensure harmonious relations between the State and its citizens but the question has always evaded a satisfactory answer. Their attempts, however, led to the birth of many thought-provoking concepts and theories of the nature and purpose of the State which must be critically studied by every true citizen of today if he is to do justice to his dignified status and if he is to rise to the occasion to safeguard his country's integrity against the onslaughts of disruptionist tendencies which are gradually gaining momentum. Some of the most significant of these theories of the nature and purpose of the State are the Organic Theory, the Individualistic Theory, the Idealist theory, and the Socialist theory (the 'word socialist' having a strictly Marxian connotation here). The present discussion would be confined to a brief study of each. My purpose here is not to suggest any solution to the problem under consideration but to invite the attention of all democratic citizens for co-operative endeavour to that end.

The Organic theory traces its origin to the City-States of ancient Greece. The 'Polis'—as the State was then known—was not a mere political organization. It was the church, the school, the theatre and the body-politic woven into one whole. Intellectual studies of various kinds such as psychology, mathematics, ethics, and politics and even astronomy were hardly distinguishable from each other. In fact, Ethics was regarded as the master science embracing within its fold all other sciences —whether physical or social. In such an atmosphere it was not only futile but impossible to find out any contentious problem between the citizen and the State. Both were bound to each other in an eternal unity by an ethical bond which had a personal touch about it. The Greeks, especially their three great philosophical representatives, namely, Aristotle, Socrates and Plato waxed eloquent over the organic nature of the State. To them, the individuals were as inseparable from the body-politic as the cells from a physiological organism. Just as the parts of a human organism could not function in seclusion

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from each other but were mutually interdependent, similarly the individuals could not live a really human life except in relation to each other and under the paternal care of the State. This aspect of Citizen-State relationship was best conveyed by Plato in his oftquoted words "The state is individual with wit large." Aristotle restated the same thng when he said, that Man was a social and political being and the State was 'natural' to him in the same sense in which the tree was 'natural' to the seed. One who could live without the State was, as he said, "either a beast or a god."

This theory hardly allows any margin for citizen-State rivalry. Obedience to the State came as naturally as water from a hill stream. It was unqualified and unquestioned. There were occasional instances of conflict between the individual and the society such as that between Socrates and the Athenians resulting in the forced suicide of the former but they were extremely rare. Life was otherwise smooth and harmonius.

So long as the lives of the people remained confined to the boundary walls of the city-States such questions as the drawing of a proper sphere of state-activity scarcely disturbed their self-contentedness. But then came the twilight and decline of the city-State polity. A long series of wars between the Greeks and the so-called barbarians and among the former themselves destroyed the narrowly circumscribed nature of their lives. A vast empire, historically known as the Holy Roman Empire replaced the city-States which—lame and crippled in its later stages—dragged on until the end of the 15th century. The period from fifth century onward to the emergence of modern nation-States which led to complete disintegration of the Empire in the first quarter of the 16th century is usually described as the Middle-Ages (and on account of its intellectual depravity as the Dark Ages). During this period political questions were largely eclipsed by ecclesiastical ones. There ensued a long warfare—sometimes open sometimes concealed—between the Roman Emperor representing the secular authority and the Pope claiming to represent God on earth. In the process both lost their sway at the hands of bold and valiant princes ruling over various feudal principalities of Europe, who having felt tired of perpetual unrest successfully attempted to put an end to all this fuss about nothing!

This long period of intellectual barrenness precluded the presentation of any sound and rational political literature. Whatever little was achieved in this direction was only incidental to the argumentation on either side in the Church-State rivalry.

The transition from the medieval to the modern era, the chief note of which is the nation-State as the unit of political organisation, saw the beginning of two epoch-making movements. The Reformation and the Renaissance, which set a befitting finale to the Dark Ages, ancient Greek learning was revived and fresh thought was given to citizen-State relationship and allied subjects. Intellectual activity assumed a new and vigorous speed. This was necessiated by the ambitious aspirations of the newly established monarchies, whose leaders sought to justify their revolt against the Empire and the Roman church with the help of philosophical arguments. They tried to buy over great political thinkers in their favour in order to make them induce the people to submit to and rally round their new rulers. The credulous nature of the masses of those times foretold their success. The result was complete subordination of the individual to the State. Absolutist tyranny became the order of the day. Monarchist rule became highly oppressive. Freedom loving and thoughtful people in this era of awakening decried the new developments in most severe terms—some even at the cost of their lives. John Locke of England and Jean Jaques Rousseau of France (a Swiss by birth) advanced a contractual view of the origin of the State thereby trying to establish the primary and the inviolable character of individual freedom over the absolutism of the day. Both of them came to be regarded as the greatest democrats of their times. Throughout the 17th century and right upto the third quarter of the 18th century, the Contract theory remained the philosophical creed of

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political thinkers in almost all the advanced countries of the West. There took place many revolutions on the European political set-up resulting in the replacement of monarchical regimes either by democratic governments or by newer types of dictatorial autocracies. Towards the end of the 18th century a new factor entered into political speculation. It was the force released by the famous Industrial Revolution. Technological and scientific advance changed as if by a flash of lightening, the whole face of Europe. The predominantly agricultural economy gave way in the face of rising power of Industry. Industrial magnates and tycoons clamoured for a share in political power which had hitherto been a monopoly of the land-lord class. Their voice became increasingly insistent and they were soon supported by a new school of thought who attempted to get all State regulation and control of economic and industrial relations reduced to the minimum. The only purpose of the State they held, was to maintain order and protect life and not to 'foster and promote' the happiness of the individual. Their main argument was that the free operation of natural economic laws' would ensure greater prosperity for the people and increased production. The group of thinkers adhering to this view came to be known as the Philosophical Radicals or the Utilitarians—the Chief spokesmen of whom were Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. The main principle around which they theorised and built their philosophical superstructure was "Utility," which in Bentham's words meant "the greatest good of the greatest number" and which was declared to be the only true touchstone and the basis on which old laws should be rejected and new ones enacted. Even obedience to the State was justified on account merely of the utility that accrued from it, or as Bentham said, "The probable mischiefs of obedience are less than the probable mischiefs of disobedience."

The Utilitarians were ardent individualists (though some times they spoke in such ambiguous terms that socialistic inferences were drawn from them). They defended resistance to the authority of the State if it tried to disrupt the 'free operation of natural economic laws, in other words, it was the legitimate right of the citizen to refuse to obey the commands of the State if he found that the latter was encroaching upon his right of free and unchecked economic occupation. This theory formed the basis of the later too well-known "Laissez Faire."

On the other hand significantly different developments were taking place on the continent especially in Prussia (the modern Germany) where Fichte and Hegel revived the movement for absolutist collectivism. They conceived the State as a superhuman and supernatural divine entity entitled to unqualified and unquestioned obedience of the citizens. The State, they said, was the representative of the 'highest good'—it was the march of God on earth—and therefore what constituted the highest good was no concern of the individuals. The State was the only competent authority to declare its contents. No individual had any right to dispute the validity of its decrees because, in the words of Hegel, "the State was the individual, himself objectified and eternalised with the elimination of his merely accidental and ephemeral features." The idealists, as the Hegelians came to be known, repudiated all faith in individual rights as such and reduced the individual to a mere cog in the machine. The individual to them, was a fiction; only the State was a reality. Hegelian idealism was taken full advantage of by Hitler and Mussolini in the present century for it furnished a plausible argument in defence of their unscrupulously authoritarian regimes. In their regimes any anti-Government voice was liable to be visited by the severest penalities including death.

The Utilitarians were probably honest in their convictions but they miserably failed to foresee the dangers lurking in 'Laissez Faire'. The shirking of economic responsibilities by the State resulted not in greater prosperity but in large-scale exploitation of the labouring-class by the capitalist employers. With the expanding industrialization and gradual spread of education the workers became conscious of their sad plight which they ascribed to the

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Capitalist system. Soon there began many a strong labour movement on the European political scene and organised trade unions became a force to be reckoned with. Karl Marx, the father of the so-called scientific socialism, gave the labour movement a new impetus by putting before the working people a horrible picture of the State—as the instrument of exploitation in the hands of the capitalists. He envisaged a classless and Stateless society in which the operating ideal would be "from each according to his capacity to each according to his needs." This view of the State was incomplete opposition to the Greek conception of the State as the highest ethical association. True to his belief that economic power precedes political power Marx appealed to the workers all over the world to launch a revolutionary campaign against the State and smash it to pieces. "Workers of the world unite" became the shrieking slogan of the day. As 'offshoots' of the genus' Marxism there grew up newer socialistic schools, differing from each other not so much in their aims as in their methods, namely, Syndicalism, Anarchism, and Fabianism in the latter half of the 19th century and Guild Socialism and Bolshevism in the present century. While the Syndicalists were deadly hostile to the State, the Guild socialists and Fabians struck a via-media, the former in its ideal society retaining an extremely reduced and mild form of the State and the latter attempting to infuse Socialism into Democracy thereby giving birth to Democratic-Socialism which stands as the basis of the modern idea of Welfare State.

The Bolshevists (now known as the Communists) and their stooges in other countries have always professed to be strictly Marxian in their approach to national and international problems but in actual practice Marxism has become greatly diluted and inverted at their hands, because while Marx's ultimate aim was to launch a World-Communist-Revolution, most of the Communist countries of today are ardently nationalistic. They insist upon a extremely rigid compliance with the orders of the State. Their methods bear a striking resemblance to and affinity with the Fascist methods of Hitler and Mussolini, though circumstances made the Communists and the Fascists stand on opposite sides of the barricades in the last War. The Communist States are as totalitarian as the Fascist were.

The subject of citizen-State relationship came in for a more lively discussion at the hands of Thomas Hill Green, the neo-Idealist of Oxford and late Professor Harold J. Laski who later rose to the chair of London School of Economics and Political Sciences, in the last quarter of the 19th century and during the first three decades of the 20th century respectively. Green tried to prune away the objectionable elements from Hegelianism and give it the traditional English liberal colour by justifying resistance to the State in exceptional cases, i.e., when the dissenter was convinced that the course of action he was required by the State to follow would go against the good of the society as a whole. But this rather uneasy alliance between Liberalism and Idealism—for while the former carries one to the individualistic side the latter drags one towards the totalitarian camp—could not last long.

Professor Harold J. Laski who was a liberal in his earlier days held the view that our obedience to the State was due not to the purposes professed by it but to the actual services performed by it. If one was to be true to his conscience one should be left free to judge for oneself whether the actions of the State cohered well with his standards of morality. In case his experience was otherwise he would be justified in putting up resistance to the State. But some bitter experiences in the early 30's of the present century led Laski to turn a Marxist and he became one of the most eloquent spokesmen of the British Labour Party. He ceased to talk in terms of 'individual', 'liberty' and 'human conscience' and appealed more for equality and dignified living for all. He realised, and truly, that the only safeguard against the inhuman exploitation of labour was the strengthening of the punitive powers of the State. When the Labour Party assumed the reins of Government in England after the War, Prof. Laski became all the more pro-equality and anti-

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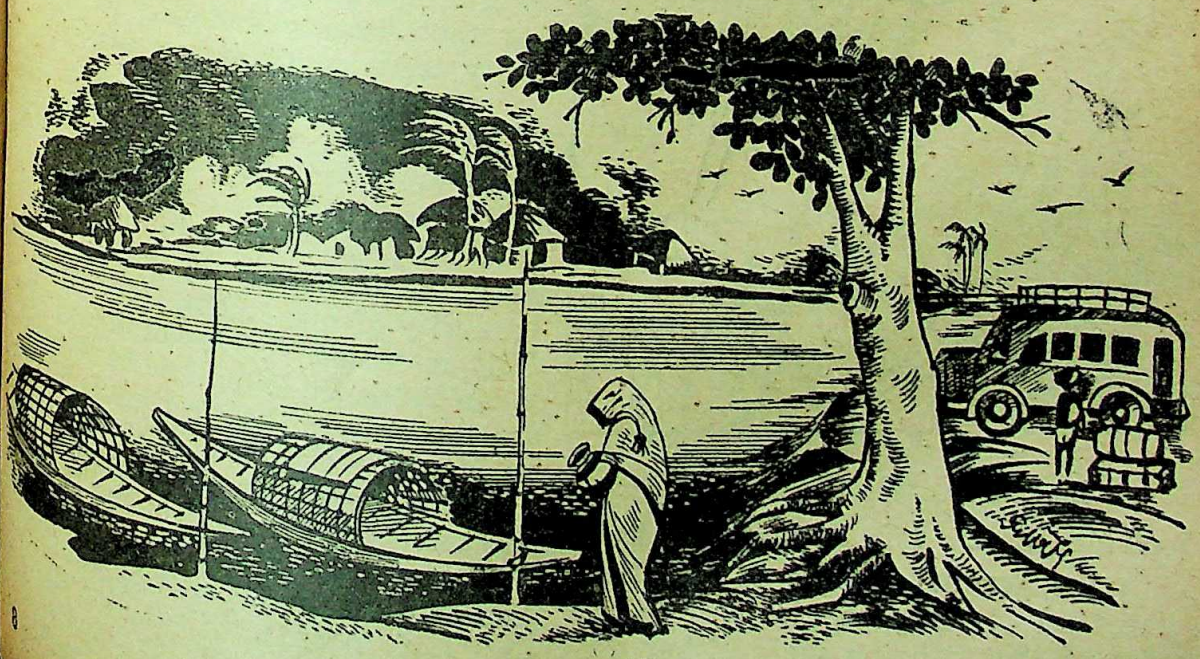
liberty; pro-State and anti-individual. despite all this Laski never became a communist of the Russian type.

Today, as was indicated above, we live a comity of welfare states. "In a century," Sir Josiah Stamp, a British administrator of great repute, "the State has emerged from the State as policeman to the one as doctor, nurse, teacher, philosopher and guide." Welfare schemes, it goes without saying, involve planning and planning, it be agreed, entails a greater curtailment of individual liberty. There are people in India and elsewhere who have started a "pull-down campaign" against the present Government for the sheer reason its being wedded to social amelioration through planning. They argue that planning as it is being practised in India today sure to make her run along totalitarian lines in the years to come.

This is the dilemma then. On the one and there are people who stand for increased planning as the only insurance against penury, misery, disease, illiteracy and unemployment and on the other hand there are those who denounce planning as essentially catastrophic. You can not agree with both points of view at the same time. They are apparently irreconcilable. The problem of establishing a proper relationship between the citizen and the State remains unsolved then. But I believe we can find an answer to the question if we give up certain traditional notions about the individual and the State. If most of us have become habitual lookers at the State with suspicion and dread an increase in its powers, it is because we still stick to the old 'atomistic' view of the individual and the 'police' view of the State transmitted to us by our Utilitarian ancestors; it is because we still view society as an aggregate of individuals rather than as a unity, the constituent parts of which live and grow by a process of reciprocal services; it is because we insist on the 'take' and forget the 'give' of the 'give and take' formula; it is because we see only the 'self regarding' side of the picture and refuse to see the 'other regarding' side thereof.

This attitude has to be changed. Both the individual and the society have to be looked at from an entirely different angle and in a wider and broader context. Only then can we realise that rights are the fruit that the tree of duty bears. Only then can we realise that there is no essential animosity between the citizen and the State. Only then can we appreciate the fact that while an individual represents himself and his egocentric tendencies, the State represents the interests of society as a whole.



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CONSERVATION OF AJANTA CAVES

By TILAK RAJ SAREEN

The Caves of Ajanta, famous throughout the world on account of their mural paintings and architectural superbness are situated in the Indhyadari Hills only sixty-miles north west of Aurangabad. The earliest of them being excavated as far back as 2nd Century B.C., these caves are probably the most interesting and finest of all those to be found in India. Almost all the twenty-nine Caves belong exclusively to the Buddhist religion and extend through the whole period during which Buddhism prevailed as a dominant religion in this country.

Buddha and the Elephant

From Mrs. Speir's Life in Ancient India

With the gradual decline of Buddhism from the land of its birth, the shrines and sanctuaries of that religion were either destroyed by the ruthless vandalism of the invaders from without, religious bigots from within or they became places of wilderness due to a lack of votaries. The magnificent Chaityas and Viharas of Ajanta met a similiar fate and they were absolutely lost to the cultured world until 1819, when some officers of the Madras army discovered these Caves. The next account we have of them is from General Sir, J. Alexander, who, says Burgess, "visited them in 1824 and sent a short account of them and their wall-paintings to the Royal Asiatic Society which was published in their transactions in 1829". From his description it appears that the Caves and wall-paintings were "well preserved and highly coloured."

Though these Caves were again visited by Captain Gresley and Mr. Ralph in 1828, it was only in 1843, when Mr. Fergusson, a gentleman of great accomplishment in research and knowledge in architecture, presented the account of the Cave temples of India to the Royal Asiatic Society, that the Society realised the importance of these "most remarkable specimens of the singular structure" and wrote to the Court of Directors of the East Indian Company in 1844 that "the Caves of Ajanta contains unique specimens of paintings of an age interior to the Christian era and it is equally certain that the time and use made of these places by Fakirs and others are gradually destroying their beauty and will soon obliterate every trace of these remains."

The Court of Directors were impressed by the appeal of the Royal Asiatic Society and wrote to the Governor-General in India "to preserve them (Ajanta Caves) from all such causes of injury and decay as may be obviated by means within the authority of our Indian Government. Carefully executed copies of them should be made before it is too late as these drawings are the only authentic records that exist of many of the usages of the people of India."

The same year the British Government entrusted Captain Gill of the Madras Army with the duty of taking drawings of the architectural and pictorial remains of the Caves of Ajanta. Since the Caves were "the hereditary and private property of Sooraj-ul-Mook Bahadur", the Dewan of

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the Nizam of Hyderabad, he was asked "to defray the expense attending to their repair and future preservation."

Major Gill, on his arrival at the Caves found that they "were all more or less filled with earth and debris. Some of them nearby to within a foot of the ceiling and from the date of their having become so commenced their destruction." These Caves moreover had become the resting places for the wandering mendicants, who used to burn woods in the cold season to warm themselves, never realising that the smoke was destroying the old paintings.

On the recommendations of the British Government in India, Siraj-ul-Moolk directed his Naib at Ajanta to make requisite repairs in the Caves. He also employed one Captain Johnston of the Hill Rangers and other workmen to clear the Cave of all debris. But the precautions as well as the repairs conducted by these people were most unsatisfactory. As Major Gill reported in 1845 that the Bheels now employed for the duty of cleaning the debris in the Caves live in the town of Ajanta and are exceedingly irregular in their attendance. When first arrived at Ajanta they were seldom to be seen and the coolies at work in the Caves were left entirely to themselves and lately during my short absence serious injury has been done to the paintings in one of the Caves, which could not have occured had these men done their duty properly." "To prevent the recurrence of so lamantable an evil" he recommended that "a small house be erected near the Caves where one or more Bheels employed in taking care of the Caves should be always in attendance and should keep a strict watch on the persons visiting the Caves."

As a matter of policy, the British Government in India did not like the idea of interfering in the arrangements made for the repair and preservation of the Caves by the local authorities. Major Gill worked at Ajanta in most wretched conditions until the mutiny (1857) and sent from time to time to England a series of extremely beautifully facsimile copies of the principal subject on the walls and roofs of these Caves. These paintings except in three or four, were unfortunately lent to Crystal Palace Company for exhibition at Sydenham and were destroyed in the disastrous fire in 1866. Fortunately before that tracings of several of them were made by Mr. Geo Scharf and reproduced as wood-cuts in Mrs. Spier's "Life in Ancient India."

King paying homage to Buddha
From Mrs. Speir's Life in Ancient India

From the time that Major Gill had been first appointed to copy them, till the destruction of his work much of the frescoe paintings in the Caves had fallen off or been destroyed. The Secretary of State for India wrote in 1870 to the British Government in India that "not only have some of the remarkable frescoe paintings in the Ajanta Caves been defaced and apparently wilfully

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so but that from causes which would seem to be beyond control, they are otherwise rapidly disappearing."

As a result of this despatch, Mr. Griffiths, Decorative Artist in the Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, was appointed in 1872, "for the purpose of obtaining copies of the celebrated frescoes at Ajanta" and was given Rs. 5,000 per annum as an expenditure for this project. Mr. Griffiths found on his arrival that "paintings still existed in more than ten Caves, though many of the paintings as far as the hand could reach, have been wantonly defaced, hacked and scratched in every direction, leaving not a square inch perfect. Bats by the thousands had done their work of clinging to the upper portions of the walls and to complete the havoc water was percolating through the rock, converting some of the paintings on the wall and ceilings into a black unintelligible mass."

He reported that "the paintings in the Caves of Ajanta are in a state of rapid decay and unless immediate steps are taken to secure their better preservation not a vestige of them will remain a few years hence." He further proposed that "the Caves which have any painting in them still in a tolerable state of preservation may be supplied with doors and shutters so as to exclude the bats and bees."

The British Government considered "the measures proposed by Mr. Griffiths for their preservation are also on an unnecessarily large scale," and thought "sufficient to have a curator appointed to prevent visitors damaging the paintings and such small expenditure incurred in removing debris from the mouths of the Caves as will prevent water running into them during the monsoons."

Mr. Griffiths carried the work of copying the paintings and was able to finish it with the help of four assistants by 1885. His work on the whole was most successful. He was able for the first time to place within the reach of the art students interesting and valuable information illustrative of ancient Indian art, and secured a faithful and permanent record of paintings and designs on the walls of the Caves. The total expenditure incurred on the copying of these paintings was more than half a lakh of rupees during these thirteen years. It may appear strange, but it is a fact that the Government of the Nizam had agreed after a great deal of correspondence to sanction Rs. 640|- to provide doors and shutters for some of the Caves. The work of cleaning had been going on once a year from the time of Captain Gill.

The British Government "looking to the artistic and antiquarian importance of these paintings and seeing that the object sought is a standard work for use of the savants and art students" agreed to publish these paintings. The book "The Paintings in the Buddhist Caves of Ajanta" by Mr Griffiths was published in 1896 and was well received by the public.

The work of copying the paintings had come to an end, but neither the Cave temples of Ajanta were attended to, nor any attempt made to prevent bats and birds nesting in them, due to which a thick coat of filth had spread over every thing and the smell was nauseating. To the damage thus wrought had been added the ravages of water while parts of the paintings plaster and all, had been cut away to be sold to the curio hunters. In fact, during the whole of the 19th century, the condition of the caves for all practical purposes remained as pathetic as it had been for the last twelve hundred years.

But Lord Curzon's visit to the Ajanta Caves early in this century awakened interest in them and at his request some attempts at conservation was made. Henry Cousins, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, visited these Caves and came to the conclusion that much of the damage to these paintings is due to bats, to water and to many sightseers who visit the Caves. The last mentioned have not been content with scribbling their names but in many instances have actually cut out pieces from paintings to carry off as souvenirs."

On his recommendations, certain precautions were taken by the Government of the Nizam. A chaukidar was appointed and screens for the doors and windows were put up in several of the Caves. While some attempts were also made to drain

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way the water. But these precautions were hardly sufficient, and in 1911, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, was again sent to these Caves and was asked to submit conservation notes to the Government. He reported that "much has been accomplished towards the conservation of these Caves, but much still remains to be done before the work here can be said to have been satisfactorily completed."

With the establishment in 1914 of a separate Archaeological Department in the Dominion of the Nizam began the real work of conservation. Ghulam Yazdani, the first Director-General of Archaeology, Hyderabad, visited these Caves in 1915 and came to a very optimistic conclusion that the present condition of the paintings is such that if they are carefully edged around and strengthened with a suitable cement, they may last for several centuries more." In fact the costliest and most intensive campaign of conservation which the new Department undertook was to preserve the glories of the Buddhist art at Ajanta. It was not so easy to have the paintings cleaned and restored since they had been neglected for several centuries. Before any actual work could be attempted it was necessary to decide upon a process, which while accomplishing the desired results, would not require the use of chemicals which might result in decomposition, past recovery, of the plaster upon which the paintings were executed.

A number of experts from Europe were consulted on the advice of Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, and an Italian expert was invited to pay a visit to these Caves and to study the problem on the spot. While these arrangements were being made to bring out the Italian expert, an Indian archaeological chemist was sent to Ajanta, through the courtesy of Sir John Marshall. Specimens taken from the Cave walls were also forwarded to Italy. His analysis was later on confirmed by the Italian experts, Signor Lorenza Cecconi and his assistant, Count Orsini. These people earnestly took up the work of restoration and during the winter of 1920-21, which they spent at Ajanta, they not only bound to the rock walls many of the paintings which were peeling away from it and filled in the gaps which had been made in them, but also cleared away the dirt which had accumulated.

Thus it was nearly after twelve hundred years, that a determined effort was made to save these valuable specimens of Buddhist art. Since then these Caves had been preserved in a most elaborate manner and though the result of neglect and wilful injury is that the existing paintings are only a small fraction of those visible in 1819, when the Caves were first brought to notice. We should hope that the Archaeological Department will now keep intact what has been left as the remnant of the hoary past.

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NARAYAN WAMAN TILAK
Poet, Patriot and Preacher

By F. C. DA GAMA

December 6, 1961 marked the beginning of a series of celebrataions meant to honour the memory of Narayan Waman Tilak whose birth centenary fell on that date. This illustrious poet of Maharashtra is not to be confused with his distant relation, the politician Bal Gangadhar Tilak, "the father of Indian unrest." N. W. Tilak's place in the history of Marathi literature can be gauged from the titles he was given in his own lifetime: he was variously called "the Wordsworth of Maharashtra," "the Tagore of Western India," and as was his wish, "a Christian Tukaram."

Early Life

Narayan was born at Karazgaon in the Dapoli taluka of the Ratnagiri District on December 6, 1861, in an orthodox Hindu family. The youth of the poet was spent in a land of extraordinary fertility and natural beauty afforded by rich monsoons.

Two persons in particular moulded the tender and sensitive mind of the young poet: one was his mother and the other was her father. The latter took to the life of a sadhu in his declining years and would spend the day singing bhajans with young Narayan in the jungle. Jankibai, Narayan's mother, was a most lovable woman possessed of a deep religious faith as well as of poetic talent; she used to sing her improvised compositions at the cradle of Narayan. Tilak believed that it was from her that he inherited his poetic faculty.

At the age of seven Narayan was taken to Kalyan where for four years he devoted himself to the study of his mother-tongue Marathi. He became an assiduous reader and felt the first urges towards the composition of poems.

Narayan's father, because of an unfavourable prediction in his horoscope, treated him with studied neglect. So when Nayan lost his mother at the age of eleven, he felt there was no tie binding him to his home; he attached himself to a Vedic scholar at Nask, Ganesh Shastri Lele, who was quick to realize the keen intelligence and budding skill in oratory in his young charge; under him Narayan acquired rich knowledge of Vedic lore and the Sanskrit language.

At this time he also turned his attention to the study of English. But his method was unique; taking a joke of a companion literally, he began committing to memory an English dictionary and plodded on till the letter M! But soon he was taken into a High School and educated free of charge. But two years later the burden of caring for his younger brothers and sisters fell on him and he had to leave school and start earning a livelihood. But he pursued his studies during his leisure moments. At the age of eighteen he was married to Manubai Gokhale, who was then eleven. She took the name of Lakshmibai.

The next ten years saw Narayan constantly on the move from place to place and from occupation to occupation; they were also the years when an intellectual unrest took hold of him and he began to consider seriously problems of religious truth. For a time he lived like a sadhu in Khandesh; later he settled down to teaching; for a while he did clerical work in Poona and in Bombay. During this period he lost a daughter born to him in 1889. Then in 1891 was born a son, Dattatreya, who later at baptism took the name of Devdatt, now popularly known as Dattu.

Finally a wealthy citizen of Nagpur, Appa Saheb Buti, employed him as tutor to his son; there Narayan found at his disposal a well-stocked library of religious literature where he spent long hours browsing through the tomes. It was there that Tilak's intellectual quest reached one of its momentous decisions.

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New Faith

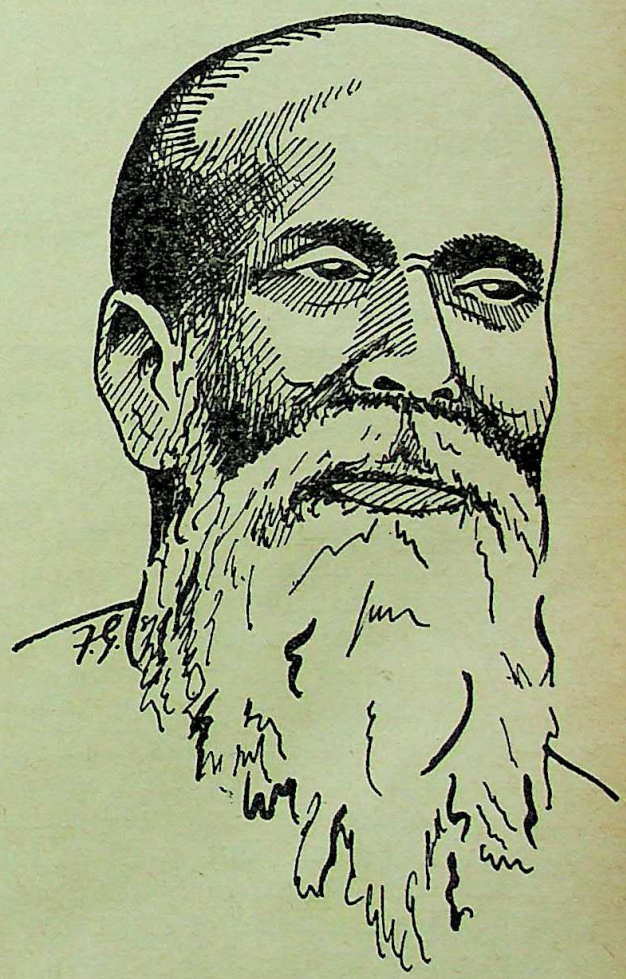
For many years, Tilak attested, he had found the caste system hateful. Besides, his poetic temperament found it hard to accept the impersonal conception of the Absolute as propounded in orthodox Hindu literature. Nor, on the other hand, did he find much sense in idol worship. After reading the sacred books of Buddhism and Jainism and the Kuran, the conviction began to grow upon him that these religions were not of divine foundation but the handiwork of men. His religious deity would henceforth be Nature. He began to formulate a system for this new religion, when a small incident changed the course of his life.

In a train journey to Rajnandgaon he fell into conversation with a European gentleman who showed interest in his planned religion. In the course of this conversation the gentleman gave him a Bible and Tilak readily promised to read it. Out of sheer courtesy Tilak kept his word. He thought of skimming through the book, but when he came to the Sermon on the Mount he could not proceed further ; there he found "answers to the most abstruse problems of Hindu philosophy." It amazed him "to see how there the most profound problems were completely solved." Yet he did not accept the new faith too readily. Only after he felt confident that God was leading him through the right path did he accept Christ as his Guru and was baptised by the Rev. Tukaram Natuji at the American church in Byculla on February 10, 1895.

Whereas his mental doubts were set to rest, trouble broke out from other sources. There was a furore when the fact of his baptism was disclosed. Every sort of incitement and pressure was brought to bear to make him return to the Hindu fold ; on several occasions he was providentially protected from attempts on his life.

But what caused Tilak the keenest pangs was the separation from his wife and child. News of his baptism threw Lakshmibai into a frenzied state ; she even attempted suicide, so distraught she became. Five painful years Tilak spent in prayer for the reunion with his wife and son. Finally, these two joined him as Christians in the fold of Christ.

Tilak's becoming a Christian ushered in the last twenty-one fruitful years of his life (till his death on May 9, 1919) which he spent mainly at the American Marathi Mission at Ahmednagar. There he became a friend of Rev. R, A, Hume, who showed great understanding towards the problems and temperament of Tilak. In 1900 he was joined there by his wife and son ; and in the next year his only surviving daughter was born.



Narayan Waman Tilak

From 1896 Tilak attended the seminary, studying divinity mostly in private in the seminary library. At the same time he lectured to the other students on subjects like Hinduism, the Bhagwadgita, the presentation of the Christian faith to Indians, etc. He was ordained on August 31, 1904 and after that devoted himself to the work of the ministry as he wished to be "exclusively and wholly a preacher of Jesus and Him crucified."

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THE POET

The enormous output of Tilak's poetic talent renders futile anything like an attempt to give an adequate idea of the achievement of Tilak in the field of poetry within the limited space permitted in an article of this nature. Even the mere mention of those poems which find a place in the popular anthologies would take too long.

Tilak belongs to that group of Marathi poets who formed the avant garde of modern trends in Marathi poetry. He was intimately associated with such lights as Keshavsut, Datta and Balkavi Thomre. Professor Patwardhan of Fergusson College, Poona, described the new movement as "hoisting a flag of revolt against the eighteenth-century standards of Marathi poetry.....Mr. Tilak was among the first to break away from the trodden path and introduce innovations, both as regards metre and conception....." The relative merits of Keshavsut and Tilak as the twin pioneers of this movement are still open to discussion, but there is one aspect in which Tilak excels Keshavsut, and that is in the religious devotion of his poems.

Tilak's poetical activity may be roughly divided into four periods.

The first period comprises the years before his acceptance of Christianity in 1895. During this time he was an eager student of Sanskrit and Vedic literature; therefore we find evident marks of classical scholarship in them. But at the same time, due to his interest in English poetry and oratory, we see traces of ideas that entered his mind through that medium.

Next comes the period (1895-1900) when Tilak became known as the poet of flowers and children. That was the time when he brought forth the new kind of stream of Marathi poetry which spoke to the men of Maharashtra in a language that was familiar to them and depicted the actual world of beuty within which they lived. Capable as Tilak was of entering into the hearts of children and drawing them close to his own, it is the flower-poems, however, that are most characteristic of Tilak; he even called himself "the bee among the flowers." His outstanding poem **The Flower of the Forest** has been the subject of close study and given various interpretations. Its philosophy seems summed up in the words:

> "He that for love's sake yielded up his flesh,
> He only findeth true salvation.
> Love is salvation, love is happiness,
> Yea, love is heav'n, and God Himself is Love."

(Eng. trans. by Rev. J. C. Winslow)

The poet in one of his letters said that the poem "gives the process of my growth," and Tilak's grandson, Ashok, says in a recent biography that the flower represents Tilak and the poet stands for Christ.

Then we enter the third period that lasts till 1912. The poems of this period present an expansion of the view of his earlier children-and-flower poems. They now treat of love and home life and draw on his experience of many years of married life. His nature-poems treat not only of flowers but also of birds, beasts, trees, hills and valleys, the hours and the seasons, and the whole earth is visualized as a great temple filled with the presence of God and echoing with his praises. Contemporary with these poems are those that show his patriotic spirit, about which we shall speak in the next section. To this period also belong his earlier productions of a religious nature which we shall touch upon when dealing with Tilak the Preacher.

The last six years of his life were devoted completely to the composition of devotional works, especially the Life of Christ in **ovi** verse, the **Christayan**, whose only eleven chapters flowed from his pen before his death.

Critics are agreed that the poems of Tilak are a harmonious blend of the new and the old. To Tilak himself his art was not so much a creation of his own brain but a breath of the Divine Spirit, a gift given him by God; nature was only a help

The Patriot

At his entry into the Christian fold his patriotism began to be called in question.

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such aspersions cut him to the quick because they were totally baseless, as we see from his words and behaviour.

He tells us that in his early years he came under the influence of a school master who "made the little heads under his charge as dizzy with patriotism as his own ....." and thus during a lesson in geography his mind would often muse "over the deep problem of India's future." And this patriotism was to grow in him with the years, so that he could write in his will: "I don't think I have loved my parents, children, friends, even myself, as much as I love my country."

How fervent and enlightened was his love for his country may be seen from his poems on the subject. In his **My Motherland** he says: "My body will I sacrifice, my life will I lay down in thy service, my noble land....Born to fulfil my relationship as a son to thee, I will fulfil it. May God help me." In one of his latter abhangs he wrote:

"Thrice blessed is thy womb, my Motherland,
Whence mighty rishis, saints and sages spring!"

And on one occasion when he heard some fellow students in the seminary make offensive remarks about India and the Indians, he left their company and composed a poem beginning with—

"When as I heard men slander thee, Mother, it grieved me so,
For very rage I thought my soul would burst her bars and go!"

Gradually men who were convinced that a new religion had not denationalized them associated with him freely. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the nationalist leader, even sent him a presentation copy of **Gitarahasya,** written during his imprisonment in Mandalay. In patriotism Tilak saw a powerful bond for uniting India: "There is only one thing that will unite Christians Musalmans, Parsees and Hindus, with their thousand and one castes, and that is the love of country."

Even his efforts at spreading the Gospel of Christ showed that he was a true Indian. He used whatever he felt was good and true and beautiful in Indian culture and tradition. He taught his fellow Christians to study and love the poems of the poet-saints of Maharashtra which "form our first Old Testament."

But this brings us to the last section of our study.

The Preacher

No one will deny that the vast bulk of Tilak's poetic productions deal with devotional themes and in these he not only reflects and develops the poetic inheritance of Maharashtra but shows an unmistakable inspiration from his loving allegiance to Christ. "To me to live is Christ" was a Pauline sentence very dear to him. For Tilak Christianity was not primarily a set of doctrines and rules but a life of fellowship with Christ. We could quote endlessly from his later poems and thus show what Christ meant for him. But more than that, his whole life was a witness to the love of Christ in action. His motto may well be said to have been "to do (first) and (then) to teach."

The means he chose to present Christ to his Indian brethren were eminetly suited to their mentality and upbringing.

Soon after his ordination he built a house at Rahuri, which he called "Christ-Sadan." It was intended to welcome enquirers and help them to understand the meaning and necessity of the salvation offered by Christ. Letters were also sent out to various parts of India in reply to enquiries.

He reached a wider audience through periodicals which he started or to which he contributed articles and poems. In one of these he started a series of chapters translated from the **Imitation of Christ,** the famous classic by Thomas A Kempis. In the columns of these papers he expressed his views on a variety of subjects, turning on them the searchlight of Christian principles. His literary merit received recognition when in May 1915 he was appointed president of the Natyasammelan, a convention of playwrights and actors.

Village preaching was done with the

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help of bhajans of various kinds; in some, certain thoughts or teachings of Christ were expounded and a refrain of praise interspersed the stanzas; others were meant to worship, praise, ask favours or pardon from God. Already in 1906 Tilak published a collection of over a hundred bhajans in a **Bhajan Sangraha.** At other times he composed poems after the pattern of Tukaram's abhangs; these were finally collected in his **Abhanganjali.** Another device employed was the kirtan that had been popularized by the poet Namdev in the fourteenth century. In Tilak's own words, "A real kirtan ought to be a happy combination of music, poetry, eloquence, and humour, all contributing to drive home religious truth." Tilak himself was a master of this art; audiences would sit spell-bound listening to his inspired and inspiring singing of kirtans.

These and other attempts of Tilak at "baptizing" the culture of India and Maharashtra drew criticism from some quarters. But this did not deter the preacher. He modestly explained his reasons and pursued his course. Speaking at a function recently at the Papal Athenaeum in Poona, Mr. D. N. Tilak, the son of the poet, alluded to this fact and remarked: "Now after 40 years we know that Father was right."

———:O:———

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

SET about 6,000 feet above sea-level in sylvan surroundings of tall firs, pines and deodars, 4 miles from Kashmir's beauty spot, Gulmarg, is one of India's oldest sanatoria at Tangmarg. In this idyllic setting about 100 patients are getting free treatment at the sanatorium which, with all the necessary facilities, admits patients of pulmonary tuberculosis referred by the Chest Diseases Hospital, Srinagar. With a park for the recreation of patients who are capable of moving about, the sanatorium also has arrangements for occupational therapy and rehabilitation. Patients guide each other teaching new arts and crafts which will enable them later to earn a living. In early winter, the patients are given stoves to keep themselves warm and when it begins to snow they are moved down to Srinagar.

Tuberculosis sanatoria at one time used to be the hub of TB control programmes. They were purposely located in far away places with salubrious climate and among the solitude of pine forests. Today the picture has considerably changed. More and more TB hospitals are being opened in or near crowded cities. Effective drugs are now available making diet and climate secondary factors in treatment.

RECENT RESEARCHES

Recent researches have shown that treatment with modern anti-TB drugs even in homes of patients is as effective as treatment in hospitals and sanatoria. For this reason many of the TB hospitals, like the Tangmarg Sanatorium, now provide domiciliary treatment on an out-patients' basis as well. The Tangmarg Sanatorium has treated over 1000 patients at their residences, social workers have paid visits to their homes and the needy have been given milk and diet supplements.

The prevalence of TB in Jammu and Kashmir, like some other States, has not yet been the subject of a special survey. However, during 1955-58 a nation-wide TB survey was carried out on a sampling basis. This revealed that the prevalence varied from 1.1 per cent to 2.4 per cent in different areas of the country with an average of about 1.5 per cent. Experts feel that the prevalence of the disease and its severity is not more in areas which could not be included in the sample survey. It may be that in certain areas which were rather inaccessible in the past, the advent of urbanisation and industrialisation might have caused a temporary rise in incidence. But wide differences are not expected.

The story of TB in Jammu and Kashmir bears a marked resemblance to that in other States. In India, there are about 5 million cases of TB of which 1.5 million are infectious. For this large number, the country has about 30,000

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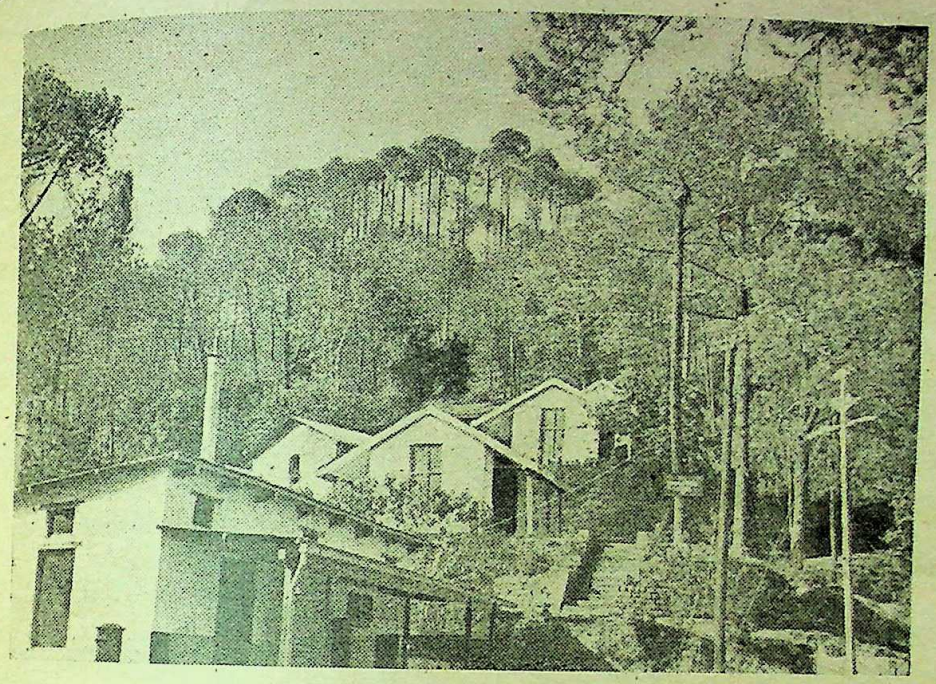
141 TB hospitals and sanatoria and 224 TB clinics. In 1947 there were only little more than 40 TB clinics and hospitals with accommodation for only 7,000 beds.



A view of the T.B. Sanatorium at Dharampore in Simla Hills

Domiciliary Treatment

The inadequacy of bed strength for hospitalising only the infectious among the TB cases is obvious apparent. But it is now no longer necessary to admit patients in hospitals. Treatment at home is as effective provided the drugs are taken regularly and continuously for a sufficiently long period, say one year at least. Only in a few cases should there be need for hospitalisation for special surgical treatment or because drugs have failed. For this class of patients, the number of existing beds would barely be sufficient. Another great advantage of domiciliary treatment is that the patient is not required to leave the home and live away from the family members in an institution. This ensures that the home is not broken up and many unpleasant consequences avoided without any hazard to the patient's recovery.

In addition, if TB control schemes under the Third Five-Year Plan were confined merely to the establishment of hospitals and sanatoria, the entire allocation for Health of Rs. 341.8 crores would be consumed.

The success of the domiciliary method of treatment as observed by the TB Chemotherapy Centre at Madras and other centres has resulted in the formulation of a comprehensive District TB Control Programme. The main TB clinic is situated in the district town and is responsible for the anti-TB work in the entire district. Under the TB clinic there are a number of sub-centres established in association with primary health centres, rural dispensaries and other health institutions. When a TB case is discovered his contacts are subjected to a tuberculosin test, X-ray, and sputum examination, and given protective BCG vaccination, which is an integral part of this approach. The emphasis is mainly on the administration of effective drugs over a sufficiently long period, so that those suffering from TB recover without any risk of spread of the disease. Concurrent health education and motivation of patients and their families is the key to the success of domiciliary treatment.

BCG Vaccination

BCG vaccination was first taken up in 1948, with the help of the International TB Campaign. Later, the WHO and UNICEF came into the picture, the programme gathered momentum and a mass BCG vaccination got under way. Today 175 BCG teams each consisting of a team leader and six technicians are functioning all over the country. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, 163 million tests were made, of which over 50 million were protected with BCG.

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In August 1956, a small BCG assessment team was constituted to retest persons vaccinated during the mass campaign and find out whether the desired degree of allergy needed for protection has been produced among the vaccinated persons. It is also investigating several other important aspects connected with BCG vaccination, for example, preservation of vaccine, prevalence of non-specific tuberculin sensitivity and the allergy producing capacity of freeze dried vaccine produced by the BCG Vaccine Laboratory, Guindy.

The Guindy Laboratory is the largest vaccine producing laboratory in the world. Its production is according to international standard and meets the requirements not only of the country but also of some countries in the South-East Asia region. To overcome the shortcomings of the liquid vaccine, a plant for the manufacture of freeze dried vaccine was recently installed in the laboratory.

Under the First and Second Plans the allocations for TB control were Rs. 4 crores and Rs. 8 crores respectively. Consequently, large number of TB clinics, many TB Demonstration and Training Centres and a few Rehabilitation Work Centres were established in addition to TB beds. During the Third Five-Year Plan Rs. 12 crores approximately have been provided for the campaign.

The Third Plan target in respect of TB clinics is 200 at the rate of 40 clinics a year. With the achievements of this target there should be nearly 400 TB clinics in the country. This would mean that 350 districts in the country would have at least one clinic for effective TB control programme. It is also planned to add about 5,000 isolation beds to the 30,000 today.

Under the Third Plan BCG vaccination will also be continued but the stress would be more on covering the group below 20 years. This should account for 100 million tests in 5 years. During this period an attempt would be made to integrate BCG vaccination in the normal working of TB clinics and routine functioning of public health services.

The paucity of training facilities was one of the reasons for the slow implementation of TB control schemes during the Second Five-Year Plan. With the target of 5 additional TB Demonstration and Training Centres, over and above the 10 already in existence and with the large number of key workers to be trained by the National TB Institute, it is expected that the shortage of trained personnel would cease to be a factor holding up the programme.

The WHO and UNICEF are collaborating with the Government of India in the establishment of TB clinics and the National TB Institute at Bangalore for training the large number of personnel required for the district TB Control Programme. UNICEF assistance is also being given in the shape of X-ray and laboratory equipment. The WHO provides technical personnel to advise the national TB control officers.

Voluntary Efforts

It is the constant endeavour of the Government to encourage participation of voluntary public institutions and social workers in the war against TB. The TB Association of India is among the foremost of such organisations. The Association has branches in all the States and some of the State organiations have branches at district level as well. The Association also conducts the TB Seals Sale Campaign, collects funds for anti-TB activities, opens clinics and sanatoria and helps in TB control activities in many other ways. During the last 10 years the Association has collected over Rs. 50 lakhs through the sale of TB Seals alone.

The war against TB is thus being relentlessly waged in the hills and dales, on the plains and in the homes. For various factors—financial, technical and shortage of trained personnel—the result will take sufficiently long to manifest itself. TB control has in any case to be a long drawn struggle as happened in other countries; it would take a decade or two for mortality and morbidity to decline appreciably in India as well.

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THE CONCEPT OF DECADENCE IN LITERATURE.

By D. K. MATHUR

Lecturer in English, University of Jodhpur.

The futility of trying to understand literature primarily through moments cannot be demonstrated better than by the difficulties a student encounters on grappling with the essential meaning of the term 'decadence'. Like other kindred literary terms signifying movements—Romanticism, Classicism, Symbolism, etc.—this term is also wrapped in a diffused connotation, so that no single definition is adequate to point out, nor all definitions to exhaust, its real significance with reference to literature. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is borne out by the fact that there is not much critical or expository literature on this specific subject; perhaps, the only contribution, which should be deemed fundamental is by the late Prof. C. E. M. Joad—"Decadence, a philosophical inquiry. (1948)". This philosophical essay on decadence reaches some conclusions which are useful for a literary inquiry and dispel some vagueness surrounding the subject; but, in spite of its pioneer attempt, this book, at its best, embodies only one point of view. There are, however, several other brilliant obiter dicta on decadence both by critics and philosophers, but somehow any extensive, much less exhaustive, treatment of it is still wanting.

How divergent are the views on it may be easily seen from the different definitions given. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it as a period of literary production immediately following a brilliant efflorescence. Thus, the drama of Shakespeare's predecessors and followers Ford, Shirley, Beaumont, and Fletcher, is decadent because it doesn't keep up Shakespeare's level. Chambers's dictionary relates decadence to Symbolism and thereby treats it as a literary movement of the later nineteenth century in France. Webster's says that the new psychology and the resulting pessimism are its hall-mark, and refers to later nineteenth century French literature as decadent. In the histories of English and French literatures decadence is a literary movement like Romanticism and the French phrase for it is fin-de-siecle (=end of century). They give specific reasons for calling this end of century literature decadent; yet it is not quite clear why this name is given to later nineteenth century literature only and not to some other periods also which have some characteristics common to it. Others have preferred to call this end of the century a period of Transition. Thus, the question still remains to be answered: Is this a Transition or Decadence? Eighty-two years after 1880—the date when decadence set in; —we have not yet been able to give any satisfactory, much less a definite, answer to it. This confusion is worse confounded by another literary movement kindred in spirit called Art for Art's Sake (the Aesthetic) movement. The aesthetes and decadents go together, and the boundary lines dividing them are not clear. Still further across the channel Baudelaire's name is invoked with reference to decadence. He it was who gave a powerful expression to the spirit of decadence and the modern mind in Les Fleurs du Mal where in the Preface he enlists ennui as its chief mark. Some historians of English literature have pointed out that there have been a few 'dead seasons' in English literary production, e.g., the novel after Scott and the drama between Sheridan and Shaw. This, they say, is literary decadence. But the late John Middleton Murray in his brilliant essay on Baudelaire distinguished between two kinds of decadence—historical and literary. He opposes the definition of decadence as immorality and asserts that essentially decadence is a recurring phenomenon and literary decadence is different from historical. Literature written during

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historical decadence cannot be called decadent literature. Dr. Radhakrishnan in the conclusion to Indian Philosophy raises the question of criticism versus creative thought and then calls decadence as essentially a period of transition. Decadence, according to him, is apparent, not real. Prof. Joad's definition is based on philosophy of values. The burden of his thesis is that contemporary literature and philosophy are decadent because they are charged with "dropping of the object"—that is with excessive subjectivity. Mr. A. C. Ward makes explicit what is implicit in Prof. Joad's view. According to him not denial of value, but false value is the mark of decadence.

It was necessary to give in brief all these points of view to show how difficult is it to define decadence per se. But simply because the definitions are too many and of varying value, it does not follow that the search for clearly defining the term is to be given up. English literature from 1880 to the present day is distinguished by some special tendencies which are new and are held to be decadent from different points of view. There is, thus, what Prof. Pinto calls a crisis in English poetry after 1880 which has not yet been fully resolved. Both the content and form of poetry have changed and a 'dissociation of sensibility' is clearly marked. Older values and practice have been discarded and new ones have not yet clearly emerged; so that the process of destruction and demolition has continued without compensation on the constructive side. The modern mind in its craze for uptodatism has no doubt set up the 'subject' as the standard of judgment; values, as the Existentialists say, are purely personal. Modern psychology changed the concept of man: the inner world underwent a thorough change. The outer world of Physics and Astronomy reduced the status of the homo sapiens to that of the rarest of rare accidents in this universe. This two-fold change brought in and reinforced the new concept of man which was positively damaging. It completely demolished the older idea of man as the crown of creation. Thus, when we say with reference to literature that it reflects the zeitgeist of the age, we assert a vital truth about it, keeping always in mind that literature is by no means only that. All literature worth its name must not only reflect the spirit of the times but also transcend it; it must be the idealization of emotion and not merely like a photographic copy of it.

This is tantamount to saying that by and large literature is the expression of the concept of life an author adopts. Poetry is the expression of the national imagination of a country; but much more is it the expression of the concept of life (including the concept of the universe) that particular writer accepts. Thus, Wordsworth accepted Rousseau's view of man and his poetry is, on the whole, optimistic. Thomas Hardy grew up under the influence of Evolutionism and Schopenhauer; and he is a thoroughly pessimistic writer. The moderns have generally held that all human experience is significant. The Stream of Consciousness novelists, the Surrealists and the Naturalists—all fin de siecle writers have held that experience of any kind, however trivial according to older standards, is significant and worthy of expression in literature. Thus James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence, Dylan Thomas and others write without any inhibitions whatever. Of course, this position is finally untenable for the simple reason that if all experience is significant, no experience is insignificant. As regards revaluation of established (now called bourgeois) values, both moral and literary, their answer is that certainly we live in an age of new values. The overturning of older values and ideals cannot be better illustrated than from two observations by Somerset Maugham and Aldous Huxley respectively. In his fascinating autobiography (?) Maugham says that suffering never makes a man noble; on the contrary, it makes a man cruel, wicked, and suspicious. Huxley in his outstanding essay on Baudelaire remarks that debauchery was a moral sin in the old days; now, however, it is simply a medical affair. These examples have been picked up at random only to show which way the wind is blowing in the realm of values.

It is clear that these changes have taken

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...ve as an inevitable consequence of the ...ange in the concept of man resulting from ...coveries of science and psychology. The ...cept of man has been changing so rapidly ...ring the last 80 years that a brief survey ...uld be interesting. Round about the end ...the last century there was the liberal ...manist view of man according to which ...an was the master of his own fate; man ...as perfectible by his own efforts. This was ...e basic tenet of the socialists like Shaw ...d Wells. Then the question arose: what ...the reason for man's unhappiness? If man ...naturally good the wrong must lie in his ...cumstances. This was the belief of ...homas Hardy. Those who accepted this ...ew of man rejected traditional Christian-... Christianity, according to Samuel But-..., author of Erewhon, Shaw, and Bergson ...as not the final religion. It was sub-...tituted and replaced by the new philosophy ...the elan vital (life force). (Man and ...perman by Shaw, Creative Evolution by ...ergson, and The Way Of All Flesh by ...amuel Butler). Evil was due to ignorance ...man.

About the same time a revolutionary ...ew of life and society was sweep-...g the continent. Man, according to ...is Marxist view, is determined by ...conomic circumstances and is not ...free agent as the idealists said. This ...anged the concept of history the key to ...hich was now economics, neither politics ...r military strategy. Man became a socio-...conomic entity devoid of any spiritual ...ement. This view was then superseded by ...e Freudian concept that man is deter-...ned by the Unconscious. Fundamentally, ...an is irrational and a bundle of impulses ...hich follow no logic at all. That is the real ...ality; that is the natural man. The result ...as Surrealism and the Stream of Con-...ousness movements in literature. Prof. ...ead has a fine chapter on the Invasion of ...terature by Psychology in his 'Guide to ...odern Thought'. Psychology alone has ...een enough to upset totally the ancient ...ew of life and man. Assisted by Physics ...d recent Space Research this view has ...een confirmed. In one word, man has com-...etely lost his moorings. The two World ...ars and their aftermath have deepened the disillusionment, pessimism, angst, and the ennui that were inevitably with us all this time. This post-war mood is best expressed by the latest movement in European thought, Existentialism. Sartre and his disciples are popularising the view that life is absurd and devoid of any meaning whatever. Man in the existentialist predicament hopes for no salvation; in fact, there is no salvation at all. In between come those who consider the future of Totalitarianism. Jules Romains in France views man's individual personality as submerged in the group (Unanimism) while George Orwell in 1884 shocked the civilized world by visualizing the horrors of life under a totalitarian system where even punishment is measured. His Animal Farm, which has been hailed as a powerful satire a la Swift, expresses contempt for man by calling him a pig. God had already been disposed of by Swinburne and Gide and it is no longer a blashphemy to be a Satanist of any hue. Baudelaire's Satanism (and Milton's also) is different from the Satanism of the moderns. Milton's Satan revolts consciously and purposively against God who is a tyrant, Satan is a Godist first and knows what he is about to do. The modern Satanist has no awareness of the good or of God. Aldous Huxley calls him a Satanist without being a Godist. He lives in a world of the nihilist. Complete blankness stares him in the face. Hence the gloom and darkening shadow ever widening between life and letters.

The question therefore emerges: how far can this damaged concept of man—the dehumanization of man—be held responsible for contemporary decadence? Of all the definitions given above the relevant one is that of Mr. Murray. All these definitions are partly correct. Decadence in literature has generally been confused with historical, political, or military decadence. It is almost always seen that a period of historical decadence goes with a period of literary decadence also. The literature of the Restoration is a case in point. It is the usual concomittance of the two decadences that confirms our belief in the theory of the relation of the zeitgeist to its literary output. But that is not valid absolutely. There have been periods of historical decadence

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wherein literary activity has been extraordinary. Chaucer and his age are the glaring example of this. The circumstances in which the father of English poetry wrote were the most unpromising and though it must be said that Chaucer best expresses his century, it cannot be asserted that he is not writing in an age of historical and political decadence. This is equivalent to saying that the relation of the times to literature is a fact but not always the whole truth. Periods of literary decadence have very often been periods of historical decadence also and **vice versa.** Their relation cannot be denied. Nor were all English dramatists of Shakespeare's time all Shakespeares. It is not sufficient to agree with dictionary definitions that what follows a period of culmination is decadence simply because it is less spectacular. On this score alone Ford, Webster, etc., cannot be dubbed as decadent. Further, writing on or about decadent men and society does not make the author decadent. This is obvious. Then, decadence as immorality is hardly acceptable in literature, yet it remains a highly controversial point. It is difficult to separate morality from life on the one hand and life from literature on the other. In recent years we have witnessed the cases of Lady Chatterley's Lover (the unexpurgated edition) and Pasternak's Dr. Zhivago. From the literary point of view these works may be third rate and unnecessary; from the moral or political point of view such works may be shocking and dangerous to political institutions; but thereby they cannot be called decadent as such. Literature embraces all levels of life's realities: moral and immoral, tragic and comic, ugly and beautiful. It cannot be partial to any. You may condemn Lawrence for writing unnecessary and silly four-letter words; you may condemn Pasternak for openly denouncing Bolshevism as hooliganism; they cannot be condemned as decadent authors solely on that account.

As a literary movement the decadent spirit (L'Esprit decadent) has been defined by the Oxford Companion to French Literature as a term applied to the "state of mind prevalent between 1880 and 1890 in the small literary societies" in France which reflected "the overwhelming 'lan-gueur,' futility, distate for any moral or religious restraint, a horror of banality, and a seeking after any novelty of sensation, however unnatural." The term was first used by Laforgue—a Symbolist French poet, and may have come from a sonnet of Verlaine's "Je suis l'Empire a la fin de la decadence." Verlaine said of decadence—"This word implies....the refined thoughts of extreme civilization, a high literary culture, a soul capable of intense voluptuousness.....It is made of a mixture of sensual spirit and sad flesh and all the passionate splendours of the lower empire."

What influence it had on literature may be seen from Huysman's novel "A Rebours" (Against the Grain). Des Esseintes, its hero, is the effete survivor of a worn-out aristocracy who hates banal society and lives alone among beautiful things. Not natural beauty but artificial things alone satisfy him. He leads a perverse life, is full of ennui, and falls ill. His doctor brings him back into the real world and he begins to realise religion as a source of salvation. Des Esseintes is the typical decadent character in literature. The Decadent, says Enid Starkie "was a highly evolved being, the final product of a dying civilization, with the charm of things on the point of fading." He was not interested in Nature poetry but was withdrawn into the drawing room of Des Esseintes which was decorated with candles, lilies, and incense. Only the rarest form of art pleased him and the most sophisticated pleasures and vice were his routine affairs. The decadent was very tall and thin, and "always walked with a slouch, hollowing out his consumptive chest. His sombre eyes were made to appear still more dark and dissipated by their rim of mascara. He always dressed in the latest fashion and spent most of his income on clothes, which were very tight-fitting, and this increased the slimness of his silhouette. He normally sported a monocle, and carried a light cane, or a long stick....He wore one light-coloured glove, the other he always carried leaving his right hand bare, to show his fingers covered with gemmed rings; rubies, sapphires, and

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emeralds. The Decadent always looked weary, and everywhere he passed he left a trail of scent, and it was rumoured that he indulged in hashish and opium. He enjoyed the reputation of practising every kind of vice, since virtue is a characteristic of the bourgeois."

Des Esseintes' rooms were fulsomely decorated. His way of living was highly extravagant. He delivered sermons on the proper cut of suits, shirts and shoes for his tailors were very meticulous. He once gave a "mourning dinner" in a dining room hung with black draperies, and the fountains in his garden "spouted streams of black ink into the air." The dinner was served on a black silk cloth, an orchestra played funeral music behind black curtains, while coal-black negresses, who were entirely naked, served the guests with food which was of dark colour.

Des Esseintes was a hater of women and nature. "Women he considered merely as man's vice, his tourer or the ornament of his house to grace his board. He said that 'artificiality' is the distinctive mark of man's genius." Hence he preferred the counterfeit to the natural.

The figure of the decadent was crystallised in France in the person of Des Esseintes. In England Oscar Wilde became the leader of decadence. His novel "The Picture of Dorian Gray" was inspired by A Rebours. Wilde was an aesthete and wanted to live life artistically. As the aesthetes believed art is autonomous and knows no restraints, so also life lived artistically would obey no laws except its own. In this novel Wotton tells Gray "The only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it." The little future Lord Henry says to Gray, "You have a wonderfully beautiful face, Mr. Gray....And Beauty is a form of Genius." Gray's picture painted by Basil Hallward begins to deteriorate while Gray's youth remains as it is. This reversal of the natural order of things is the heart of the matter. Later Gray realised the folly of believing in the unsullied splendour of youth. Disillusioned he turns from this life of a shallow Hedonism to a new life. He goes up to his room and kills himself before his picture.

Not only in the content of life and character, but in form, style, and language also there is too much polish and artificiality. Readers of his famous comedy "The Importance of being Earnest," "Salome" and "De Profundis" will be struck dumb with admiration at the brilliance of verbal effects. The comedy is superficial but highly stageworthy and interesting. The dialogues are pointed, crisp, brilliant, witty, and the words used are simply irreplaceable. Verbal brilliance is characteristic of the decadents. Trivial plots and ideas couched under the magic of words—the **bon mot** is the secret of the style of the decadents. In Wilde this finish reaches a culmination. He will continue to be remembered as a brilliant stylist.

Wilde is the most important of the Decadents and Aesthetes though Arthur Symons, and poets of the Rhymer's Club had their own share in propagating. But now the decadent movement was already merging into Symbolism. English decadentism as a movement had a brief spell and was never unmixed. It was a diffused mood and certainly got inspiration from France. The English decadents had no clear-cut programme. The works of Wilde, Symons, the paintings of Beardsley, The Yellow Book, The Savoy—all these carried contempt for bourgeois ideals. "But it is an easy mistake," says George Sampson, "to suppose that the literature of the last Victorian decades was a literature of decadence, cultivated by the apostles of art for art's sake upon more than a little absinthe." They revolt straight from Victorian ideals of bourgeois respectability and are not decadents per se. "The decadents and detrimentals of the nineties, with all their follies and excesses, made a clear distinction between Art and Produce. They were inspired not by the alleged profundities of psychology, but by the frank, unconceding art of the new French painters and poets. That literature was a fine art, that it was a necessity of civilized life, that it was to be pursued as an art without fear and without shame, that its theme, could be found in any aspects or circumstances of life, that those themes should be presented with artistic veracity without any reference to

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the tastes, desires and prejudices of the bourgeois that literature, as an art, had no concern with the inculcation of ideas currently accepted as moral, that 'academic' art was invariably 'produce' and not art at all, that the true response to art could be found in the select few at one end, and in the unsophisticated, ingenuous frequenters of the old music-halls, at the other, and scarcely at all in the solidly respectable bourgeois patrons of Mudie's and the Royal Academy—these were among the faithfully accepted credenda of the nineties." Alongside of this Decadent school other nondecadent tendecies are Naturalism in Moore, Realism in Crackenthorpe, Neo-classicism in Lionel Johnson, and Idealism of the Celtic Revival. Nor is Decadence to be equated to the Art for Art's Sake school. This school has been more misrepresented and misunderstood: rather than damaging the cause of art, it has drawn attention to its intrinsic value and to art as one of the ends of life. In this way the 1890s in English literature were more of a period of transition than of decadence.

Decadence per se in its germinal form is rather to be found in the work of some of our contemporaries. Its roots are to be sought for in the damaged concept of man himself, the very roots of art are now sullied and rotten. Here is no question of value, artistic or moral; the very foundation of life and hence of art is being negatived. There is a widespread contempt for man and life, rather than the search for truth about him. Not Baudelairean ennui (the eight deadly sin as he would call it) but the stark nihilism of the moderns strikes us as a decadent tendency. Some examples may be picked up at random. In Orwell's Animal Farm animals look from pig to man and from man to pig and from pig to man again, but already it was impossible to say which was which. In 1884, O'Brien asks W. Smith whether he was prepared to die, commit acts of sabotage which may cause death of hundreds of innocent people, betray his own country to foreign powers, to throw sulphuric acid in a child's face for his interest, etc., and the answer in each case is affirmative. Smith is so dehumanized that not a single word of protest comes out of him. Further examples can be given from several authors including O'Neill, Camus, S. Beauvoir and Huxley. It will be said in protest that their works are meant to be a satire on the human condition as it exists today in the manner of Swift and Shakespeare's Timon of Athens. No decadence is implied. This is again a very difficult question inasmuch as the writer portrays a world as he finds it, and we have already maintained that writing of or about decadent people does not make the literature itself decadent. Nevertheless, it is clear that satire is against a particular vice or folly—social or individual—and not against existence itself. If it is argued that the writer has no choice but to depict life and the world as they are, the answer is the same: literature must transcend its environments; it is not merely a photograph of life and society but an imaginative idealization of it. If in the process of doing so decadent tendencies have to be incorporated, of course, no objection can be raised. But when the very existence of man is derided and held to be meaningless we do have germs of decadence. M. Arnold said truly that literature must be rooted in life, though we need not agree with him about the narrow meaning he gave to life. In the works of almost all our contemporaries life itself has ceased to be of any significance and meaning. Cruelty, torture, and insanity are the only themes that possess their minds. The Death wish is supreme. What redeems slightly this insanity fair of literature is the continuance of other tendencies, even this consciousness that such and such literature is decadent. By contrast, Thomas Hardy's pessimism and characters are intensely human and Hemingway's Farewell to Arms leaves the impression of blankness of life, yet it keeps up pity for the suffering hero and the dead heroine. Their sad lot, though partly unconvincing, is yet typical of the modern man. He doesn't decry and condemn human life itself. Whether the former decadent tendencies will prevail and gain the upper hand or the latter ones which are still touched with human feeling, in other words, whether we are living in an age of transition or decadence only time will show.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

IN SEARCH OF THE SUPREME, (Vol. I) : *By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, Pp. 388. Price Rs. 5/-.*

Mahatma Gandhi was all Godloving and he was nothing if not one entirely dependent upon God for his very life and activities. To him Truth was God and non-violence was the way to Him.

In this volume the writings, speeches and utterances of Mahatmaji have been classified into five sections, *viz.*, (1) God ; (2) Faith, Reason and Morality; (3) Prayer, Worship and Guidance ; (4) Spirituality and Penance and (5) Life, Dealth and After and topics divided into 256.

To read this book is to associate oneself with a great soul which uplifts the mind and the spirit to a higher level. Indeed Gandhiji is a great spiritual asset to humanity.

EVOLUTION OF AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN INDIA : *By Sri Bhowani Sen. People's Publishing House, New Delhi, pages 328. Price Rs. 8.50.*

The purpose of the author is to give a general idea of India's agrarian relations in the post-independence period. In order to do so, he has discussed in eight chapters, Natures of the Agrarian Problem, Heritage of the Past, Rural Economy under British Rule, The Transition in Agrarian Relations, Growth of Capitalist Relations in Agriculture, Nature of Agrarian Legislations since Independence and finally Trends of India's Rural Economy.

According to the author despite changes and modifications in the course of last decade, Indian agriculture is yet largely enmeshed in semi-feudal relations. The following elements are firmly entrenched in India's rural economy : Inferior tenancy with obligation to pay uneconomic rent ; unequal exchange between the peasant and the merchant; firm grip of money over rural economy ; and effects of casteism on certain aspects of production.

Although the policy followed by the Ruling Party is at best a compromise of different trends, the solution lies along the path of democratic planning which may be called peasants' path summed up as follows : land to tillers, elimination of usury and introduction of state trading in agricultural commodities. Complete abolition of all remnants of feudalism is necessary by strict imposition of a ceiling on all land holdings. Thus landless and the poor tillers may be given lands taken away from landlords. The author also wants complete nationalization of banks and rapid extension of the Banking System to rural areas to provide cheap and abundant agricultural credit. Redemption of peasants' debt at the cost of the state is also advocated.

But land reform is no panacea for the solution of all economic problems. So the Government of India is tackling this problems along with many others which face the country at present.

We congratulate the author for placing a strong case for further land reform pointing out the present defects and shortcomings substantiated by facts and figures.

RUSSIA, AMERICA AND THE WORLD : *By Louis Fischer, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 2/-.*

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In this book the well-known and powerful writer has discussed the most burning questions of the day and occasionally has given his own opinion in regard to the solutions of some other problems. The subjects discussed in thirteen chapters are—The cold war, Difficult dialogue, The Roots of Soviet foreign policy, The Russian Bear and the Chinese Tiger, Khrushchev, The Creative Peninsula, The Vanity of Empire, Nehru and the future of India, China, Pakistan and India, A matter of Love, Israel in Africa, The future of Communism and A Foreign Policy for America.

Greatest personalities and their policies have been discussed with such clarity that a perusal of these pages will benefit not only students and men of politics, but also the ordinary readers interested in their own well-being and welfare of the world. Naturally communism, its philosophy and its methods have found much space but the so-called capitalism of the nineteenth century with its exploiting and empire building activities is changing so rapidly that if not in near, but in distant future, there is possibility of both these 'isms' changing beyond recognition their original colour and content. The writer wants a better world and a better world cannot be created by a set of dogmas held fast by a nation or group of nations. Mr. Louis Fischer wants more heart than reason in the foreign policies of nations. He is right when he says, "In the long run, and often in the short run, the Gandhian method is invincible."

A. B. DUTTA

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF ART: *By Dr. S. K. Nandi. Published by the Uiniversity of Calcutta. (With Foreword by Dr. Niharrajan Roy). Price Rupees Ten only.*

Dr. Niharranjan Roy, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Calcutta University, has rightly called Dr. Nandi, one of the front rank aestheticians of new India and Dr. Nandi has amply justified the above remark by his penetrating analysis and deep scholarship as evident in the book under review.

The concept of philosophy in general and of aesthetics in particular has been undergoing rapid changes under the impact of the study of Semantics, so earnestly taken up by scholars all the world over. Analysis has justly been considered to be the mission of philosophy and now-a-days philosophy does not take pride in giving 'truths' but it engages itself in a strenuous pursuit of meaning. This entails analysis and the book under review being a study in the metaphysics of aesthetic forms and structure analyses the aesthetic theories of such stalwarts as Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Romain Rolland, Benedetto Croce and Rabindranath Tagore. With remarkable clarity and precision the theories have been presented. The conventional views on Plato and Aristotle have been subjected to strict logical scrutiny and the author has offered a defence for Plato although he has characterised Plato's motive as 'extra-aesthetic.' Aristotle has been accused of going by the Platonic legacy of utilitarianism. Kant and Hegel are well-known for their aesthetic philosophy. The author has taken pains to expound and critically evaluate their theories. Hegel's five-fold classification of art has been cited and its validity thoroughly discussed. The author refers to Hegel's philosophy of fine arts and makes out a case against Hegel regarding the latter's colossal ignorance of the true nature and content of the ancient Indian art forms. Hegel's reference to Indian art as Grotesque has been rightly criticised by the author of the book under review and he deserves commendation for undoing the wrong done to Indian art by a scholar of Hegel's stature. Immanuel Kant's aesthetics is not a pleasant study. It requires year long researches to unravel the meanings of the different passages of the third critique. The author did not always go by the conventional interpretations but has taken care to interpret Kantian ideas in his own way. We admit that his interpretation at places have been sparkling.

Dr. Nandi has broken new grounds in the last two chapters of his book. Aesthetics of Romain Rolland is very little known in India as well as in his own country. French scholars have not as yet accomplished and presented a rounded system of Rolland's aesthetics. It is a fascinating study. One wonders to find out that the French savant said so many things and in such a systematic way on the fundamental problems of art and aesthetics. The last chapter offers an analysis and comparative study of the aesthetic theories of Benedetto Croce and Rabindranath Tagore. As a system-builder, Croce definitely scores above Tagore. In versatility, again, Tagore is beyond Croce for all times to come. One is an academic philosopher and the other is a seer of truths. So, they together make an interest-

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study. Dr. Nandi's leanings seem to be rards the Crocean type of idealism as it ns to be fitted in a rounded system. ore talked and wrote on art and aesthe- While he talked as a poet or a creative his views came very near those, as ocated by Croce. Where Tagore philoso- es on art as an academic philosopher, drifts away from Croce and drifts from his own views as evidenced his creative writings. This contra- ion in Tagore has been adroitly ught up on the surface by the lysis that Dr. Nandi presents. We may agree with his views on all counts but commend his spirit of enquiry and flaire scientific analysis. This type of analysis are and we recommend this book to all ious students of art, literature and thetics for a sound intellectual stimula- n. At places the author is challenging his challenge has got to be met by searchers of the new generation.

S. K. D.

INDIA 1962 : *The Government of India* lication. *Price Rs. 6.50.*

It is more or less a comprehensive reference ume, which provides authentic information diverse aspects of our national life and endea- rs. It is one of the musts for a library, news- er establishment, educational institution, ntera.

J. B.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, PIONEER EDUCATION : *By L. K. Elmhirst, published John Murray Ltd., 50, Albemarle Street, don, W.1 Price 15s. net.*

The book under review presents a facet of gyraid-minded, versatile Tagore in so far as elates to his views and ideas on education, ing round, particularly, the founding of riketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruc- It contains some Essays and also some anges between Tagore and Elmhirst, and is ghly illuminative and instructive study sug- e of a deep, cogent thinking.

Leonard Elmhirst and his wife Dorothy Elm- occupy a unique place in the annals of the a-Bharati in accepting to translate into Tagore's dream to help India on her feet installing a model for resuscitating the village life and economy. While yet a t in the University of Cornell, U.S.A. for ee in the science and economics of practi- ming, Leonard met Tagore, on invitation, at New York and felt inspired to investigate the decline of the arts and agriculture of the villages in the neighbourhood of Santiniketan—where people once enjoyed a decent economic and social condition and a culture that no longer survived. Leonard came to India and set to work by the first week of February, 1922. Thanks to Dorothy —they were married in 1925—she financed the enterprise from the very start and continued to do so uptil 1947. "That afternoon", Leonard speaks of the day he arrived at the Village Surul, the place of operation, with a small staff and some ten college students, "we dug trenches and fixed latrines with buckets. . . . . 'But where', said the boys, "is the sweeper who will empty the latrine buckets?' 'Don't worry, there will be a sweeper in the morning', I said. The following morning, they caught sight of me emptying the buckets. Three boys immediately ran to assist. 'If this is to be part of the training', they said, 'can we not do it for ourselves from now on?' . . . . For a time I saw little of Tagore. One or other of the staff kept him in touch. They told me, the same week we set out, that they had found him (Tagore) digging a trench in his garden and emptying his own bucket of waste matter into it."

Tagore never tired stressing that along with the material advancement of the village there must be the search for a creative, cultural life. The result was the establishment of a boarding school that goes by the name of Siksha-Satra. The boys arrived on Monday morning each with a small sack of rice enough for five days, and went home on Saturday. The boys and girls were thus to be equipped with an education in terms of their needs to grow, to imagine and to explore so as to be able to play their role in the village with understanding and capacity for expansion.

Some years after Gandhiji paid a visit to this school and was so much impressed that he took the loan of a member of the staff to help him plan an all-India revolution in primary education. Gandhiji chose the term 'Basic Education' for the system which was then worked out for him. 'But Basic', says Elmhirst, 'draws only in part upon the ideas of Tagore, and has had engrafted on to it other ideas for which Tagore would not have given his approval'. I do not know what precisely are the terms of acknowledgement to Tagore in the preamble of the scheme of Basic Education as it operates now in India.

The best return,, I should think, Elmhirst & Elmhirst got for the signal service they have done India is what Tagore wrote to Leonard

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about five years after he had started the work. "Your spirit", he wrote, "will still work in Surul, and I shall always remember you not merely as a friend, but as a sharer in the intimacy of a conjoint creation." About another four years after when, by the time, the seed Elmhirst had sown grew up into a fine tree bearing fruits, Tagore wrote him, "We two were of unequal age, but I was not aware of the difference for a moment and our companionship was so utterly simple and intimate. I think you are the only one who closely came to know me when I was young and old at the same time".

As a fitting epilogue to their marriage, Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst have founded and dedicated themselves to the upbringing of Dartington Hall in Devonshire. It is the home of many—varied endeavours in Humanities, Agriculture, Forestry and Industry, etcetera. Leonard has done his part in the Tagore centenary by giving the world a live blueprint of village reconstruction in India. Alongside, he has given us an idea how Tagore sleeplessly devoted himself to circumvent the misery and frustration implicit in a hide-bound, metallic system of education. It is an eminently readable book, worth the subject of memoir, and will adorn any really valuable bookcase.

JOGES C. BOSE

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Indian Periodicals

The Child in Society

The *Aryan Path*, July 1962, publishes, an article based on Mr. M. A. Langdell's address to the Institute of World Culture, excerpts from which are well worth reproduction as they relate to one of the most vital problems of today :

The National Association of Schoolmasters has maintained throughout the forty years of its existence the great importance of the family unit in the field of education and in the wider areas of society generally. The whole history of mankind reveals the necessity of the continuance of the security, the comfort, the educative forces to be found in the sound family unit. The word itself derived from the Latin has great significance when seen in relationship to *familia*—household *famulus*—servant or attendant. One member of the household bears a responsibility for the rest. The responsibilities of parenthood are fundamental to the establishment of the true home.

Mr. Harry Bell in his presidential address to the Association at Blackpool last Easter said :—

Though marriage is essentially a partnership, I am firmly of the opinion that the roles of the respective partners can be clearly defined and are determined by the differing physical and emotional characteristics of the two sexes. Thus by virtue of his greater physical potential the male is the provider and by virtue of her greater capacity for patience, love and understanding the mother is the administrator. Thereby we can see quite clearly the quality of the impact that these two profoundly important people should make upon the growing child. Mother the sheet anchor, the giver of love, comfort, security ; by her constant presence, the forehead of stability in the child's changing world. The wise Solomon of the home to whom the young child may turn to seek solutions to its many problems, in fact, the one person who can provide all the ingredients of healthy physical and mental growth. There is no need, therefore, to emphasize the profound importance of the mothers in our society and the outstanding part that they play in the moral, emotional and physical development of our future citizens. Yet it is true that, in the main, young women enter upon the sacred work unskilled, untrained, unprepared and often quite unaware that a woman can find the deepest satisfaction in the development of the skill and character necessary in homemaking.

Alas, it is true also that so often these days she is not there in the home with her children, rather is she engaged in the pursuit of tawdry, material improvement for the home. On her return she is too tired, too jaded, too preoccupied with her other life to give herself wholly and unselfishly to her children. And what of the father in this situation, is he able to maintain his position as head of the house, thus presenting to his children an image of strength and wise leadership ? Is he still able to assert that essential control and discipline in the home from which grows self-discipline and self-control ? Or is it more likely, as so often is the case, that he will make a futile endeavour to take over, quite inadequately, where his wife has failed, then give the whole thing up as a hopeless task and seek solace outside the home ?

The education of the child, by which I imply the full preparation for life in the testing world of the latter half of the twentieth century, begins in the home. It may be said to begin in the warmth and security of the womb. Certainly the roots to full and healthy growth are established and sent deep before the child reaches school age. The infant needs love, security, warmth, routine and two parents with "one voice." Inevitably crises occur in every child's life—the change from home to school, the arrival of another baby in the home, the change from primary to secondary education, the stirrings of adolescence and others which are part of the family life. On such occasions the home is the refuge, the source of comfort and guidance. I quote again :—

Many of the anti-social characteristics which become apparent in some adults can be traced back to unhappy childhood caused through inadequate family life. Those of us who spend our working days in the world of children are frequently made aware of the awful tragedies brought about by the unhappy and broken home and by the refusal or inability of parents to face up to their responsibilities. All too often we are brought face to face with some of the serious consequences arising out of disturbances in a child's early human attachments. We see the small child unduly worried and bewildered by some slight change in its school programme and we know that it is unhappy and insecure at home. We witness the sad decline of a child's standards of conduct, honesty and loyalty and we know that it is inwardly worried by parental

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conflict. The belligerent, unpopular boy who bullies his way through school is probably unwanted and unloved at home. The child who shows no regard for discipline and scant respect for persons or property is likely to be living in an environment where these attitudes are part of everyday living. Most of all we are concerned that in all probability these children, spending their most formative years in an environment where doubtful values exist, will themselves one day become unsatisfactory parents.

It is used to be accepted that three educative forces supported the child in its growth towards the establishment of the mature social being. Like three legs of a tripod they held up the structure. They were the home, the school and the church. Sadly it is true that the influence of the last has gone in many cases. My experience in a large secondary school in an industrial area reveals that most families have little contact with organized religion. One support has gone. The influence of home and family is much less apparent for good than ever before. Children get themselves off to school ; they return to empty houses ; they are part of the "latch-key army" or, worse, they run the streets until someone comes home. Some come to school too tired, unfit in body and spirit, to learn. The responsibilities that are the parents' for even the bodily welfare of children are in some cases shrugged off and passed to the school.

The remaining leg of the tripod is the school which continues to teach fundamental values and does not confine itself to the narrower duty of imparting knowledge. The good school teaches the inherent value of work, the necessity for truth and honesty in daily life. It attempts to develop a sense of responsibility and a social conscience. The teacher sometimes feels abandoned, wonders whether his is a voice crying in the wilderness and his proclaimed values alien in an age when current slogans include—"I'm all-right Jack"—"Couldn't care less"—"Never had it so good." Self-interest, material things, Pools, Bingo, the "fast buck"—are these the modern values ? If society as a whole condones or ignores these things how can it blame the young, the adolescent, flush with money as he is, when he goes off the rails ? He is walking on shifting sands and overhead—who knows ?—the atom bomb. Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow . . . . ? The adults of today carry the burden of blame for our young people who go wrong. Perhaps our desire for liberty has opened the door to licence. Perhaps in a fully educated society of mature beings, the temptations of our age, the salacious, the meretricious, the bad book, film, play and television would be spurned and cease to be big business. Until such time as society is educated and mature, surely the State has a responsibility to protect its future citizens :—

In 1934 there were 195,000 indictable offences known to the police, in 1959 there were 675,600. This is a threefold increase and represents, with the exception of 1954, a steady annual rise. Perhaps the most distressing feature of this dreadful trend is the fact that last year, very nearly a half of all those found guilty of indictable offences were under 21 years of age. More disturbing still is the knowledge that the biggest single group of those before the courts was that between the ages of 14 years and 17 years. Now these delinquents are mere children and are either still attending or have very recently left our educational establishments. To that section of our society which concerns itself with moral welfare, and this group must include all connected with education, this startling evidence of the growth of crime must be taken as a measure of failure. We cannot afford to be complacent while crime and violence increases, while the prisons of this country are full to overflowing because one in sixty-eight of the population is committing an indictable offence annually.

No section of the community can escape part of the censure which the previous statement reveals. These young people were in our schools until recently; and teachers, I am certain, are not complacent. That they feel depressed is certain; that they feel a little let down is not surprising: classes are too large, trained teachers are too few, dilapidated schools too common. This nation can only afford apparently 3 to 4 per cent of the national income for education. Russia devotes 10 to 12 per cent and the United States 9 to 10 per cent. Educate on the cheap and inevitably this nation will decline in the modern world to the third rate. A new look at education with a hand on heart would be the foundation of preventive medicine against the present sickness in our society.

Such measures are vital but will not cure the present epidemic, and one feels depressed as does Mr. Foster of the Central After Care Association, Borstal division, when he says "We are trying to present as acceptable standards that must seem farcical when compared with their manner of life in their natural habitat," and "We are trying in a brief period to reshape a pattern of conduct that is the product of years of sordid experience." Poilce, magistrates, probation officers, psychologists, after-care officers and other excellent people are heavily engaged in the struggle against the criminal and anti-social

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activities of so large a section of our young people. A good deal of research is being made into the reasons for the behaviour, and explanations are offered as to why the individual is anti-social. Is not the answer simple? They have not been taught the difference between right and wrong. They have no social conscience.

The Rising Trend In Prices : 1955-62

A special article published in the *Eastern Economist* in its issue dated August 3, on the above subject would appear to be of especial interest in the context of current economic pressures within the country :—

Great anxiety has been expressed recently in regard to the rise in prices which has imposed considerable pressure, as always, upon those least able to bear it. The Congress Parliamentary Party Executive Committee set-up, a month ago, a special sub-committee to study the whole problem of prices so as to suggest ways and means for curbing another steep rise. It is the object of this special article to analyse the available statistical evidence so as to highlight the commodities where the pressure has been the heaviest and also to measure the rate of rise in prices since the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The All India Working Class Cost of Living Index which represents the average of working class indices of 27 industrial centres all over the country shows that upward pressures are usually generated in the second half of the year, *i.e.*, from July to December. In 1960, the rise in prices in the second half over the first half was of the order of 2.5 per cent. Similarly, in 1961, the rise was of the order of 3.2 per cent. It is believed that this will be repeated in 1962 as well.

Table I

All India Cost of Living Index : 1956-62 (Base : 1949=100)

Month	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
January	97	107	111	117	122	123	127
February	97	107	110	118	122	123	127
March	100	107	110	117	121	124	127
April	103	108	111	117	122	124	127
May	104	110	113	119	123	124	127
June	106	112	116	122	124	125	...
Six Months' Average :	101	109	112	118	122	124	...
July	107	112	119	124	126	127	
August	109	113	120	125	126	128	
September	108	114	121	124	125	128	
October	109	113	123	126	125	128	
November	110	114	122	126	124	128	
December	109	113	119	122	124	128	
Six Months' Average :	109	113	121	125	125	128	
Percentage Changes of Second half over first half	+7.9	+3.7	+8.0	+5.9	+2.5	+3.2	

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Table II

Index Numbers of Wrolesale Prices of All Commodities : 1955-62
(Averages) (Base : 1952-53=100)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960,	1961	1962
Average of First Half of the Year	91.0	98.6	107.2	107.7	113.3	120.6	126.3	124.9
Averages of Second Half of the Year	92.1	106.7	109.8	114.8	117.8	125.3	125.4	...
Percentage Change of First Half over Second Half of the Year	+1.2	+8.2	+1.9	+7.1	+4.0	+3.9	+0.7	...

The behaviour of the index since 1956 shows a remarkably uniform pattern wherein the average index in the first half of the year turns out to be the same as the average in the second half of the preceding year. This fact is brought out by Table I above. On this analogy the second half of 1962 will certainly cross the limit of 130 (Base : 1940=100)—an all time peak. The conclusion which emerges from a scrutiny of this index is that the secular trend in prices is up, and there seems to be no prospect of the consumer prices either stabilizing or declining in the short run.

The same technique of measuring the rate of rise in wholesale prices in the second half of the year as compared to the first half reveals an interesting pattern though not conforming exactly to the behaviour of the All India Working Class Cost of Living Index. Except for 1961, the average of the index of the wholesale prices for the second half has always been higher than the average of the first half since 1955. A steep fall in jute prices last year which affected both raw jute and jute manufactures kept the index subdued with the result that 1961 did not follow the pattern exhibited in the earlier years. But this is certain that prices have been steadily rising from year to year whatever the manner of comparison. Whether the figures are looked at from year to year or month to month, the trend has been upwards.

Table III

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices of Selected Commodities : 1955-62 (Base : 1952-53=100)

Croup	June, 55	June, 56	June, 57	June, 58	June, 59	June, 60	June, 61	June, 62
I. Food Articles (50.4)	84	99	109	113	119	120	121	125
II. Liquor & Tobacco (2.1)	82	81	92	92	98	110	100	100
III. Fuel, Power, Light Lubricants (3.0)	95	99	112	116	116	119	123	123
IV. Industrial Raw Materials (15.5)	93	113	121	115	120	140	149	136
V. Manufactures (29.0)	98	104	109	108	109	120	126	129
VI. *All Commodities* (100.0)	90	102	111	112	116	123	126	127

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Table III (above) sets out the indices of wholesale prices of selected commodities for the month of June from 1955 to 1962. There is no commodity which has shown a tendency to drop.

However useful these indices may be in measuring inflationary pressures in the Indian economy, they do leave out certain essential elements such as expenditure on education, transport, housing, etc., which are imposing increasing burdens on the urban population particularly. No index gives due weight to these pressures. The wholesale price index has no provision for measuring the changes in rents except for recording the prices of cement, steel, bricks, etc. The rise in prices of these componnts fails to measure accurately the staggering increase in house rents. The consumer price indices assume a constant rent because of the application of the Rent Control Acts in most of the urban centres. In fact, urbanization in this country has progressed very fast in recent years and families migrating to urban areas find it very hard to get accommodation at reasonable rates. That is why slum areas are growing in all urban centres. No index evolved so far in the country takes care of these additional pressures.

The Making of Tomorrow

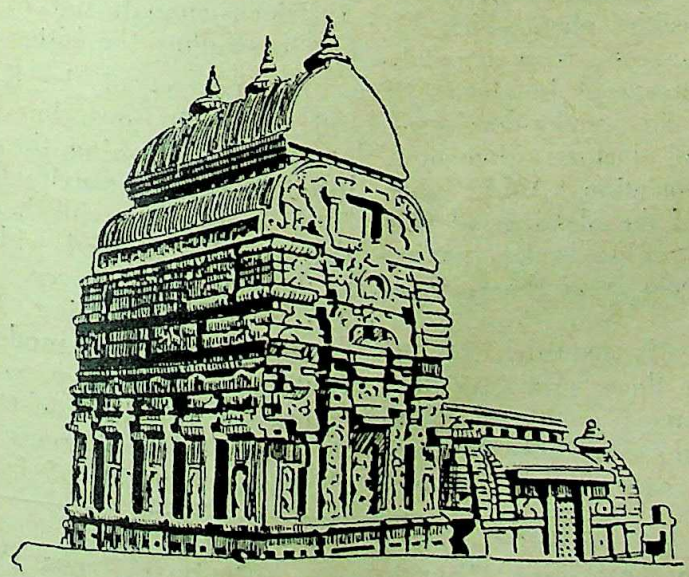
We reproduce below excepts from an Editorial published in *The Aryan Path*, August 1962, as a thought provoking challenge :

There are no miracles in nature. Everything that happens, happens under law, eternal, immutable and ever active, however veiled its workings are from ordinary sight. Probably not a businessman could be found who would demur to those propositions in theory. And yet it is as miracle-workers extraordinary that most planners of new orders stand forth on the world stage. A "new world" with the same prejudices and pettiness in all of us? A "new world" with the same selfish men at the head of affairs as before? Will that not be the same old world, behind however smiling a new mask?

Man, alone among beings, having free-will has the power to break the fundamental law of harmony that underlies all life. But, having broken it, he does not have the power to side-step the reaction. That will follow, as inevitably as the living bough pressed down springs back....

The makers of tomorrow can no more build a new world out of nothing than could the Deity Itself. It is the attitude of the true scientist that they require. *Ex nihilo nihil fit,* he doggedly maintains. What can any world, any situation, be but the result of permutation or of combination of pre-existing elements? Ideal solutions made *in vacuo* can be of little practical avail.

When a new material structure is to be erected, the plan must take account of the materials available. And a sorry lot of materials are our world architects confronted with! Timbers half eaten through by the white ants of race and colour prejudice. Girders half rusted away by superstitions and animosities in the name of religion and by materialism in the name of science. To use these as they are is to invite disaster. We cannot scrap them altogether; they are all we have. But they must be treated, the depredations of the rust and termites checked. If they are adequately treated and reinforced with the concrete of right intent and brotherly good will we can yet raise a better edifice than any that humanity has known in modern times.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Of Mutts & Medicare

Karl E. Meyer writing in the *New Leader* in its issue dated 25th June, says :

Free enterprise, American style, is not without its triumphs; it may have failed the aged and infirm, but it spreads its beneficences grandly on the dog. In New York, for example, you can outfit your Afghan hound in lace pyjamas ($25), false eyelashes ($.95) or a custom-made grey chetserfield overcoat with a velvet collar and maching top hat (a bargain at $33.50). Or your mastiff can be scented with Kennel No. 9 and immortalized in *Our Puppy's Baby Book*, with spaces provided for paw prints and such entries as "My First Birthday" and "My First Christmas."

I came upon this important Americana in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, in an article about canine affluence that some future Gibbon may consult with profit. The author, Toni Howard, notes that the classified telephone directory in Manhattan lists 115 hotels, country clubs, bath clubs and beauty shops for dogs, where hi-fi music soothes Wowser as his toes are manicured in emporia, with names like. The Poodle Boutique and Bow Wow Glamour. Air conditioned? Certainly, madam.

All told, Americans, out of worthy sentiment, spend around $3 billion each year on pet furnishings and supplies; pet food alone outsells baby food by nearly two to one. Yet this same society is currently in the midst of a political uproar over a health-care plan for aged humans that involves an average payment per worker of about $1 a month through Social Security. Some Americans manage to rise above sentiment when the helpless and dependent are merely people.

The fuss over the health plan, which is nearing a showdown in Congress, is an anomaly that is difficult to explain except in terms of our country's remaining an under-developed area in its attitude toward doctors. Somehow, the American Medical Association (AMA) has persuaded many that one of the blessings of Our Way of Life consists of going broke paying doctor bills without any help from the Government.

Yet the help is urgently required by the aged. Only about half of those over 65 have some hospitalization insurance, compared with about 70 per cent of younger people—but private spending for medical care of persons past 65 is nearly twice as much as the rest of the population. Nine out of 10 of the aged face the pleasant prospect of being hospitalized at least once for an average stay of 14.9 days.

In face of this, President Kennedy's plan, embodied in the King-Anderson bill, is a mild poultice applied timidly with mercurochrome. The Government itself would provide no care, hire no doctors and offer no services; it would only establish a modest program for helping to pay some bills. The plan would offer benefits immediately only to about 14.7 million persons who are over 65, and it would benefit them skimpily.

The plan would provide payments for hospital services for 90 days in each illness, subject to a deductible arrangement in which the patient would contribute $10 a day for up to nine days. A few other services would also be paid for, but a prolonged terminal illness would still bankrupt the old and their younger relatives. Nor is there any provision for drug costs, for expensive surgery or for the kind of cumulative doctors' bills that are a crushing burden on the aged.

AMA has called attention to these inadequacies, and a recent television counterattack has derided the plan as a "cruel hoax and a delusion." In doing this, the AMA has managed the neat trick of at once condemning the bill because it does not go far enough and because anything the Government does under a compulsory plan would be a wicked invitation to creeping Socialism.

The doctors' lobby prefers the existing Kerr-Mills program, now adopted by 26 states, in which free medical care is provided only for those who take a pauper's oath: Anybody unAmerican enough not to pay his doctor's bills has to swallow the bitter pill of a means test.

Supporters of the King-Anderson bill concede its limitations, but are frankly more interested in establishing the principle of health-care through Social Security than in debating details. They want to provide health assistance as a right that can be claimed without loss of self-respect to the aged. Moreover, they point out, the problem is not in helping the impecunious but in preventing those of moderate income from being bankrupt. Too often, costly care for the aged comes out of the pocket of relatives who must sacrifice their children's education in order to enjoy the felicities of free enterprise.

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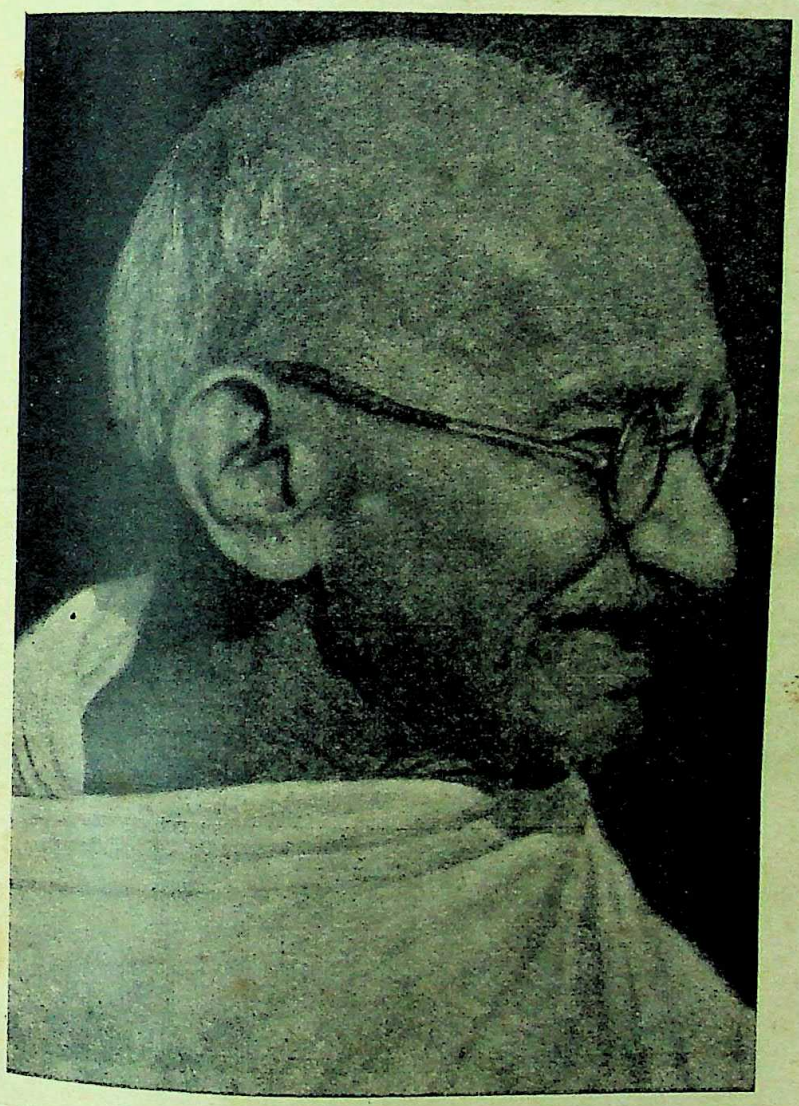

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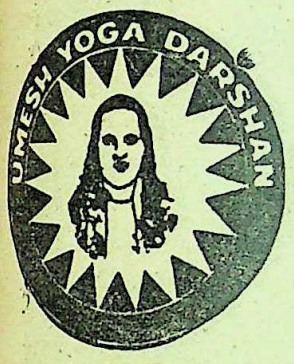

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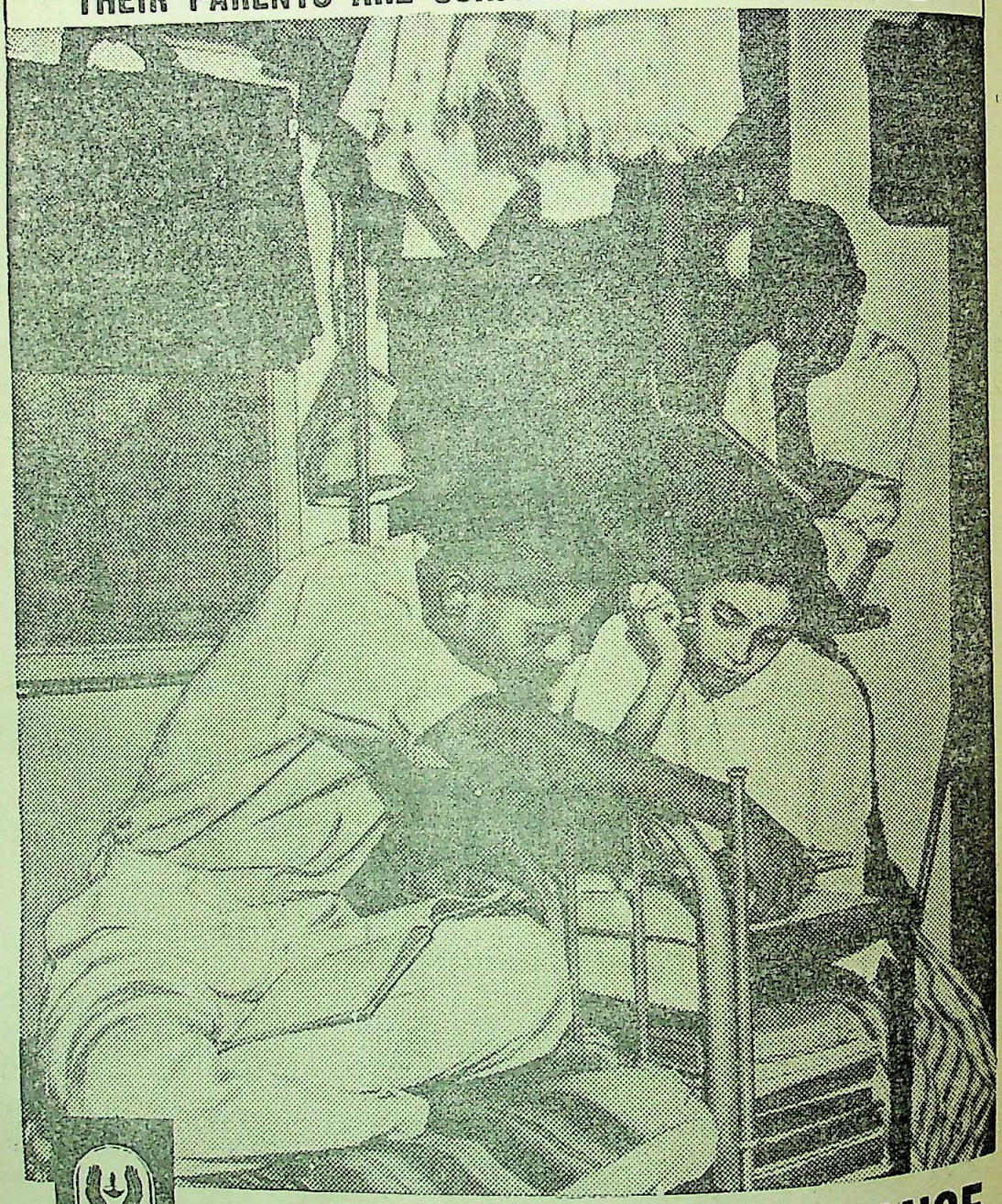

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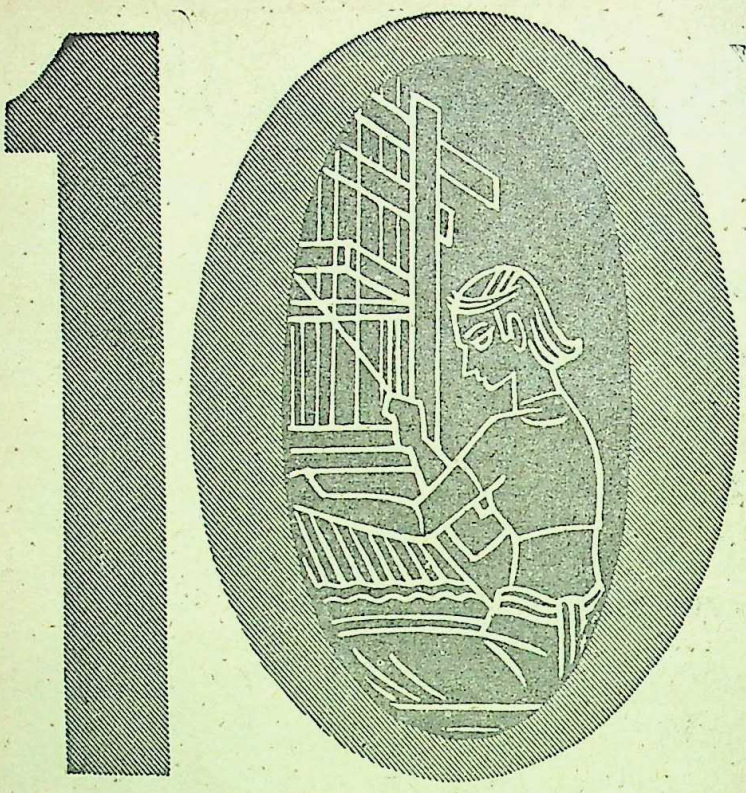

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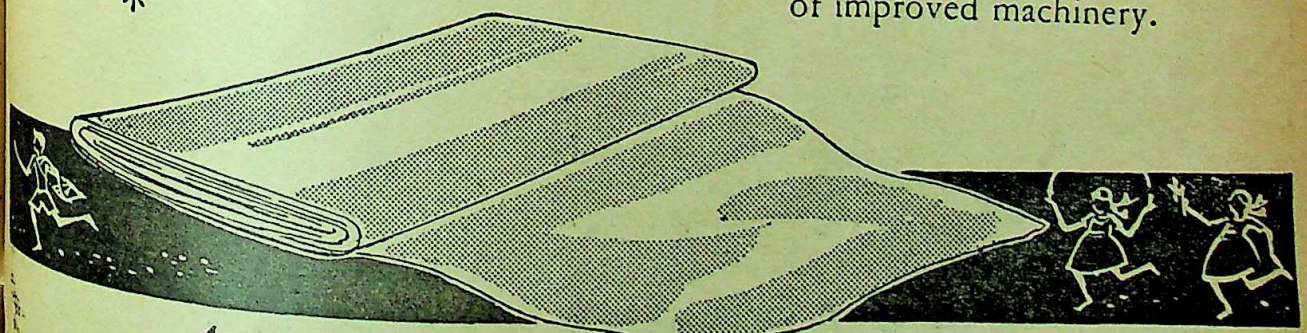

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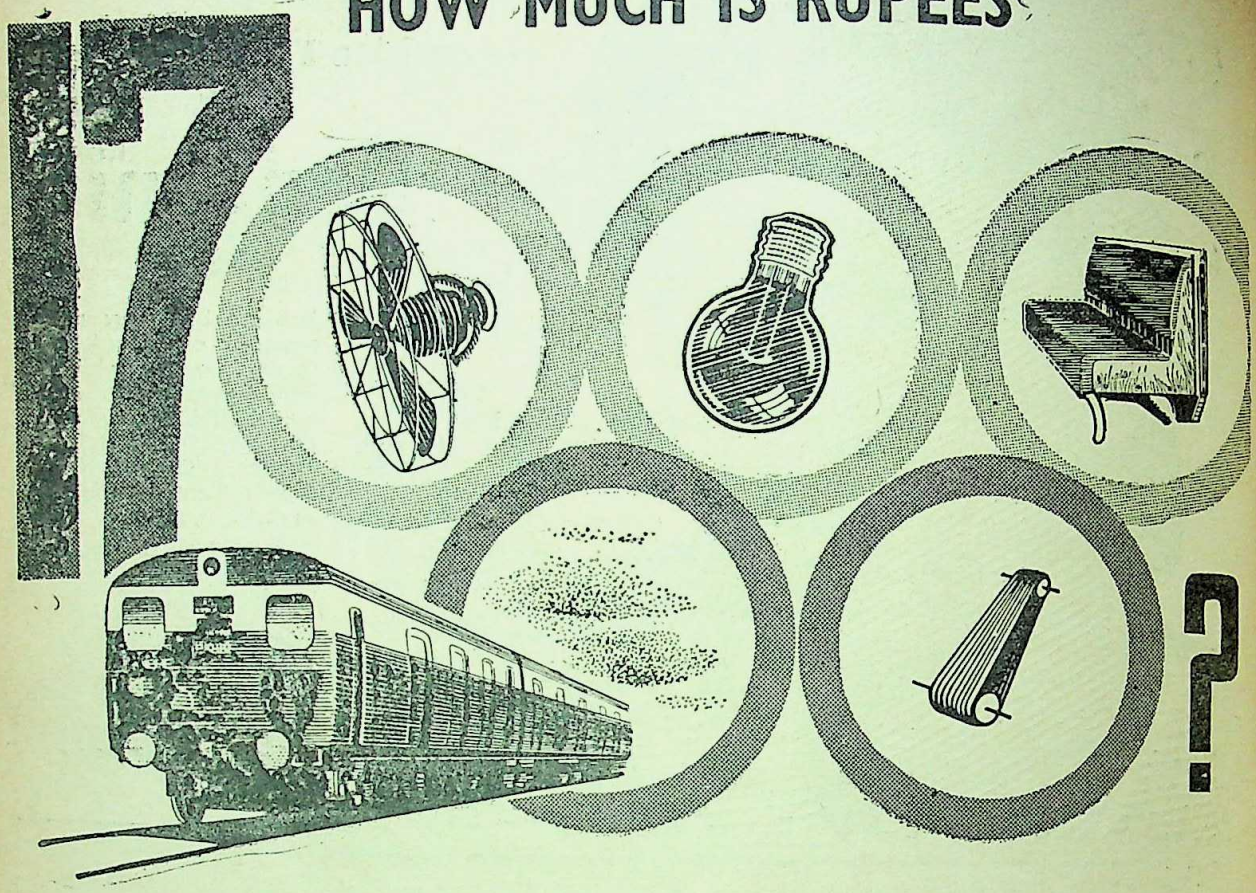

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1962

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NOTES

The World

The World situation did not alter appreciably in the month of September. Tension in Berlin, which rose to a peak in August over the shooting of some refugees who attempted to flee West Berlin was maintained, although at a somewhat lower level, by the Russians who methodically began to transport their sentries to the Russian War Memorial in West Berlin in armoured vehicles. Soviet work crews went on with the installation of new ground-to-air rocket sites along the three air corridors to the West from West Berlin and also in a circle surrounding the city. There has been an exchange of acrimonious notes over the renewed demand by the Soviets that the Allies withdraw their occupation forces from the city. No time limit was set in the latest demand, as in the previous two demands, and there is no attempt to raise the tension to the breaking point.

The U-2, the famous high-altitude reconnaissance plane used by the U.S.A., has again caused trouble. The Soviets charged that a U-2 had violated Soviet air-space by "flying for nine minutes" over the southern corner of Sakhalin island. The U.S. response was that "an American patrol plane, caught by strong winds, might have unintentionally overflown the Russian territory". The Russians rejected the U.S. explanation as being unbelievable. The net result has been that the Geneva talks on the cessation of nuclear tests have received another set-back.

In Algeria a truce of sorts has been brought about, stopping the fratricidal war between the Wilaya 4 Guerillas and the regular army of 45,000 men under their Chief of Staff, Colonel Houari Boumedienne, who has political ambitions of his own.

The Central figure in the Algerian situation is that of M. Ahmed Ben Bella, a Vice-Premier in the defunct provisional government of M. Ben Khedda, and the leader of the seven-man Political Bureau that supplanted it. M. Ben Bella is one of the "Committee of Nine" that launched the rebellion in 1954 and as such has a very considerable hold on the people, though his main strength now comes from the regular army.

The guerillas forced M. Ben Bella to flee from the Capital, Algiers. On his orders the regulars marched against the Wilaya 4 guerillas and with their heavy equipment and training they advanced inexorably. The people of Algeria tried to intervene, as thousands of them, men, women and even children went into the streets and the fields while the actual fight was on in those areas, crying for "peace, unity and bread". In the meanwhile, when the advance guards of the regulars were nearing the city, M. Ben Bella slipped into the city and negotiated for a truce with the guerillas. His task with the regulars was more difficult, and in the end several thousands of regular troops entered Algiers. The truce is on as yet, though occasional bursts of firing have disturbed the elections, which were on at the time of writing.

In the Congo, things are taking a clearer shape in recent days. The shifty and slippery M. Tshombe is still there, with his own private army and counsellors. But the main Congo army

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has taken matters in hand to a certain extent and barring massive interference by interested foreign financiers and their mercenaries, the situation may turn towards stability. Outwardly M. Tshombe had accepted the U.N. Plan for ending his country's cessasion which he said was "the basis of an acceptable settlement which we hope will permit the establishment of a "Viable Congo."

The U.N. Plan provides for the provincial autonomy for Katanga under a new Federal Constitution that would establish the Leopoldville Government of Premier Cyrille Adoula as the Congo's central authority. This plan entails the integration of the Katangese fighting forces into the Central Congo army and the sharing of Katanga's revenues, derived from mineral royalties—which amounted to 40 million dollars last year—with the Central Government. The Acting Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. U. Thant, had clearly told M. Tshombe that the alternative to the acceptance of these terms would be a call for severe economic sanctions against his government. The main question now is, how much reliance can be placed on M. Tshombe's acceptance "with enthusiasm" of the new Constitution and the other terms of the plan "in principle".

Tshombe is being helped in his shifty intransigence by the covert moves of the international financiers controlling the rich mining resources of the Katanga area. They are being aided in their moves by the reactionary Rhodesian Premier Sir Roy Welensky.

In Asia the main points of world tension have shifted to the northern frontiers of India. Red China has again resumed her pressure tactics—this time in the NEFA area of the Eastern Himalayas. The Chinese, as usual, have accused the Indian troops of incursion into Chinese territory. These mendacious notes are so well-timed that there can be no doubt that they were ready to be sent when orders were given to the Chinese forces to cross into the Indian side of the frontiers. The attempts at driving out of the Indian troops and occupation of the Indian posts by the Chinese have been foiled upto-date.

There is some speculation regarding the shifting of the Chinese pressure from the Ladakh area to the NEFA zone, at a point where the frontiers of Bhutan, Tibet and India converge in a rough triangle. The most accepted idea is that these are preparations for the winter.

There is a new shift in the Cold War tensions—this time to the New World. Recently reports have been made of the flowing in of large-scale supplies of armaments and war equipment, together with about 4,000 trainers and military "technicians", from the Soviets to Cuba. The U.S. has taken notice of all these, and apart from stepping up of the programme of preparedness by measures such as the proposed increase in the call-up of draftees, there is an attempt to persuade the Latin Nations of the Americas to act in concert against the Castro regime, through the O.A.S. The action is likely to take the form of economic isolation of Cuba.

In other spheres, political and economic, the main events occuring in September, were the meeting of President De Gaulle of France and Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany, and a Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and leaders with the British Premier Macmillan and his colleagues. Both of these events bear in them the seeds of new and massive shifts and conflicts, on an international scale, in political and economic bonds and loyalties.

The European Economic Community (E.E.C.) which is composed of the six nations now linked by the European Common Market (E.C.M.), namely France, West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy have, up to the present, close links with each other on economic lines. These links provide for a common tariff barrier against the import of products from the outer world and an arrangement for free movement within this community.

De Gaulle's move is for the domination of all Europe—beyond the "Iron Curtain"—by the two nations. France and Germany, bound together by a common programme, would become "a common source of power, influence and deeds" according to De Gaulle, to form a dam of power and prosperity, to stop the ambitions of the Soviets. Britain does not figure in De Gaulle's programme, though when and if Britain enters the Common Market,—as she is "hell-bent to do" according to a West Indies Premier—room must be made for her in the proposed Union. Of course, the scheme is merely a scheme as yet.

The meeting of the Commonwealth Ministers and leaders, with Mr. Macmillan, was held to discuss an issue that will permanently affect their own individual nation's future. This issue was, Britain's bid to enter Europe's Common Market. Little has come out of the prolonged dis-

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sions, which were held both jointly and separately, beyond the expression of vague hopes for the solution of an extremely tangled problem, and clear warnings about the break-up of the Commonwealth.

French Chauvinism with its economic implications, if reinforced with solidarity with West Germany is not likely to "make the way easy" for Britain and the Commonwealth. The inevitable consequence would be that most African nations would look for channels leading to the other Side of the Wall. In Asia, India's Plans would be jeopardised immeasurably and may force her to seek remedies elsewhere. Pakistan is likely to seek "most favoured nation" treatment from her present Allies failing which, she may or may not shift her loyalties—as her dictator wills.

The World outlook for India's Five-Year Plans, Third and Fourth, is distinctly gloomy with these new threats to her export trade. But, of course, everything is in a speculative phase, where these economic drifts are concerned.

THE EDITOR

Public Vs. Private Sector

Had India's economy been a healthy, clean and socially useful net-work of institutions, establishments, organisations and other functioning units helping production, distribution and consumption, there would have been a social advantage in setting up two rival sectors in the economy; one managed by the State and the other through private enterprise. But the Indian economy is unfortunately far from clean and healthy. From the village level where usurious money lending and cheating by *aratdars* are rampant, while the public servants, who should protect the public from the rapacious "businessmen", operate with the exploiters of the people freely and whole-heartedly. Right upto the highest level of giant business and almighty departments, things are corrupt, unclean and anti-social. In the circumstances it is as grave a social sin to stimulate the growth of big business as it is to arrange a further spread of controls, permits and quotas. In other words, moral planning should have preceded economic planning ; for in the absence of a proper moral atmosphere all efforts at social welfare leads to social injury as the ungodly public servants prosper inordinately, as do the private exploiters of the people. The public at large continue to pay the ever-increasing taxes and suffer from want, unemployment, *Zuloom* and hardship at every step. The more the public pay, the less they get from the public departments and organisations and from the privately managed shops and establishments.

Let us take a few examples. The private sector normally sells food-stuff to the people. Food adulteration is quite common and widespread in India. The milk is watered, the ghee, butter and oils are impure, sugar is dirty, rice has *Kankar* in it and flour contains chalk or other unknown adulterants. And to top all this the people are cheated in price and weight too. The public departments which come into the picture do not try to remedy things but aggravate the situation by obtaining infected milk powder or foreign flour and some public servants help the shop-keepers by creating artificial shortages here and there.

One cannot say with confidence that the government departments dealing with supplies, which are eventually distributed by private shop-keepers, are quite free from corruption. The general impression is that all priorities, etc., are eye wash and that supplies, generally speaking, can be moved by "oiling". This has reference to many important articles of consumption and to materials required for construction and for industrial purposes. Regarding other public utility supplies, such as power including gas and coal, one can cite the State managed Oriental Gas Company as a very clear example of mismanagement and brainless misuse of a public prerogative. The consumers of Gas in Cacutta seldom obtain even a bare minimum supply of Gas at any time and, what makes it quite criminal is the manner in which bills are made out on past averages of consumption without giving any current supplies. Thus many consumers pay money for Gas which they never get. The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation is very much better managed but their supplies are always short of public requirements. Telephones are now a department of the State-monopolistic Posts and Telegraphs and they march in step with the latter ; which means that Telephone service is pretty bad everywhere in India. People say that the American Telephone system is managed by two great private corporations and that they are extremely efficient and render real public service. There are a number

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of State managed Telephone systems on the Continent of Europe which are quite as efficient. So that the inefficiency of the Indian Telephone system cannot be ascribed to the nature of the management. For railways, road transport and policing are also managed in India by the State partly or exclusively ; and the services given to the people are not as they should be. The people of India pay taxes and for goods purchased and they get very little in return. One has to pay through one's nose, to use a vulgar expression, to have one's house and property guarded, one's children educated, sick persons treated and to get good food and adequate clothing of proper quality. In all other civilised countries people get good food, proper clothing, suitable housing, education, medical aid and protection in return for the taxes they pay. In India, the people get promises of an *Eldorado* which is round the corner and no one knows the distance at which the corner is situated. The Indian Government, including the *chhota* Governments of the States, are more or less impervious to any moral persuasion. They will not improve their essential public services but will continue to grab further rights, privileges and functions on the ground that, in theory, socialism is better than private capitalism. No one denies the truth of that ; but one is reminded of the cat turning *Vaishnava* in order to engender trust in the heart of the mice, when one hears sermons on socialism from persons who are essentially and fundamentally incapable of acting morally towards their fellow beings. In India both the public and the private sectors require to be chastised with impartial and adamant vigour. Otherwise, all talks of economic planning are for ever moon shine.

A. C.

China, Tibet and India

When the Chinese invaded Tibet, they did so, knowing that Tibet was another country belonging to another race of men whose religion, language, way of life and socio-economic habits, were not Chinese. They also knew that Tibet had enormous stores of unexploited natural resources which, if controlled by the Chinese, would yield great profit to the Chinese people. And, then, there was the allure of vast spaces where China's teeming and ever-growing millions could migrate and build a China in the Himalayas which will fulfil the greedy "ideals" of a nation which sought to establish Justice on Earth by every unjust and cirminal means it could make use of. For China claimed Tibet as an integral part of China on the ground that Tibet was part of the Chinese Empire of the Manchus and which Empire was liquidated by circumstances connected with the liberation of the peoples of China from thraldom. No one could argue that the liberation of a nation by destruction of its imperial and dynastic dictatorship should retain for its people the imperialistic prerogatives that its deposed overlords enjoyed over yet other nations by right of conquest. The argument that the Chinese People's Republic had inherited the imperial domains of the Manchus, is totally fallacious and morally untenable. Using the same sort of hooligan-logic one might say that Germany was France or that the whole of Europe was Italy by reason of the territorial annexations made by Louis XIV or the Roman Emperors. Burma could then claim wide areas in India or India in Burma. In fact, if the crimes of history could be used as "Title", then the entire moral justification of revolutions and fights for freedom would vanish. China's crime against Tibet is a crime of imperialistic aggression and no amount of sophistry by twisting Marxism to fit in with Maoism will convince the thinkers of the world of the justice of this act of international banditry.

The Government of India knew all the above facts and some more. But they had become worshippers of expediency, as were their predecessors and mentors, the British; and the Government of India, therefore, began their brotherhood-with-China display with the idea of appeasing that newly born Empire. But, as the Chinese had begun to think of the Himalayas as their territory, the Government of India's *bhai-bhai* songs did not put the Chinese Empire builders to sleep. Nor did *Panch Shil* or any other imaginary forces that our political leaders believed in as realities of world politics. Unfortunately, auto-suggestion or wishful thinking as found among politicians of the powerless blocs of the world are not of much use in real politics. China, therefore, gave Pandit Nehru grin for grin and hand shake for hand shake and went about its business of grabbing Indian territory, fully confident that India would never be able to oust the Chinese once they got in. In fact, upto now the

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hese are in occupation of thousands of square ds of Indian territory and they are coming ther into India everyday. The recent statements by Mr. Menon go to prove that our forces as yet under civilian direction and that rtial Law has not been proclaimed in NEFA, dakh and other areas where the Chinese are ding India. So long as this is not done and rly Military experts are not given the orders drive the Chinese out beyond such and such ndaries, nothing substantial will be done.

A. C.

i Jagat !

Acharya Vinoba Bhabe is another of a long ng of lovers of Humanity. Before him have e many who preached the cult of love, therhood of all men, equality of all humans, essity for a single world State, non-violence, -resistance of evil and all kinds of other moral ciples which aimed at curing the evils of man civilisation. Seven hundred years before hrist, were born men who changed the entire look of the majority of human beings, *viz.*, Jain Tirthankars, Gautama the Buddha and various disciples. Since those days we have sed through various ages and all had their ts, martyrs, teachers, philosophers, idealists d social reformers. India produced a very large ber of mystics, *bhaktas*, *gurus*, interpreters moral laws, sufis, *fakirs*, renouncers of *Sansara* d itinerant teachers of godly wisdom. We have great religious thinkers who initiated new ths, as well as intellectuals of rare talent who ld clear doubts and reach correct conclusions h perfect precision. Like the *rishis* of yore the e thinkers of India were also intellectually y superior. But each one had a number of ciples who also preached what their *Gurus* ght them. In the field of mysticism, *bhakti* or communion with God, we find great teachers like Chaitanya, Guru Nanak, Kabir, Dadu, Ramkrishna and Sri Aurobindo. Among philosophical-logical teachers, we can name Shankaracharya, Ramanuja, Raghunandan and Ramkrishna. And then, at a later stage, we come across class of socio-political reformers who thought human problems and their solutions. In ope, we find among such people men like d Marx and Count Leo Tolstoy and in India Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. Rabindranath Tagore's Viswa-Bharati was the result of his deep thinking about building up a single united community of human beings. Mahatma Gandhi laid stress upon human love and non-violence. Marx could have given out a slogan "Jai Shramik", or Rabindranath might have called out "Jai Viswa". Mahatma Gandhi's slogan ought to have been "Jai Prem." We cannot class Acharya Vinoba Bhabe with any degree of accurancy, as we are not quite sure of his ultimate objective. Gramdan, Bhudan, etc., are semi-political approaches to certain fundamental ethical problems. He is giving out his slogan "Jai Jagat" without taking into account such *Jagat-basis* as the Chinese, the South Africans, the Indonesians and the head hunters of certain little known places within our Jagat. Victory or Jai to such people may be disconcerting even for a saint out of Gandhian cloisters. If he had meant the universe by Jagat one could have found consolation in thoughts of Martians living in peaceful co-existence with the denizens of other planets (including the Earthly Chinese). And that would have been a fine approach to a cosmonautical and galactic problems of the ethical variety. But Vinobaji does not mean to carry the message of Bhudan to the extremities of the solar system ; his passion being *Bhu*, that is the Earth. In the circumstances one can at best give a faint cry of "Jai Jagat" to only those who have no land to give away.

The Acharya says he has great respect for the principles of Communism but as communists are not guided by love and compassion, they have not so much chance of establishing an undivided Jagat. That is true ; but the Congress also agreed to a suicidal division of this great Peninsula and created two India's out of one, one of which is now called Pakistan. The Americans, the British, the E.C.M. countries and many others believe in divisions and we have, as a result, all sorts of blocs which have no love or compassion for one another. In such a setting Acharya Vinoba Bhabe can well declare that there is need for a united world and the cry "Jai Jagat" in the hope of rousing the peoples of the world to a sense of their common humanity. But what hopes has he of achieving this by *Padayatra* and *bhudan* ? For he cannot in one life-time traverse all the paths of the world on foot. Nor can he

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pass on the message of bhudan to the peoples of the world without Akashyatra and Akashbani. When Chaitanya Mahaprabhu walked the roads of Eastern India, he had no alternative in a manner of speaking. When Gandhiji indulged in marching to this or that place, his purpose was to make a gesture on a grand scale. What exactly is Vinobaji aiming at? One should be told that in clear and precise terms.

A. C.

Nepal and India

His Majesty King Mahendra of Nepal is placed in a very slippery position in his mountain kingdom. On one side he has the Chinese Army commanded by unscrupulous Communist expansionists who have ripped out the old order from the ancient theocracy of Tibet for purposes of exploitation (called liberation), and on the other side he has the great Socialist Republic of India in which Capitalism and Aristocracy vie with liberty, equality and fraternity in never ceasing waves of ups and downs for both groups of contenders. King Mahendra has established a total monarchy in the face of opposition and although he is largely supported and aided by the Indian Government and his Indian sympathisers there are people in India of Nepalese origin who have not much loyalty for the King of Nepal. These people can obtain help from Indians as well as from foreigners in India and organise anti-monarchy activities in Nepal. Considering the fact that in India China has been organising anti-Indian activities by her paid stooges, His Majesty King Mahendra should not be surprised if his subjects obtained help from the Chinese or other foreigners in India to carry on their disloyal activities against their King. And that would not justify any suspicion that the Indian Government had a hand in all that. The Indian Government might also fail to curb the activities of the so-called Nepalese Rebels who might have their bases in India. But then the Indian Government fails to achieve many other objectives too. They cannot stop Chinese intrigues in India. They cannot stop robberies and banditry all over India. They cannot stop Gold Smuggling and the killing of their own officials in and out side India. They cannot prevent rioting, looting of bazars and burning of public vehicles. They cannot arrest tax-evasion and waste and misuse of public funds. So that King Mahendra's idea, that his India-based rebels have the sympathies of the Government of India is utterly imaginary and untrue. As a matter of fact, if the Indian Government had actually helped those rebels, he would have been finished long ago. Those forces within India which fought for liberty, equality and justice for the Indian people, have died out completely under the tender care of the poitical leaders of India, since 1947. King Mahendra's advisers are barking up the wrong tree entirely as far as the Nepalese rebels are concerned.

A. C.

Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen

Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, the new Chief Minister of West Bengal has proved himself to be capable, hardworking and a wise man within a very short time after taking over the Chief Ministership. The way he handled the recent rioting by the unruly elements in Calcutta showed his reticence as well as strength of purpose. The rioting stopped within a few hours. He has not many body guards, nor are the approaches to the offices of the Chief Minister packed with armed men. He moves freely among his people and grants interview to hundreds of people regularly. There is an atmosphere of work in Writers' Buildings now and the wanglers no longer vitiate the air in the outer corridors. His idea of a minister for Calcutta affairs is a good one and if he can find the right man Calcutta will again be a great clean city in which people will find ample scope for honest work and good living combined with high thinking. The people of Calcutta are now living in a nest of vice and in the company of thousands of unscrupulous adventurers to whom a healthy economy is poison. Calcutta must he cleaned up, physically, psychologically and in its socio-economic set up.

A. C.

Police !

They say that the police are comparable to the rainbows in the sky. For they always show up after a strom and when all the damage has already been done. Then they show great restraint, self-control, reticence and all those other qualities of the mind, heart and soul which have given opportunity to scholars to coin a thousand abstract

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like sympathy, compassion, consideration, sightedness, ultimate implications, consciousness of consequences, repercussions and what To compare great things with matters of import the police always watch tram cars burnt or houses being set on fire with culate dignity, poise and equanimity. The among them say "Jai Ramji" *sotto voce* wait for inspiration while the educated from Count Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma hi and abstain from action during the period it takes for passions and tram cars to burn The police also think deeply and well before go out of their thanas to catch thieves, ress rowdyism or protect people from erers or drunks. A thana which is within a throw from a place where the law is being n, may be a thousand miles away for all good its nearness does to the victims of law ers. The police roll up after half-an-hour or ll day and begin to cross examine all who nothing about the incidents. It is a good that the police do not guard our frontiers, had it been so, they would have found the se in madras before they woke up.

A. C.

l Retention Prices

The Government of India's recent decision the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industry to ride the recommendations of the Tariff mission, a decision entirely without any precedent, in respect of the retention prices paid to the two main producers of steel the private sector for the two years 1960-62 to slash the recommended retention price as much as Rs. 27.50 per tonne, appears ve mortified not merely the producers conl themselves, which would but be natural, also the entire industrial world of the ry in the private sector. That the Govern's decision to materially ignore the reendations of the Tariff Commission in this lf was entirely without precedent, appears to have deepened the displeasure of all rned.

Shorn of unnecessary complexities, the facts ll seem to be that in dealing with the question essing a fair level of price to the producers, Tariff Commission had assumed certain norms judgement which consisted mainly of, first, assuming production norms at 90 per cent of the rated capacity of the plants concerned. This appeared, in the Government's estimate, too low a production-norm which, in their view should have been assumed at 100 per cent of rated capacity. Actual production quantum during the period in question appears to have aggregated at an average of 80.5 and 90 per cent respectively by the two producers concerned and the norm that the producers desired to be adopted by the Commission for assessing a fair retention price was 80 per cent which was not accepted. The Commission also refused to include annual bonuses to workers and managing agency commission as part of production expenses and a few other demands made by the producers. In the matter of depreciation, while the Companies concerned desired that it should be assumed at 6.25 per cent on additions to gross block since 1952 and a consolidated amount on the old block, the Commission was prepared to concede an over-all rate of only 5 per cent as being 'more than adequate.' In computing the standard block for assessing a fair return on investment also, the Commission had refused to accept the higher norm desired by the producers and allowed Rs. 1,300 per tonne of saleable steel for the purpose, while providing for a gross return of 8 per cent on the block which, after taxes would leave a net return, it is contended, of only 4 per cent from out of which, moreover, the charges covering bonus to workers and managing agency commission would have to be met. Again, provision for working capital has been maintained by the Commission at six months' works costs and the interest on such capital at the old rate of 5 per cent. On these, what the industry apparently considers already unfair bases, the Tariff Commission had recommended a retention price of Rs. 550 to the producers.

The fact that the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industry, contrary to usual past practice in this behalf, refused to accept the Tariff Commission's recommendations, and slashed the actual price allowed by Rs. 27.50 to Rs. 522.50 would very naturally give rise to a great deal of indignation in the affected quarters. The reasons advanced by the Union Minister concerned for such an unusual decision, includes an element of Rs. 8 per tonne credited by the Tariff Commission for financing repayment of special advances given to the producers by Government from Steel Price

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Equalization Fund. This would seem to be somewhat extraordinary in terms of the Government's own recommendations, in March, 1961, to the Tariff Commission in this behalf. The Government's desire to compute standard block on the basis of production at 100 per cent of plant capacity instead of the 90 per cent assumed by the Commission, thus reducing the standard block from Rs. 1,300 per tonne as assumed by the Commission to Rs. 1,170 per tonne, accounts for a further slash of Rs. 16.50 per tonne in the recommended retention price. This part of the Government's decision is, obviously, based upon the assumption that inefficiencies in production performances, reducing actual production quantum below rated plant capacity, should not be allowed to be reflected in the retention price. The producers, however, contend, and we think with a great deal of reason, that for most of the factors responsible for shortfalls in production performances, it is the Government and their various agencies upon whom the producers have to vitally depend for their production processes, are primarily responsible and the producers do not deserve to be penalized for defaults for which they are not wholly responsible or over the causes of which they have no virtual control. Finally, the Government consider an allowance equivalent to 8 months' works costs as necessary working capital especially in view of the large funds they hold from intending purchasers without interest, a little too high, and which has accounted for a further element of Rs. 3 per tonne in the total slash made in the recommended rentention price.

The decisions of the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industry in this behalf could not be altogether rejected as being wholly irrational or unfair, having especial regard to the continuously rising cost of steel since 1953 and the correspondingly increasing retention prices that have been allowed to the producers from time to time since then, if the Government themselves were not very substantially responsible for the rise in cost of production over the years. If coal and other raw materials deliveries could be assured on schedule of a standard quality, if prompt transport of the finished product to the markets concerned could be regularly assured in adequate volumes, if production lags were not created by reasons of Government's failure to provide the necessary servicing and maintenance facilities for a great deal of which every heavy industry in the country is necessarily beholden to the Government; if freight rates had not gone up substantially, the cost of raw materials maintained at an even level; if the wgaes bill had not been allowed to be very substantially inflated which they have done and, in most cases by direct or indirect Government pressure or intervention, it would be only reasonable to expect that Government should do everything possible and within their command, to maintain steel prices at a steady and stable level and the case for increasing retention prices to the producers concerned would have, indeed, been a bad one. Especially so, having regard to the fact that steel not merely provides the most vital industrial base for development and growth of the national economy, but also that by thus allowing steel prices to rise in the manner it has, the basic cost differential between indigenous steel and the landed cost of imported steel of corresponding specifications and quality, have almost disappeared during the last few years of expansion of this industry in the country.

Another important factor which, we feel, needs to be very carefully taken into account in this context and which, as far as we are aware, does not seem to have so far engaged official attention, is that Government's national labour and employment policies over the years of development have been such, that while the steel industry has been developed and expanded, so far as its new plant (or additions thereto as the case may be) and equipments are concerned, on a primarily capital-intensive basis, the organization of the industry so far as personnel and manning are concerned, still remains overwhelmingly labour-intensive in character and, in consequence, it not merely keeps productivity at a low level, but also that, in the circumstances, all endeavours towards developing productivity prove expensively futile.

Finally, in the context of the present controversy, one thing that appears to us to have absolutely no justification is to have made the steel producers wait for a decision in respect of the retention price they would be allowed for a period of some two and a half years after it was due. Already another fresh period in respect of which a further decision in this regard would have to be taken has commenced since April last, and it is only

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sonable to expect that a final decision is taken d communicated to the parties affected without inexcusable dilatoriness that has been charac- ing Government's action in this behalf. This s unnecessary loads upon the capacity of the dustry (of course in the private sector) to raise essary additional capital which has already n rendered difficult by the attenuated profits, pared to other equities, the investment in d has to be reconciled to.

K. N.

Amazing Attack On Fundamental Rights

That a Minister of Government should, m time to time, be given to extravagant erances on this and that public question, ecially when the Minister concerned may pen to belong to the Union Council of nisters, is not surprizing. Such verbosity uld, from our experiences of the past een years and more since the Congress s ascended to the pedestal of power, rmally seem to be a principal alification for the job of a minister of vernment. And, as verbosity is bound to extravagance in Ministerial utterances s come to be regarded almost as a normal dition of existence in the country of ich, therefore, no one considers it either essary or even worthwhile taking any ice of. After all, any intelligent student of rent public affairs appreciates that a great l, often a colossal measure, of ignorance ich would seem to be a qualification for nisters has to be screened off the public w, and what better cover could there for such ignorance than the all- vasive one of verbosity ? Besides, every tral Minister has, before him, constantly noble example of his Chief who, if there e any Olympic contest for loquacity, uld surely leave any other Prime Minis- of the world, past or present, easily half ld behind. A member of the Council of nisters would not be considered human, he did not endeavour to emulate such le example.

And, when a Minister happens to be of the fairer sex, it is only natural that should talk twenty-four to the dozen. one should, at least, we do not,, mind. a privilege which she has derived from e Maker and no one, surely, has the right to question the propriety of a woman's spoutings ? Apart from being fundamentally harmless, they are often very highly diverting. They have, usually, the soporific qualities of a soothing hypnotic and very seldom does one take any serious account of actually what a woman may have been talking about. That is, perhaps, why no public notice seems to have been taken of a most devastating thing that Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Union Minister of Health, has been reported to have said at a recent seminar on Drug Standard Control organized by the Indian Pharmaceutical Association in Bombay, attended by a sprinkling of distinguished doctors, chemists, pharmaceutists, and representatives of leading manufacturers of drugs and medicines in the country. While earlier faced with the question of the need for official measures to prevent transactions in spurious and substandard drugs, Dr. Nayyar trotted forth all sorts of excuses why it was difficult to take such measures and, apparently, only very reluctantly agreed to the adoption of measures for tightening inspection procedures with a view to conformation to the requirements of the Standardization of Drugs Act, she appears now, at this Bombay seminar, to have swung right off to the opposite extreme and is reported to have made a perfervid appeal to lawyers not to accept the defence of anyone accused under the Drugs act who, she said, were "worse than murderers." Such a statement, cutting away as it does at the very roots of the rule of law and justice, would be ordinarily considered amazing if it came from any responsible person, but it is all the more devastating when it is made by a Minister of Government who has, obviously, been speaking in her official capacity !

While we have not the least sympathy for a drug-faker and would most fervently endorse any proposal for meting out the most exemplary punishment to anyone, however highly placed he may be in the social or political ladder, who has been proved guilty of such criminal act, we cannot bring ourselves to overlook the implications of this statement, what can only mean destroying the very basis of criminal jurisprudence. The fundamental principle

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of law and justice, that every man accused of however hienous a crime, must be held to be innocent until he has been proved guilty beyond any shadow of doubt, has always been regarded as a salutory one and we cannot think of any reason why this should now be sought to be repudiated in the manner that Dr. Nayyar would have it done. This would, if seriously taken, repudiate the very fundamental basis of civilized existence and would, patently, be an affront to the very foundations upon which the Constitution of India has been laid.

What would seem all the more amazing in this connection is that no one seems to have taken any serious notice of this most mischievously insidious observation of the Union Health Minister which, if it were really to be publicly and officially endorsed, would mean the destruction of the principles of 'liberty and justice' and would portend tyranny of the most obstreperous kind which no one with any pretensions to civilized behaviour could afford to countenance or even overlook.

But, to revert to the main question of drugs adulteration, we have already held that the evil cannot be stamped out either by an appeal to the drug-faker's apparently non-existent moral susceptibilities nor by overt threats of a reign of terror as Dr. Sushila Nayyar would have it, but by a careful administration of the provisions of the Standardization of Drugs Act and, where necessary, by tightening the provisions of the Act by suitable amendments of the statute, where they are found to fall short of current requirements. The Drugs Act was passed and brought on to the Statute Book as far back as in 1940 and the deliberations at the Seminar at which such a devastating statement is reported to have been made by the Health Minister, appears to have clearly brought out that the definition of 'spurious drugs' in this Act is so loose that not even ten per cent of those detected can at all be brought to court and of these only a very microscopic percentage is actually ever convicted. It is amazing that it should have taken more than two decades to find out this simple fact, for now has not been either the only or the first time, that the question of spurious drugs has obtruded itself upon the public consciousness. It should not also, we feel, be difficult to unearth, given the necessary honest determination for the purpose, the the actual sources of supply and channels of distribution of spurious or sub-standard drugs or to find out who actually it is that puts and maintains them in business. The principal victims of the drug-faker's art would seem to be those large buyers in bulk who do not usually conduct their business across the counter, and consist, mainly, of large Government institutions and other similar public organizations. A careful probe into the system of their purchase machinery, we feel, might be revealing of where is it actually that the seat of the evil has its habitat.

K. N.

India's Cotton Markets Abroad

Traditionally Jute manufactures and cotton textiles, closely followed by tea, comprised the principal articles of India's trade abroad. Even with the changes that have been occuring in the pattern of India's foreign trade under the aegis of national development planning, jute manufactures and cotton textiles seem still to be accounting for a good fifty per cent of the country's total trade abroad. Of these, so far as Indian cotton-textiles are concerned, the picture has of late been a steadily deteriorating one. This appears to have been very forcefully brought out at a joint meeting of the Import and Export Advisory Committees held early last month in New Delhi. While targets of cotton textile exports have been placed at the figure of 800 million yards expectations of actual export performances during the current year, it seems, is not likely to even reach the 500 million yards mark and would be unlikely to exceed 300 million yards in the following year. Actual earnings in terms of foreign exchange would be likely to be proportionately less than even such attenuated exports would be expected to provide because of a drop in international prices.

Indeed, India's exports of cotton piece-goods have been in pretty bad shape of

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...e, especially so since 1960 and in the ...llowing year they touched the lowest ...el in terms of yardage since 1956. Dur... the first quarter of the curret year it ...ppears to have further substantially ...eriorated to something like 134 million ...ards (compared to 152 million yards dur... the corresponding period of last year), ...d the provisional estimates of exports ...ring the second quarter (April-June) ...ppears to have been placed at the even ...enuated level of 110 million yards com...ared to some 139 million yards of the cor...sponding period of last year.

This steadily declining volume of ...dia's cotton textile exports during the ...st two years appears to have been attri...ted, primarily, to the development and ...pansion in the indigenous industry in ...me of our traditional importing countries, ...hough part of it must also, it is said, be ...tributed to the tightening raw materials ...sition. But that a very large part of this ...teriorating trend in our cotton textiles ...ports must also be attributed to the ...vere competition that India is to-day fac...g in the world market, is a fact which ...em to be undeniable. In India's tradi...nal markets in South-East Asia, West ...sia and Africa, competition is said to be ...pecially keen from Japan and China. ...t that even severer competition is likely ...be have to be faced from newer suppliers ...ch as France, West Germany, the East ...ropean countries, Turkey and Egypt, ...ould also seem to be equally inevitable. ...e visible signs of the overall effect of ...is on our textile exports is already re...ected in the fact that despite an expan...on in the total international trade in this ...mmodity in 1960 by as much as 11 per ...nt over that of the preceding year, ...dia's exports during the corresponding ...riod declined by the even more substan...al margin of 14.7 per cent. Trends in the ...llowing year appear to have been even ...ore dismal. In 1961 exports of cotton ...xtiles from the major communist coun...ies are found to have dropped by 6.3 per ...nt, but India instead of having been able ...profit from this circumstance, appears ...have further dropped her trade by 17.4 ...r cent. This would seem to be an unmistakable indicant of the fact that Indian cotton piecegoods are being steadily and increasingly prized out of the world market.

The implications of the situation, especially in the context of India's widening unfavourable trade balances, would seem to be very serious indeed. To establish new lines of exports in the world market, if at all we are able to do so, would not be an easy matter to accomplish and will, in any case, call for a great deal of time and sustained effort. It would seem, therefore, to be vital that India makes every possible effort to arrest the decline in one of her traditional export commodities, one of the most important among the few that the country can boast of, which had long been established in the world market. The principal reason for this decline would seem to be the mounting costs of production of Indian textiles and our corresponding inability to compare favourably in prices in the world market. One of the country's most fruitful textile exports years, 1951, appears to have been boosted by the fact that the price of Indian cotton then was some 21 per cent below world prices and the fact that India is no longer able to maintain this one-time enviable position may be, correspondinly, accounted for by the fact that currently the price of Indian cotton has gone up to very nearly a level where it is found to be approximately 25 per cent above world prices. The conclusion that would seem to emerge from these facts is that the dominant element in the costs of production of cotton textiles is, perhaps, not so much their manufacturing costs, as the price of raw cotton. If this fact is found to be tenable, it would seem to take away much of the substance from arguments in favour of rationalization of the cotton mills industry in the country for, while the process may reduce manufacturing costs to a certain extent, it cannot, surely, be expected to eliminate the disadvantages derived from the prices of cotton which would seem, in this country, to be so largely out of parity at the level of international transactions.

Such a view of the matter would seem to be supported by the fact that the export prices of Indian cotton textiles appear to

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have been following the movements in cotton prices in the country. Thus, taking the year 1959 as a base, the index of cotton prices rising to 109.7 in the following year, pushed up the export price index of Indian textiles to 123.8, a decline to 105.6 in 1961 is found, again, to have correspondingly reduced the export price index to 118.2. If, therefore, India really intends to maintain her traditional supremacy in the world textiles market, something must be done to maintain the prices of raw cotton in the country at a level of competitive advantage with world prices of the commodity. The question, primarily, is not one of a remunerative price to the cotton growers in the country,—measures may, we feel be devised to protect their basic interests notwithstanding,—but the more vital one of our export existence, in the especial context of our present critical foreign exchange shortage. It should not, we feel, be impossible for the Planning Commission to evolve appropriate measures, difficult though it may be, for covering the vital needs of the situation.

K. N.

Mysterious Happenings in New Delhi And Trivandrum

The news, a week ago, that Union Commerce & Industry Minister, K. C. Reddy, had been appointed Governor of the Punjab was, indeed, surprising. But what would seem to be almost shocking is that this news from the Capital was followed, the very next day, by the further announcement that Shri Reddy had, after initially accepting the offer of this new appointment, rescinded his earlier acceptance, and that, therefore, Sri Pattam Thannu Pillai, Chief Minister in the Kerala PSP-Congress Coalition Government, had been made the offer and, on his acceptance, been oppointed Governor of the Punjab.

What would seem to be not merely surprising but of especial significance, is that the earlier decision to offer the appointment to a Cabinet Minister of the Union Government of Shri K. C. Reddy's stature and seniority was made at a time when the Prime Minister was away from the country. The prerogative of making changes in the personnel of his Council of Ministers is presumably that of the Prime Minister alone and the constitutional propriety of a junior Cabinet Minister, even if he happened to hold the vital portfolio of Home Affairs and even, moveover, having regard to the Prime Minister's clearly laid down instructions that in the absence of himself and of his second-in-command, Shri Morarji Desai, from the country, although Shri Jagjivan Ram, as the senior-most Minister, would preside over Cabinet meetings, it would be the Home Minister, Shri Lalbahadur Shastri who would have the authority to take decisions in behalf of the Prime Minister, presuming to effect a change in the composition of the Council of Ministers at his own discretion, would clearly seem to be in question. The Home Minister, it may be conceded may have had every constitutional and legal authority to fill in a vacant Gubarnational Office by a person of his own choice. But where such a choice may have inherent in itself a consequential change in the composition of the Government's Council of Ministers, he would seem to have been clearly overstepping the bounds of his authority. It may be argued that the Home Minister's choice of Shri K. C. Reddy as a possible Governor of the Punjab had the latter's fullest agreement initially and that, therefore, the question of propriety in respect of the Home Minister's procurement of the necessary Presidential sanction to this appointment would not seem to arise. Such a view of what has actually happened cannot be accepted, because since the appointment clearly involved a change in the composition of the Council of Ministers, it would, as clearly, be an encroachment by the Home Minister upon the closed field of the Prime Minister's personal prerogatives. The fact that the Prime Minister had, in clear and distinct terms delegated the powers of decision in his behalf to the Home Minister during his absence from the country, should not make any difference to the basic principles of constitutional propriety, because the powers of both initiating and effecting changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers must be exercised by the Prime Minister alone and cannot, in any case should not, be delegated to any other Minister who may, otherwise, be authorised to act on behalf of the Prime Minister during his absence from the country.

What may seem equally surprising in this connection is that the Home Minister would, at all, presume to take such an obviously invidious decision at a time when the Prime Minister was away from the country. What emergency could

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...arnational vacancy occasion that its filling ...d to be so hastily decided upon even if it may ...volve a change in the Government's Council of ...nisters and, moreover, which could not wait ... the Prime Minister's return to the country ... less than a week later, is beyond ordinary ...prehension. The suspicion would seem, natu...ly, to arise that this was a manouever to which ...e Prime Minister was privy already before he ... the country and may have had his fullest ...quiescence. If such a suspicion has any subs...ce in fact, it is clearly, a most dishonest intri...e in which he must have allowed himself know...ly to be involved. But if the Home Minister ...y have, by any chance taken such a decision ...rely at his own personal discretion, it must ... regarded as most improper and presumptu... on his part and would deserve to be dealt ...h in appropriately severe measures. In the ...on the Home Minister had endeavoured un...cessfully to take, he had not merely been ...ating well-established conventions of Parlia...ntary democracy universally obeyed and res...ted, he had also been setting up precedents of ...e gravest and most far-reaching implications.

Of almost like gravity, in our view, was Shri ...C. Reddy's reported initial acceptance of the ...r of this appointment for, thereby, he in...ed himself in an impropriety which a person ... his seniority and sagacity should not, clearly, ...e done. He, however, pulled himself out of ...s highly questionable transaction just in time ...ch left the Home Minister in the unenvious ...tion of the too clever proving himself an ...ct fool. It is, perhaps, in this light that his all ... hasty and obviously face-saving offer to the ...genarian PSP Chief Minister was made. But ...t would seem to be equally surprising is that ...m Thanu Pillai was reported to have lite... jumped at the offer and accepted it with ...st unseemly alacrity. Why should a Chief ...ster of a State at all agree to change his ... of power for the merely ornamental one of ...vernor if he had no apprehensions of being ...n out otherwise, would also seem to be a ...stion that would be pertinently asked in this ...ection. If, Mr. Shankar in Trivandrum ... his masters in Delhi are really truthful when ... insist that all is love and peace in the Con...-PSP joint family, Pattom Thannu Pillai's ... acceptance of the Governorships of the ...ath would seem to involve a mystery beyond the comprehension of ordinarily honest intelligence.

The whole transaction, from its early beginnings and derailment in New Delhi to its ultimate and rather unexpected conclusion in Trivandrum, would seem to exude mysterious happenings under the counter which might not, for all that may be guessed, have the qualities that would be ready to fearlessly expose themselves to the honest light of the day.

K. N.

Sons Of The Soil

In an impassioned address made before the State Committee on Employment, Shri P. C. Sen, Chief Minister, West Bengal, is reported to have pleaded for a certain measure of priority to be given by employers to the natives of the State in selecting their future employees. The Bengalees, he said, were suffering from a growing sense of neglect and, in the special circumstances created by the influx of refugees and the daily increasing burdens of population, made them deserving of a certain measure of especial consideration in this behalf. Giving details, the Chief Minister said that the average holding of cultivable land in the State, a meagre .33 acres (approximately 1 bigha or 14.400 sq. feet), was the lowest in the world and was wholly unable to support the burdens of the State population, whatever the extent of artificial aids like irrigation water or fertilizers that may be pressed into it. The need, therefore, would seem to be both insistent and obvious for the establishment of more small-scale and cottage industries in the State and for a greater proportion of absorption of the unemployed Bengalees in organized industry. The Chief Minister was, as could be expected, careful enough to make it abundantly clear at the very outset that he was not being either provincial or sectional while preferring this plea and that the forces and realities of economics have been compelling him to do so.

While there is every reason to endorse the Chief Minister's plea in this behalf with the utmost emphasis that we could command, we really do not appreciate the apology under which he claims to advance his cause. It has been a common enough experience lately that whenever the question of providing a certain measure of priority to the natives of the State may come up, Congress and Government leaders would seldom

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wish to be identified with such a proposal and when, on occasions, sheer force of circumstances may compel them to do so with obvious reluctance, they are apt to turn immediately apologetic as if by doing so they were alinigning themselves with forces of reaction. Occasional exceptions to this general rule among Congress stalwarts have been known to have ended in loss of favour for those who may be bold enough to prove themselves an exception in this regard. An outstanding case in point was that of Janab Abdus Sattar, formerly State Labour Minister who, by his perfervid appeals for more employment to the Bengalees, earned the deepest disfavour of his leaders and those who hold the destiny of Ministers in the palms of their hands.

In the matter of employment, we feel, a fundmaental postulate has to be clearly stated and understood. It is that except where specialized skills or training are called for and, where a suitably qualified candidate may not be locallly available possessing such skills, employment should, generally, whether be it in Government, organized industry, commerce or trade or the professions, go to local residents in preference to immigrants from the outside. A natural distinction can and, we feel, should be made between what we have been trying, for lack of a more suitable vocabulary, to describe as local residents as distinct from immigrants from outside meaning, thereby, those whose homes are in the immediate neighbourhood of the locales of employment and who have no other homes elsewhere to go to, as distinct and apart from those who are only temporary sojourners within the locale of the State and who have, and would go back on superannuation, if employed here, to their homes elsewhere. This is a universally observed norm in the distribution of employment all over the world and there does not seem to be anything either parochial or anti-national in observing this salutory principle. Even within India such principles have been and are being observed elsewhere without anyone having to feel the least apologetic about it. In Bihar, for instance, the State Government openly maintains a liason officer of its own at the locale of every orgaized industry in the State to ensure that local residents have the priority in the matter of ordinary employment to which they are entitled. If, on occasions, these machinery of the State Government may go off the rails now and then and abuse the discretion vested in them in spreading and encouraging separatist tendencies, that is obviously most undesirable and should be dealt with promptly and adequately whenever that may happen. Otherwise there need not be as, we believe, there is not, anything in the measures that different State Governments may and, in many instances, are actually taking to ensure, as far as possible, adequate employment to the permanent residents within the State, that may be in clevage with the requirements of national integration.

In fact, Bengal and the Bengalees are, we feel, deserving of especially sympathetic consideration in this matter. She has always been saddled, ever since Independence, with unusual difficulties, some of them traditional, and extraordinarily heavy burdens, which have devolved upon them by reasons of history for which they had no responsibility whatever. The impact of the Partition of the country, decided at the apex of leadership without any reference to the people who were bound to be the most severely affected in consequence, and the mass exodus of displaced persons (it hurts our sensibility to call them refugees as if they had no moral rights here) have, together laid such burdens upon the State which its physical and geographical resources are wholly unable to carry. Organized industry and trade in the State which, next to Government, control the largest sources of employment are mostly under the control and at the disposal of outsiders who have generally always preferred immigrants from their respective home States than the local residents. These outsiders, representatives and mouthpieces of the largest group of vested interests in the country, have not merely always exploited the resources of the State and its people, they have made living and life in all metropolitan and urban areas well-nigh insupportable by their speculations in land to such an extent that the Bengalees as a whole, manual and white collar workers alike have been virtually reduced to the status of homeless vagrants in their own homes. If, in the circumstances, it is insisted that the children of the soil must be allowed a certain measure of priority in the matter of employment and other things this is the least of their rights and there is not the slightest reason for anyone to feel apologetic about it.

K. K.

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eign Delegations And Travelling For Pleasure

In a recent statement attributed to the thorities of the International Air Trans- t Association, it is said that if, instead of ntinuing their present blanket restric- ns upon the country's nationals against sits abroad on holidays or for pleasure, Government of India were to place a n upon the innumerable visits abroad Indians on international delegations of sorts of description, both official or erwise, which do not, ordinarily, seem serve any visibly useful purpose at all, e measure would, on the one hand, help earn a great deal of reciprocal foreign change to the coffers of the Governmentile, at the same time, preventing the stage of and ensuring the conservation a great deal of precious exchange which thus being uselessly frittered away. ile it may not be entirely realistic to thdraw all current restrictions against official foreign travel where foreign ex- ange allowances have to be conceded for e purpose, we have certainly been unable find complete justification for the Gov- ment of India's blanket measures in this half. For one thing, they are not, as y presumably cannot, be enforced to e extent provided by the rules formulat- in this behalf. For another, the loophole vided by the provision for permitting eign travel where no foreign exchange mits are sought, as for instance when intending traveller is presumed to be ying at the expense of a friend or rela- e resident in the country of his destina- n, opens up a great deal of scope for otisms of one kind or another on the one d, and a great deal of illicit transactions foreign currency both within the country d abroad which cannot be entirely un- own to Government authorities and ich cannot, moreover, do any good to the dit of the country's reputation or cur- cy. It were far better if, instead, the vernment were able to devise measures ich would enable a certain measure of eign travel by Indians to be undertaken hout having to resort to all sorts of pre- ications and transactions involving legal lapses and moral turpitude. After all, the proportion of the population who are able to indulge in the luxury of foreign visits at their personal expense must be infinitesimally microscopic and, so long as foreign exchanges for the purpose is granted to them on a fair and reasonably moderate basis, the total dent of such allowances upon the foreign exchange funds could not be very deep. On the other hand, it is quite possible, even probable, that such measures may stimulate unofficial reciprocal visits to the country by foreigners in increasingly larger numbers and that may, instead of a net debit by reason of Indians visiting abroad, provide a substantial net credit to the foreign exchange funds of the country. The proposal, we feel, is in any case well deserving of careful consideration on its own merits.

But if we would support the IATA's suggestions in the above matter with a measure of if not quite reservation, at least qualification, we have no hesitation whatever in wholeheartedly endorsing their views in respect of almost the wholesale uselessness of our innumerable foreign delegations abroad. They not merely waste a great deal of foreign exchange which the country cannot, at the present juncture, at all afford to have so wasted, but having regard, frequently, to the composition of most Indian delegations to international forums abroad, they must also be destructive, in a large number of cases, of the country's reputation in foreign lands. We woud not even exclude all official delegations abroad from the purview of such restrictions as have been suggested in this context, unless a definite prior estimate can be made of results that are likely to flow to the country from such delegations abroad. Our experience of such official delegations abroad have not always been very happy. How many persons or teams, for instance, have visited countries abroad during the last ten years or so on the avowed objective of 'export promotion'?—and what actual net result has eventuated in consequence, is a question that one might ask? What would be more to the point would be the question of the qualification of such official visitants(!) abroad except that they, or at least

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some of them, may have been somebody's nephew or an in-law? We have no doubt that if an impartial assessment were to be made of these delegations broad, Indian participation in most of them would be found to have been either wholly unnecessary or, atleast, completely useless. It is probable that a great proportion of such visits on even purchase missions or export-promotion forays would have to be classed in the same category. Is it not time that something was done to permit none but only selective official travel abroad and only of those whose visits are genuinely expected to yield some results? We know that there is a circular issued by the Union Finance Ministry in force which discourages all but essential foreign official travel, but what we are not sure of is whether persons selected for official visits abroad are really passed through a high-level and impartial selection procedure which seem to be absolutely essential in the circumstances.

K.N.

The National Library

We have perused with keen interest a copy of the Annual Report of the National Libary, Calcutta, for the year 1958-59 which has so kindly been forwarded to us by the Librarian to reach us only last week. It is an interesting document and reflects, in a measure, the widely useful purpose the Library serves to the intellectuals of the country, especially to those of the city of Calcutta, in the face of the rather difficult circumstances in which the institution has to function and the very inadequate resources placed at its disposal by Government. But since the report relates to a period which has elapsed nearly four years ago, circumstances may have substantially altered in the meanwhile; we do not know. We wish the Library authorities were a little more expeditions in publishing their Annual Reports for, a report now of conditions that obtained some four years ago, can hardly be of any practical utility.

We also wish the Report included a brief historical retrospect of the institution's origin and development which would not merely be interesting but would be likely to have highly educative values. The National Library, which was first established under the name of the Calcutta Public Library as a tribute to the universally respected memory of the late Lord Metcalfe and was initially housed in the Metcalfe Hall on Hare Street, started as an unofficial organization and amongst its past Secretaries and Librarians (the two posts used to be combined in one single incumbent) were included such outstanding figures as the late Harish Mukherjee, the intrepid Editor of the one time famous Calcutta periodical, the Hindu Patriot, the late Bipin Chandra Pal and others. The Library, which was subsequently taken over by the Government of India and renamed the Imperial Library, continued to be housed in the Metcalfe Hall for long years afterwards until, really, it had outgrown the accomodation that the premises could provide and included such distinguished personages as the late Principal Harinath Dey, after its officialization, among its Librarians. It would, we feel, be a very interesting and educative historial document if a compendium were to be published dealing with the origin and development of the institution either separately or as an addendum to its next Annual Report.

K. N.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja holidays *The Modern Review* Office and Press will remain closed from 6th October to 19th October, both days inclusive. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedarnath Chatterjee,
Editor.

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HAROLD LASKI AND THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

By RANI MUKHOPADHAYA

Senior Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College.

ideal of liberty has inspired the philosophers all ages. As an essential quality for the develop- of the human personality, this ideal has much discussed and interpreted in different by thinkers of different times.

John Locke appears to stand for "absolute just and true liberty, equal and impar- liberty."[1] In *A Letter Concerning Toleration* get a complete view of his arguments for and religious liberty. "The Commonwealth to me," he says, "to be a society of men stituted only for the procuring, preserving, advancing their own civil interests. Civil rests I call life, liberty, health, and indolency body; and the possession of outward things, as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the It is the duty of the civil magistrate, by the partial execution of equal laws, to secure unto the people in general, and to every one of subjects in particular, the just possession of things belonging to this life."[2] "The whole isdiction of the magistrate," he continues, aches only to these civil concernments, and that civil power, right, and dominion, is bounded confined to the only care of promoting these gs; and that it neither can nor ought in any nner to be extended to the salvation of souls."[3] d, "the care of souls cannot belong to the il magistrate, because his power consists only outward force; but true and saving religion sists in the inward persuasion of the mind, hout which nothing can be acceptable to God."[4] While Locke defends the freedom of soul m undue encroachment of civil magistrates, S. Mill—the Benthamite utilitarian thinker— es to the other extreme and aims to safeguard individual, even his eccentricities and oddities, against the attack not only of the State but also of society. He unequivocally declares, "over himself, over his own body and mind the individual is sovereign." Mill asserts, "one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." The State and society, according to him, can check the other-regarding action of the individual but not his self-regarding action. "His own good," he says, "either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.....The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others."[5] Mill demands that freedom of opinion, whether right or wrong, should be guaranteed to all individuals. "If all mankind," he declares, "minus one were of one opinion and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."[6] And "if we were never to act on our opinions, because those opinions may be wrong, we should leave all our interests uncared for, and all our duties unperformed."[7] "No one can be a great thinker," he observes, "who does not recognise, that as a thinker it is his first duty to follow his intellect to whatever conclusions it may lead."[8] "Genius can only breathe freely in an

1. John Locke, The *Second Treatise of* ...ernment *And A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ...ed by J. W. Gough, Oxford, 1956, p. 124.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

5. J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, Everyman's Library, 1910, pp. 72-73.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

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atmosphere of freedom;"[9] so he thinks that "protection against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough : he needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feelling."[10] For the harmonious development of human faculties he tries to protect the individual against the tyranny of the State and Society and he is also equally conscious about the dangers of democracy, that is, the tyranny of the majority.

To Hobhouse "the foundation of liberty is the idea of growth . . . . Liberalism is the belief that society can safely be founded on this self-directing power of personality, that it is only on this foundation that a true community can be built, and that so established its foundations are so deep and so wide that there is no limit that we can place to the extent of the building. Liberty then becomes not so much a right of the individual as a necessity of society."[11] Of course, he admits that liberty cannot "dispense with restraint," and restraint "is not an end but a means to an end, and one of the principal elements in that end is the enlargement of liberty."[12] Hobhouse[13] denies Mill's idea of the self-regarding and the other-regarding action of man and believes in the distinction "between coercive and non-coercive actions" of the State. "The function of the state coercion," he holds, "is to override individual coercion, and, of course, coercion exercised by any association of individuals within the State. It is by this means that it maintains liberty."[14] According to him, "there is no intrinsic and inevitable conflict between liberty and compulsion, but at bottom a mutual need."[15] And "liberty and compulsion have complementary functions, and the self-governing State is at once the product and the condition of the self-governing individual."[16]

Hobhouse does not overlook the fact that certain economic conditions are necessary for the development of human liberty and "the function of the State is to secure conditions upon which its citizens are able to win by their own efforts all that is necessary to a full civic efficiency. . . . . It is for the State to take care that economic conditions are such that the normal man who is not defective in mind or body or will can by useful labour feed, house and clothe himself and his family. The 'right to work' and the right to a 'living wage' are just as valid as the rights of person or property. That is to say, they are integral conditions of a good social order."[17]

Thus, while fighting for individual liberty Hobhouse is more conscious about the need of state regulation and of certain economic conditions of society than J. S. Mill.

Professor Laski appears to have been profoundly influenced in his enunciation of the concept of liberty by these views. The central focus of attention for him is the freedom of the individual in all phases of human activity. With this end in view he challenges the concept of idealism.

"What is termed the idealist theory of the state," he thinks, "is broadly the argument that individual freedom means obedience to the law of society to which I belong. My personality, it is said, is simply an expression of the organized whole to which I belong."[18] According to the idealistic point of view, to quote Laski again, "my true liberty, is, therefore, a kind of permanent tutelage to the State, a sacrifice of my limited purpose to its larger end upon the ground that, as this larger end is realized, so I, too, am given realization. I may, in fact, be most fully free when I am most suffused with the sense of compulsion."[19] So Laski denies

9. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
11. Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, the Home University Library, pp. 122-23.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
13. "If liberty," he states elsewhere, "is a social conception, there can be no liberty without social restrain . . . . Excess of liberty contradicts itself. In short, there is no such thing; there is only liberty for one and restraint for another. If liberty then be regarded as a social ideal, the problem of establishing liberty must be a problem of organizing restraints; and thus the conception of a liberty which is to set an entire people free from its government appears to be a self-contradictory ideal."—See Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, pp. 189-90.
14. Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 146.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.
17. Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 158.
18. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 1948, p. 55.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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of the assumptions of idealism" and clares that "my true self is all that I am and And "the ultimate isolation of the indi- is the basis from which any adequate ry of politics must start."[21] "I cannot be- he thinks, "that a man no longer master himself is in any meaning sense free."[22]

Laski defines liberty both in a negative in a positive point of view. "I mean by rty," he observes, "the absence of restraint those social conditions which, in modern ization, are the necessary guarantees of vidual happiness." The absence of restraint lies the "power to expand, the choice by the vidual of his own way of life without imposed hibitions from without. Men cannot, as seau claimed, forced into freedom. They do as Hegel insisted, find their liberty in dience to the law. They are free when the s under which they live leave them without sense of frustration in realms they deem ficant."[23]

But he realizes that the purely negative dition is not sufficient enough to maintain rty. "By liberty," he further asserts else- re, "the eager maintenance of that atmosphere which men have the opportunity to be their selves." Liberty in this sense "is a product rights . . . . Without rights there cannot be rty, because, without rights, men are subjects law unrelated to the needs of personality."[24] Hobhouse Laski feels, however, that certain lations are necessary as "the consequence of gariousness; for we cannot live together with- common rules." "Restraint," he says, "is felt even when it frustrates the life of spiritual chment."[25] By accepting the principle of State lation Laski seems to contradict to a certain nt his own challenge to the idealistic concept. In such a context Laski cannot accept "Mill's ous attempt to define the limits of State inter- ce." Like Hobhouse Laski refutes Mill's idea self-regarding and other-regarding actions of To him "all conduct is social conduct in the that whatever I do has results upon me as a member of society." "Liberty thus involve in its nature restraints," he says, "because the separate freedoms I use are not freedoms to destroy the freedoms of those with whom I live."[26]

Professor Ernest Barker's view may be mentioned in this connection that (I) "the truth that every man ought to be free has for its other side the complementary and consequential truth that no man can be absolutely free;" (II) that "the need of liberty for each is necessarily qualified and conditioned by the need of liberty for all;" (III) that "liberty in the State, or legal liberty, is never the absolute liberty of each, but always the qualified liberty of all;" (IV) that "liberty within the State is thus a relative and regulated liberty," and (V) that "a relative and regulated liberty, actually operative and enjoyed, is a liberty greater in amount than absolute liberty could ever be—if indeed such liberty could ever exist or ever amount to anything more than nothing at all."[27]

Though Laski recognises that regulations and restraints are necessary in social life, yet he is aware that "there will never be liberty in any State where there is an excessive concentration of power at the centre,"[28] and concludes that "without democracy there cannot be liberty." Democracy always implies the existence of multi-party system in which liberty can flourish. Because "the one-party state is under the constant temptation to overpass the boundaries beyond which liberty degenerates into dictatorship."[29] The state-power in one-party state, he says, "becomes the apparatus of the party, so that it can use the supreme coercive power to make its will into law. It is thus able not only to enforce unity on the society; it is able, also, to repress those who oppose the unity of the society by putting them in a position where they are bound to break the law. In this atmosphere, criticism passes easily into conspiracy, and the attempt by a group within the party to capture its control is bound, if it fails, to be something it is difficult to separate from treason."[30]

Thus, according to him, though "the Soviet Union stands in the forefront of civilization,"

21. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
25. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 142.
Ibid., p. 143.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
27. Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, 1952, pp. 145-46.
28. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 85.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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yet "there is no liberty to criticise the fundamentals of the regime. There is no liberty to found parties to oust the communist leaders. A man cannot find a journal of opinion or publish a book, or hold a meeting to advocate views which in the judgement of the dictatorship, would threaten the stability of the system."[31]

Like Locke he limits the duties of the State power and favours the retention of rights of individuals which are to be safeguarded by the State. He goes so far as to support the right to resistance against the authority of the State. "Freedoms are . . . . opportunities," he holds, "which history has shown to be essential to the development of personality. And freedoms are inseparable from rights because, otherwise, their realization is hedged about with an uncertainty which destroys their quality." "Nothing, therefore," he insists, "is so likely to maintain a condition of liberty as the knowledge that the invasion of rights will result in protest, and, if need be resistance. . . . . The implied threat of contingent anarchy is a safeguard against the abuse of government."[32] "Liberty," he states, "means being faithful to oneself, and it is maintained by the courage to resist. This, and this only, gives life to the safeguards of liberty; and this only is the clue to the preservation of genuine integrity in the individual life."[33] "Man," according to him, "is nature's rebel, and it is his habit to protest against the will that seeks to bind his will."[34] "Men are entitled to disobey a State," he further observes, "which ceases to secure their self-realization. Rebellion, therefore, is as T.H. Green insisted, a contingent duty on the part of the citizen." And "the only State to which I owe allegiance is the State in which I discover moral adequacy."[35]

Moreover, while Laski admits that liberty exists in democracy, he does not thinks that the "average man can be made happy merely by living in a democracy." "I do not see," he says, "how he can avoid a sense of continuous frustration unless he does. For if he does not share in making the government, if he cannot, where his fellows so choose, be himself made one of the rulers of the State, he is excluded from that which secures him the certainty that his experience counts."[36] "Even in a democracy," he further adds, "we must have ways and means of protecting the minority against a majority which seeks to invade its freedom."[37] The right, therefore, "to the franchise is essential to liberty; and a citizen excluded from it is unfree."[38]

His views in this connection are quite in accord with J. S. Mill's views, who says "in a really equal democracy, every or any section should be represented, not disproportionately, but proportionately. A majority of the electors would always have a majority of the representatives; but a minority of the electors would always have a minority of the representatives. Man for man they would be as fully represented as the majority. Unless they are, there is not equal government, but a government of inequality and privilege: one part of the people ruling over the rest: there is a part whose fair and equal share of influence in the representation is withheld from them: contrary to all just government, but, above all, contrary to the principle of democracy, which profess equality as its very root and foundation."[39]

Laski postulates that certain other conditions are necessary to maintain liberty. Freedom of thought and expression and education ought not to be suppressed. For suppression "drives a small body of men to desperation and to reduce the masses to complete apathy in political matters." "Most men," he declares, "who are prohibited from thinking as their experience teaches them soon cease to think at all. Men who cease to think cease also in any genuine sense to be citizens. They become mere inert recipients of orders which they obey without scrutiny of any kind."[40] We may, again, mention J. S. Mill's opinion in this connection. "The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is," he holds, "that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent

31. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
32. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 144.
33. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 92.
34. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 284.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
36. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 66.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
39. J. S. Mill, *Representative Government*, p. 257.
40. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 108.

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the opinion, still more than those who hold

Moreover, freedom can never exist "in the sence of special privilege." "Special privilage incompatible with freedom," Laski insists, because the latter quality belongs to all alike in ir character as human beings." Again, there never be liberty "where the rights of some end upon the pleasure of others."[42]

The primary condition of liberty, he thinks, an expanding economy and man can enjoy rty when his basic material wants are assured. The whole quality of my citizenship," he insists, may be impaired by the manner in which the alth of the community is distributed; and life I seem to enjoy political freedom, the sence of economic freedom may, in fact, render ory my hope of a harmony of impulses."[43]

To Laski liberty and equality are, therefore, separable terms. "The penumbra of freedom," holds, "its purpose and its life, is the movent for equality."[44] But "Equality does not an identity of treatment" as "there can be no imate identity of treatment so long as men are ferent in want and capacity and need."[45] It eans "all the absence of special privilage" and at "adequate opportunities are laid open to all."

Equality, according to him "involves up to e margin of sufficiency of identity of response to imary needs." He advocates the approximate uality of wealth, because "where there are eat inequalities of fortune, there is always equality of treatment," that is, "great inequaies of wealth make impossible the attainment freedom."[46] "Political equality," he declares, "is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, otherwise, is bound to be the handmaiden of economic power,"[47] and liberty cannot exist in such an atmosphere.

Finally, Laski concludes that, "every study of freedom is a plea for toleration; and every plea for toleration is a vindication of the rights of reason."[48] "Friends of liberty," he says, "are always a minority in every society. That is why the maintenance of liberty is a thing that has to be fought for afresh every day, lest an inert acceptance of some particular imposition make the field of action accessible to, a general tyranny."[49] Man can be free, he further states, "ultimately, only by willing to be free," and the individual is "the author of his own freedom." "There is never likely to be an enlightened State," he observes, "until there is respect for individuality, but, also, there will not be respect for individuality until there is an enlightened State." And "it is only the emphasis upon equality which will break this vicious circle."[50]

In conclusion, we may say that like other thinkers mentioned previously, Laski develops the whole theory of liberty on the basis of Benthamit utilitarianism. Both Mill and Laski concentrate their attention on the liberty of the individual; both emphasize the importance of the individual and try to protect him from undue encroachment from any quarter. But while Mill, however, is more concerned with the question of social interference with the rights of the individual, Laski being more realistic in this connection like Hobhouse, lays more stress on State interference with the rights of individual and his economic position in society.

41. J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 79.
42. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 149-50.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
44. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 174.
45. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 152.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
48. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 210.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
50. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 172.

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NON-GANDHIAN INFLUENCES ON PRE-INDEPENDENCE IDEOLOGY OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By PITAMBAR DATT KAUSHIK,

Assistant Professor in Politics, University of Saugor, (M. P.)

It is popularly believed that Gandhism and the Congress Ideology, during the pre-independence era, after Gandhi had entered the Indian political arena, were one and the same thing. Gandhi himself was often dubbed as a "dictator"[1] and the Congress as a "one man show."[2] The charge was substantiated on the basis of a number of facts. To mention but a few examples it was pointed out that in 1920-22, he alone led the Non-co-operation Movement and he alone suspended it. Again in 1930-34, he alone led the Civil Disobedience Movement ; he alone conferred with the Viceroy ; he alone represented the Congress at the Round Table Conference and he alone suspended the Satyagraha in 1934. In 1940, again he alone conducted the individual Satyagraha and in 1942, again it was he whom A.I.C.C. formally requested, "to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken."[3]

All this is largely true and nobody can dispute that the Congress ideology after the First World War was mainly a creation of Gandhi, yet, it is too much to say that the Congress was a "one man show" or that the Congress ideology was identical with the Gandhian principles. On the contrary there were significant differences between the two and more than once Gandhi suffered defeat in Congress parleys. In 1924, this so-called dictator wept openly in a meeting of the A.I.C.C. because 70 out of 148 members who voted believed in political murders—a clear indication of the fact their non-violence was only skin deep.[4] In 1934, he retired from the Congress in sheer disgust. In 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose was elected to the Congress Presidency in spite of his open and determined opposition.[5] In June, 1940, the Working Committee bluntly turned down his request to extend the principle of non-violence to war[6] and in December, 1941, even formally relieved him of the leadership of the Congress.[7]

All these events show that Gandhi was not a dictator and the Congress not a body of his "yes men". Indeed, the fact, that despite all these revolts Gandhi did not cause a split shows that Gandhi embodied in his very being "a basic adherence to toleration in life" which in politics "implies an instinctive acceptance of democracy."[8]

Gandhian ideas, no doubt had a very deep and powerful impress on the Congress, yet as Sadiq Ali, a General Secretary of the Congress, pointed out, "The Congress was too vast and heterogeneous an organization to digest all that Gandhiji had to give it."[9] The fact is that though Gandhi had been the central sun of the Congress, from whom most Congressmen derived their lights, yet there were stars which had their own lights however dim they might have been. A C. R. Das or a Pt. Motilal Nehru, a Subhas or a Jawahar were luminaries that would not only illumine the political sky of any country but profoundly influence the destiny of any nation. Such a luminary never shines in altogether borrowed lights or exercises altogether delegated authority. Though Gandhian thought was the main source of Congress Ideology, yet there were also other thought currents which profoundly influenced its development. These thought currents were represented by C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru before 1927 and by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose after 1927.

C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru

Gandhi was a saint in the guise of a politician, but Das and Nehru were patriotic statesmen pure and simple. While Gandhi "introduced into human politics the strongest religious impetus of the last two thousand years,"[10] Motilal Nehru was opinion that, "religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire. Complete divorce of one from the other is the only remedy."[11] Gandhi was an idealist,—in his own words "a practical idealist."[12]—, but Das and Motilal were patriotic realists. ". . . pure idealism . . . .," said Motilal, "has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening. However high pitched the ideal may be, and higher the better, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical considerations."[13] Both Das and Motilal believed in swift action. They have no patience

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slow moving devices like Gandhi's constructive programme. They could enthusiastically take up Non-co-operation or Civil Disobedience because there was swift and breathless activity in them, but when non-co-operation was suspended their way lay not in constructive programme but in council entry, where they could attack the British lion in his den. To quote Gandhi himself, "Their method is not my method. I am trying to work from the bottom upward. To the onlooker it is exasperatingly slow work. They are working from the top downward—a process much more difficult and complicated than the former."[14]

The difference between the ideology and outlook of Gandhi on the one hand and Das and Motilal on the other was best illustrated in their respective attitudes towards non-violence and non-co-operation. Both Das and Motilal used to swear by non-violence and non-co-operation. As early as 1919 Motilal spoke of his faith in "truth, fearlessness and non-violence."[15] And in 1922 he claimed to be ". . . . one of those who hold non-violence on principles."[16] But their non-violence was very different from its Gandhian prototype. It had little place for the doctrines of change of heart of the enemy" or "non-embarrassment of the enemy." The non-violence of Das had room even for political murders and when on the 27th 1924 at Ahmedabad at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. Gandhi moved the resolution condemning the murder of Mr. Earnest Day by Gopi Nath Saha, Das hotly opposed it.[17] To Das and Motilal non-violence was not a high moral principle connoting a search of truth through the method of love but only absence of direct violence.[18] Little wonder that to them, "Council entry is and can be, thoroughly consistent with the principle of Non-co-operation,"[19] while to Gandhi council entry was equally inconsistent with non-co-operation in 1924[20] as in 1920.[21] However, after the suspension of the Non-co-operation Movement in 1922, the interpretation of Das and Motilal received the support of an increasingly larger numbers of Congressmen. A party of Congressmen, the Swaraj Party, was organized under their leadership with the avowed purpose of capturing the Councils and from 1923 to 1927 the influence of Das and Motilal in Congress was as potent, if not more, as that of the Mahatma himself.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Next to Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru was the greatest architect of the ideology and programme of the 20th century Congress. He came to prominence in Congress after 1925 with his slogan of 'Complete Independence,' and compelled Gandhi and others to make it the creed of the Congress at Lahore in 1929. From the very beginning he became the leader of the left wing of the Congress and in 1933 bluntly declared, "The choice before the world today lies between Communism and Fascism, and I am all for the former."[22] Although he soon renounced Communism in favour of Socialism and was reconciled with Gandhi to an extent that Gandhi declared that, "Jawaharlal will be my successor,"[23] yet there continued to be many important differences between the two.

The basic difference between the two was that while Gandhi represented the 'religious mind' of India, Nehru was the embodiment of her 'secular instinct.'[24] Gandhi regarded politics and religion as inseparable,[25] Nehru believed that, "usually religion becomes an asocial quest for God or the Absolute, and the religious man is concerned far more with his own salvation than with the good of society."[26] Under Gandhi's influence he was "more and more" "attracted" towards the doctrine of non-violence, but he "did not give an absolute allegiance to it."[27] He recognized the necessity of force. "Everything that comes in the way," he said, "will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems little doubt that coercion will often be necessary."[28] While Gandhi wanted to make Congress an instrument of the spiritual regeneration of India, Nehru wished to make it the spearhead of economic and social revolution. Nehru believed that, "without a conscious ideology and objective the energy and enthusiasm of the masses must end largely in smoke"[29] and hence wanted a clear picture of independent India and Swaraj for which the Congress was fighting. But Gandhi regarded these questions as premature. To him the real thing was the creation of the true religious and moral spirit among the people and the development of a sound national character. Gandhi had little faith in foreign propaganda and believed that the world was bound to recognize India's claims as soon as the nation developed an overwhelming strength

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from within. But Nehru was an internationalist and believed that the "Indian problem is not only a national problem."[30] ". . . . if we ignore the world," he warned his countrymen, "we do so at our own peril" because "India today is a part of a world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, but also Russia and the countries of the West are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it."[31]

It was, however, in the field of economic ideology that the differences between Gandhi and Nehru were most marked. "Few of us, I think," wrote Nehru, "accepted Gandhiji's old ideas about machinery and modern civilization."[32] To Gandhi modern civilization was a "disease" and machinery represented "a great sin."[33] But Nehru had no conflict with machinery "provided that machinery is used primarily for absorbing labour and not for creating fresh unemployment.[34] Gandhi denounced industrialization as "a curse for mankind"[35] and wanted "every village of India" to be "a self supporting and self contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producable."[36] He had little faith in state planning and kept himself aloof from the National Planning Committee organized by the Congress in 1938. On the contrary, Nehru had great faith in Planning and stood for "the rapid industrialization of the country."[37] Gandhi repudiated the theory of class struggle, ruled out the abolition of private property and advanced his famous doctrine of "Trusteeship" as the solution of economic problems. Nehru, on the other hand was "convinced that the only key to the solution of world problems and of India's problems lies in socialism,"[38] which meant ". . . . the ending of vested interest in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian state system, ... ending of private property . . . . and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operation."[39] Both Gandhi and Nehru aimed at the amelioration of the peasantry but while Gandhi's programme for achieving this end was a programme of spinning wheel and village industries,[40] of Swadeshi and Satyagraha,[41] of trusteeship[42] and change of heart on the part of zamindars,[43] Nehru's programme was a programme of rent reduction, debt cancellation and abolition of landlordism.[44]

Thus there were many differences,—some of them fundamental—, between Gandhi and Nehru. Indeed once Gandhi himself wrote to Nehru that, ". . . . The differences between you and me appear to me to be so vast and so radical that there seems to be no meeting ground between us . . . ."[45] Yet one must not over-emphasise these differences, because when all is said and done it remains true that to a large extent Nehru was "the Plato to Gandhi's Socrates"[46] and having put his "faith in him (Gandhi) gave him almost a blank cheque."[47] He never questioned the Gandhian leadership but tried to mould the Congress ideology in accordance with his ideas within the four corners of that leadership. In that he succeeded admirably and gave an orientation to it which it could never have had under pure Gandhism. Briefly speaking, he introduced the Independence creed, when Gandhi was flirting with the idea of Dominion Status; created interest in world problems and laid the foundations of the future foreign policy of independent India; brought socialism into the Congress; gave a concrete shape to the concept of national Planning and saved the Congress from failing into the labyrinth of unadulterated pacifism.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Another person who influenced the Congress ideology profoundly, though not to an extent commensurate with Gandhi or even with Nehru, was Subhas Chandra Bose. In the beginning Subhas and Jawahar jointly led the revolt against Gandhi. At that time, except that Subhas disliked Communism while Jawahar admired Russia,[48] their respective ideologies were the same. But it could not last long. Nehru's ever-growing loyalty to Gandhi sealed the fate of their friendship. "Gandhiji is our biggest gun",[49] was the faith of Nehru; ". . . . as a political leader Gandhi has failed",[50] was the belief of Bose. "Failure with Gandhi is preferable to the gaining of a temporary advantage without him",[51] said Nehru; "One's duty to a personality should never take precedence over one's duty and the Impersonal whatever that may mean",[52] maintained Bose. This conflict of loyalties separated the paths of the two. One became the political heir apparent of Gandhi, other the standard bearer of revolt against Gandhian leadership.

Strange as it seems, Bose was as much a man of religion as Gandhi was,[53] yet, for him

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ion had no place in politics. Instead he be-
d that, "A subject race has nothing but poli-
"[54] and his *mantra* was: "Consecration of
s, life at the altar of freedom".[55] He had little
h in non-violence and none in the doctrine of
ity of means. In his opinion, "Gandhism had
found wanting, because it was wedded to
-violence. . . . ."[56] Gandhi's spiritualism had
attractions for Bose. ". . . . ascetics and
ics", he said, "have held . . . honoured place
society, but it is not their lead that we shall
t to follow if we are to create a new India,
ce free, happy and great. . . . We have to
e in the present."[57] To Bose, "Gandhi's method
too lofty for this materialistic world and, as
political leader, he is too straight forward in
dealings with his opponents."[58] He regarded
ndhi's "habit of putting all his cards on the
le, his opposition to the policy of social boy-
of political opponents, his hope of a change
heart on the part of the British Government,
" as "some of the defects in his leadership
d tactics."[59] Gandhi was essentially a man of
ce, but to Bose, "There was nothing that lured
e more than a life of adventure."[60] Gandhi was
ays ready to negotiate with the enemy, but
e advocated a path of "uncompromising mili-
y."[61] To him Gandhi's programme was
o passive" and at the Lahore Congress he de-
nced "the programme laid down by his
andhi's) resolution" as "not such as to carry
towards the goal of Complete Indepen-
ce."[62] He moved a counter resolution exhort-
the Congress to turn itself into a parallel
ernment by expanding its structure, organize
people in support and then "launch the cam-
n of civil disobedience including non-pay-
t of taxes and general strikes" that would
e a normal administration impossible.[63]

On economic issues also Bose and Gandhi
ered radically. Bose deplored the Gandhian
ol of thought for creating "a feeling and an
ession that modernism is bad, large-scale
duction is an evil, wants should not be in-
sed and standard of living should not be
l . . . and that the soul is so important that
ical culture and military training can be
ted."[64] He considered Gandhi's programme
e "bourgeoise", and wanted the Congress to
pt a radical economic programme"[65] "in-
ing abolition of land-lordism . . . extension
the co-operative movement . . . a comprehensive
scheme of industrial development under state ownership and state control"[66]

The differences between Gandhi and Bose are best reflected in the symbols they adopted. The Congress under Gandhi as well as the Indian National Army under Bose adopted as their standard a tri-colour in the green, white and saffron, but while Gandhi placed a spinning wheel in its centre, Bose replaced the wheel by a springing tiger.[67] What these symbols connote? The spinning wheel might be taken as a symbol of peace and *Ahimsa*, democracy and village industries, simplicity and *Aparigraha*. But what about the tiger? Has he anything to do with *Ahimsa*, democracy or *Aparigraha?* Little wonder that Bose, during his visit to Europe in 1936, asked Hitler, Ribbentrop and other members of the Nazi hierarchy as to when they were going to strike at Britain, "so that we might also take up arms simultaneously against the British."[68] He organized his Forward Bloc on militaristic lines,[69] formed an Indian Legion in Germany from among the Indian war prisoners,[70] knocked at the doors of India with his I.N.A. and declared that, "India does not suffer from one ailment. She suffers from so many political ills that only a ruthless dictator can cure her."[71] Just like a tiger, Bose had no faith in the policy of the 'golden mean'. He was "an extremist" and his "principle . . . all or none".[72]

All this seems to bring, Bose very near to the fascist ideology. But no, the only 'ism' he knew was "Nationalism". Gandhi was a moralist, Nehru a democrat, but Bose was an Indian nationalist first, an Indian nationalist last and an Indian nationalist always. Influenced though he was by Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, his ideal was neither Mussolini, nor Hitler, nor Stalin but Kamal Pasha. Mustafa Kamal's swift modernization of a backward oriental state appealed to him deeply. India, he thought, was in need of a material and social reconstruction on the same scale and hence needs the same type of administration, *i.e.*, "a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come. . . . Government by a strong party bound together by military discipline."[73]

A man with such ideas and such ability, as Bose possessed, was bound to come into conflict with Gandhi. He had, in fact, in 1939, humbled Gandhi in the first round of the struggle,[74] but was ultimately defeated and expelled from

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the Congress. But Gandhi could expel from the Congress only Bose the person, he was unable to expel his ideas. For a long time to come the ideas and ideals of Bose remained the beacon of a substantial number of Congressmen.

Others

Besides Nehru and Bose other elements which provided non-Gandhian thought currents in the Congress were the Socialists led by Acharya Narendra Deo and Jai Prakash Narayan; the Communists led by Masani and Asaf Ali; the Kisan Sabhaites led by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. The Socialists claimed to be following the way shown by Nehru, while Nehru himself, they asserted, had wandered away from it.[75] The Communists were Marxists who took inspiration from Russia. The Kisan Sabhaites also looked towards Moscow and tried to organize the peasantry on the model of Trade Union organizations of labour. The Communists and Kisan Sabhaites remained more or less 'outcastes' in the Congress and their following was never very large, but the Socialists, though a permanent minority in the Congress, did influence its ideology and programme to a considerable extent.

The Parting of Ways?

The cumulative effect of all these influences was that official Congress ideology and programme parted company from Gandhian principles at many points.

Firstly, non-violence could never become a creed with the Congress, but always remained a policy. Not once but twice,—at Lahore Congress in 1929, and at Bombay Congress in 1934,—Gandhi tried to secure the change of "peaceful and legitimate means" into "truthful and non-violent means" but both the times, he had to pocket his pride.[76] It was but natural because the Congress had only one supreme aim, namely, "the attainment of Swaraj", but Gandhi's goal was "as much Swaraj as non-violence".[77] "There is nothing on earth", said Gandhi in December, 1926, "that I would not give up for the sake of the country excepting, of course, two things and two only, namely, truth and non-violence. I would not sacrifice these two for all the world."[78]

Secondly, they differed in their attitude towards non-co-operation. Gandhi was a non-co-operator by conviction. He regarded "non-co-operation with an unjust Government . . . a duty."[79] But to the Congress non-co-operation was not a 'duty' but an 'instrument' to be used for achieving the country's independence. That is why as soon as Gandhi suspended the Non-co-operation Movement in 1922, the Congress rapidly moved towards the policy of council-entry and responsive co-operation, though Gandhi was hotly opposed to it.

Thirdly, the Congress did not give complete allegiance to the doctrine of the Purity of Means. As Pattabhi Sitaramayya remarked; "With him (Gandhi) what counts is direction, not destination, attempt not attainment, means not ends."[80] With the Congress it was almost the reverse. What counted with the Congress was destination rather than the direction, attainment rather than the attempt, ends rather than the means. This is why when after the outbreak of the Second World War there seemed a possibility of attaining independence on the basis of active participation in the war effort, the Congress threw overboard Gandhi as well as his non-violence.

Fourthly, it gave a very very qualified allegiance to Gandhi's economic views. It was not very enthusiastic about Gandhi's constructive programme. It "has . . . always been in favour of the industrialization of India. . . ."[81] The Congressmen in general never accepted Gandhi's views about machinery and modern civilization. The 'music of the spinning wheel' was only faintly audible to them and they had only a skin deep faith in the ethics or the economics of Khaddar. Gandhi's attempts to introduce 'Yarn Franchise' in the Congress organization ended in dismal failure.[82]

Last, but not the least, the Congress refused to become "primarily an instrument of moral and spiritual regeneration of India" and confined its activities mainly to the political and socio-economic fields. That is why when during the Second World War, Gandhi urged the Congress to offer unconditional moral co-operation to Britain, the Congress not only refused to oblige, but also absolved him of its leadership. Soon, of course, the Congress had to request Gandhi again "to take the lead and guide the nation", but the aftermath of the 'Quit India' resolution proved almost 'a parting of ways.' This, of course, 1946, because of the incarceration of most

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the important Congress leaders, there was le activity on the part of the Congress, save e revolution of 1942-43, which was far from ng non-violent in the Gandhian sense of the m. After June, 1945, events moved fast and on th August, 1947, India saw the dawn of inde- ndence. The attainment of independence, how- er, further widened the gulf between Gandhi d the Congress. Prior to independence the Con- ss leaders had to accept many of Gandhian ts because they were unable to put forward er an alternative plan of action or an alter- ve leadership. But in the post-independence they rejected or side-tracked many of ndhian ideals and ideas as too lofty, mediaeval impractical.

But it does not mean that the Congress has mpletely renounced Gandhi or that its loyalty Gandhi was only a make believe. The fact is like other great prophets,—Buddha, Christ Mohammad—,Gandhi also was too great, his als too high to be completely followed by his ciples. Naturally they often seem to drift away m their masters. But the master's teachings ays remained as an inspiring ideal which is er achieved but whose imprint always remains faceable. Prior to Independence, barring e notable exceptions, the Congress followed lead of the Mahatma. Since then it might e drifted further away from Gandhi but the mp of the master is still there and perhaps never be completely erased away.

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1. R. Coupland : *The Indian Problem*, part p. 92.
2. *The Indian Annual Register*, 1934, Vol. p. 39.
3. A.I.C.C. resolution, dated 8th August, ; *The History of the Indian National Con-* , Vol. II, p. 345.
4. *Young India*, 3rd July, 1924.
5. This is not quite correct—Ed. *M. R.*
6. Working Committee resolution, dated June, 1940 ; *Indian National Congress*, ch, 1940 to September, 1946, pp. 70-73.
7. Working Committee resolution, dated December, 1941; *Ibid.*, p. 96.
8. Rama Murthi : *Non-violence in Poli-* p. 46.
9. Sadiq Ali : *The Congress Ideology and* gramme, p. 3.
10. Romain Rolland : *Mahatma Gandhi*,
11. *Congress Presidential Addresses 1911-1934*, p. 865.
12. *Young India*, 11th August 1920.
13. *Congress Presidential Addresses 1911-1934*, p. 854.
14. D. G. Tendulkar : *Mahatma*, Vol. II, p. 309.
15. *Congress Presidential Addresses 1911-1934*, p. 432.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 572.
17. Refer D. G. Tendulkar : *Mahatma*, Vol. II, pp. 184-85.
18. D. B. K's article on Gaya Congress : *Young India*, 11th January, 1923.
19. Swarajist statement, dated May 1924; *The History of the Congress*, p. 458.
20. Gandhi's statement, date 22 May 1924; *The Hinstory of the Indian National Congress*, p. 455.
21. *Young India*, 18th August 1920.
22. "Inevitably we are led to the only possible solution—the establishment of a socialist order . . . ." Nehru : *An Autobiography*, p. 523. "I am very far from being a communist. My roots are still partly in the nineteenth century." *Ibid*, 591.
23. Gandhi at Wardha A.I.C.C. 1942 : *The Indian Annual Register*, 1942, Vol. II, p. 283.
24. Abid Hussain : *The Way of Gandhi and Nehru*, p. 152.
25. M. K. Gandhi : *To the Students*, p. 152.
26. J. L. Nehru : *An Autobiography*, p. 377.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 552.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
30. Nehru's speech, dated 10th February, 1927; J. S. Bright (Ed.) : *Before and After Independence*—Speeches delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru 1922-1950, p. 368.
31. Nehru's speech, dated 25th December 1929; *Ibid*, p. 339.
32. J. L. Nehru : *An Autobiography*, p. 767.
33. M. K. Gandhi : *Hind Swaraj*, pp. 22 and 96.
34. J. L. Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 412.
35. *Young India*, 12th November 1931.
36. M. K. Gandhi : *Economic and Industrial life and Relations*, Vol. II, pp. 68-69.
37. Presidentailal Address at Lucknow Congress : *Report of the Forty-Ninth Session of the Indian National Congress*, Lucknow (April 1936), p. 21.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
40. *Young India*, 10th December 1919.
41. *Ibid*, 4th February 1926.

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42. *Ibid.*, 28th May 1931.
43. *Ibid.*, 4th February 1926.
44. Nehru's Presidential Address at Faizpur Congress; *The Indian Annual Register*, 1936, Vol. II, pp. 229-30.
45. (a) Gandhi's letter to Nehru, dated Sabarmati, 17th January, 1928; (b) D. G. Tendulkar: *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII, p. 351.
46. Hugh Toye: *The Springing Tiger*, p. 48.
47. J. L. Nehru: *An Autobiography*, p. 73.
48. D. K. Roy: *The Subhas I Knew*, pp. 117 and 188.
49. Cited in K. Shridharani: *My India, My West*, p. 251.
50. Bose-Patel statement, dated 9th May, 1933; Reproduced by Hugh Toye: *The Springing Tiger*, p. 38.
51. J. L. Nehru, Cited in K. Shridharani: *My India, My West*, p. 254.
52. S. C. Bose; Cited in D. K. Roy: *The Subhas I Knew*, p. 127.
53. Subhas was "an ascetic . . . temperamentally." D. K. Roy: *The Subhas I Knew*, pp. 170-71.
54. October 19th, 1929; J. S. Bright (Ed.): *Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose*, p. 65.
55. *Bose's Speech*, dated 18th December, 1929; *Ibid.*, p. 79.
56. S. S. Bose: *The Indian Struggle 1935-42*, p. 26.
57. Bose's speech, dated 25th December, 1925; *Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose*, pp. 57-58.
58. S. C. Bose: *Through Congress Eyes*, p. 144.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
60. D. K. Roy: *The Subhas I Knew*, p. 79.
61. Bose's speech, dated 10th June, 1933; S. C. Bose: *The Indian Struggle 1935-42*, Appendix I, p. 57.
62. Bose's speech, dated 30th December, 1929; *Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose*, p. 84.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
64. Bose's speech, dated 25th December, 1928; *Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose*, p. 57.
65. S. C. Bose: *Through Congress Eyes*, p. 72.
66. Presidential Speech at Haripura Congress; *Report of the Fifty-First Indian National Congress*, Haripura (1938), pp. 176-77.
67. Hugh Toye: *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 72-73.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.
71. *Hindustan Times*, dated 8th March, 1946.
72. Bose's speech, dated 30th December, 1929; *Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose*, p. 84.
73. S. C. Bose: *The Indian Struggle 1920-34*, pp. 428-29.
74. This is not quite correct or justified.—On the first occasion when Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was elected Congress President, Mahatma Gandhi did not, most definitely, oppose his candidature. It was the Working Committee who had completely ignored Subhas's candidature in spite of two proposals nominating him for the office having been received from the Sind and the Maharashtra Congress Committees, a fact which was deliberately suppressed from Mahatma Gandhi. It was when the late Ramananda Chatterjee, Founder-Editor of this Journal, pointed out this obvious injustice in a letter to Mahatma Gandhi that, at the latter's insistance, Subhas's candidature had to be accepted.

It was only when Subhas preferred his candidature again for a second time next year that for reasons which were not connected with his political creeds that Mahatma opposed his candidature. The contents of a most confidential communication were, without Subhas's knowledge or consent, filched and published by a Calcutta daily newspaper and for which Mahatma Gandhi naturally (but unjustly) held Subhas to be responsible and found himself compelled to vehemently and publicly opposed his candidature for the office of the Congress President. It may also be incidentally mentioned that previously having authored a resolution discouraging candidatures for the Presidential Office for more than one term in succession by the same person, Subhas was, thus, violating a principle enunciated by himself.—Ed. *M. R.*
75. Abid Hussain: *The Way of Gandhi & Nehru*, pp. xix-xx.
76. *The History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 610; Also, Vol. II, pp. 8-9.
77. *Young India*, 9th March, 1922.
78. D. G. Tendulkar: *Mahatma*, Vol. II, p. 312.
79. *Young India*, 18th August, 1920.
80. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: *Gandhi and Gandhism*, Vol. I, p. 16.
81. J. L. Nehru: *The Discovery of India*, p. 410.
82. Refer, M. A. Rama Rao: *Development of the Congress Constitution*, pp. 45-47.

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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

III

First Years After Marriage

Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury, the artist with m I have to deal, became the Principal of Government School of Arts and Crafts, dras, shortly after we were engaged to be rried. When he applied for the post with his dentials 23 years ago, the authorities were picious about his sincerity and thought he s just pulling their legs and would not accept job when offered. This I learnt later from A. Mc. G. C. Tampoe, I.C.S., one of those o were responsible for bringing him to dras. The others who come under the same were Dr. Subbarayan, Sri S. V. Ramaswamy daliar, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Sri Venkata-alam, the art critic and Sri Kamaladevi attopadhyaya. Little did they know how much was in need of a stable income, to force him welcome the fetters of routine work that he d once thrown away with such disdain. The ference was only in this that while in the first se he was just a pupil, in the second he was head of an institution.

Our marriage was not yet solemnized when accepted the post. He, therefore, had no other ernative and proceeded alone to his place of rk. But when Deviprosad sets his mind on ything he does not believe in waiting. He gan to pester his father with letters for fixing date of marriage. The father knew that the ly way to appease his son was to give in to his shes. He, in his turn, therefore, urged my rents to expedite the wedding. All arrange-nts were made in a hurry. Sri Deviprosad k a weak's leave for the marriage and went k to his work leaving me where I was. The incipal's quarters were not in his possession m. Therefore, the wife had to wait.

Odd Marriage Customs

Before I state how and when I started for r new home, I would like to narrate one or two our marriage customs and their application my case, which might interest the readers. On the night of the wedding, the newly married couple are hardly left alone. Towards the morning we were given a few hours' respite. When we tried to come out of the room for our much needed cup of tea, to our dismay, we found the door locked from outside. The custom is, the bridegroom should pay a fair amount of gate fee to his sisters-in-law before he and his bride were allowed to be out of their bridal chamber.

I noticed my husband's face wearing a mischievous smile. "Do you want to see some fun?" he said and then with a twist of his hand he took the screws out from the bolt by sheer strength, leaving the lock untouched. Thus the prisoners became free bfore the gate-keepers could be at their posts. When my husband proposed to demonstrate how he would stretch the iron bars of the window in order to come out of the room if he had failed to unlock the door, my mother who was full of humour repied with a mock fright, "Oh, no, please don't ! The landlord is sure to bring a damage suit against us and it would be such a shame to see our new son-in-law involved in it."

"Ful Khela"

Towards evening I had to part with my old surroundings for the new. It is a leap in the dark which every bride takes with a throbbing heart and I was no exception. Some more ceremonies were awaiting us at the bridegroom's place. As soon as we arrived they started what they call "Ful Khela". Everybody present tosses flowers at each other and soon the whole place takes the appearance of having a carpet woven of flowers. Even the bride and the bridegroom are expected to take part in this artistic pastime. My attention, however, was not centered on these ceremonial customs. I knew my husband's people belonged to the orthodox Hindu community, but excepting his father I had met none of his relations before this occasion. It may seem incredible but it is a fact. I was, therefore, perplexed with what I saw and heard around me. I noticed the women members of the house taking part in

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the rituals with their shoes on. This is inconceivable among strict Hindus, specially during festive occasions. Besides, they were addressing each other in terms that are used by people belonging to other communities than my own. Some of them went so far as to address me as "Bhabiji". In the depth of my heart there was a severe conflict. Could I have taken a false step? Have I married outside my religious sect? In that case what was I to do? Such were the questions that rushed into my bewildered brain. I had too much faith in the man I married to think that he could have cheated me and yet I could not disbelieve my eyes and ears. Surely there was some mistake somewhere. The marks of my inward struggle must have been visible in the expression of my face, for my husband enquired with some anxiety what was wrong, why did I become so serious all of a sudden? I almost became tongue tied. I shook my head and with great effort managed to say "Nothing" almost in a whisper, keeping a forced smile on my lips, though an unuttered sob was choking my throat. Had not my husband been pre-occupied with other thoughts, I could not have escaped him so easily. I came to know afterwards that my husband's family originally belonged to the Khsatriyas of the Punjab, that is why some of their customs and ways were so different from ours and I heaved a sigh of relief.

Grand Old Man of the Family

My grandfather-in-law was not happy about his grandson but he liked me and was pleased to have me as a member of his family, perhaps, because an acodemic degree was attached to my name. His feelings towards his grandson also softened after our marriage. Probably, he came to realise that after all his grandson was not as worthless as he took him to be. He was 93 years old when I knew him, yet he was quite strong and virile. But the grand old man had no sense of proportion! He chose a wrong moment to get unwell and to feel that his end was not far off. It was about this time that Sri Deviprosad was able to take possession of the bungalow allotted to the Principal and was writing to his father to be ready to start for Madras. The artist's father was the eldest son of the old man and could not, therefore, dream of leaving him in that state, neither could he think of sending away his daughter-in-law when his father was on his death bed.

Months passed, the old gentleman was still lingering. The artist was getting impatient of his loneliness. Wires and letters were coming in quick succession. The father of the artist was in a fix. What was he to do? How was he to get out of this dilemma? One day he took courage and broached the subject to his old father. He took the situation in a sporting spirit and gave his full consent for my send-off. But there was yet another question to solve, who was to accompany me for that long journey? My brother who had nothing particular to do at the time came to the rescue. I started with him for Madras at the beginning of May, 1929, saying a final goodbye to the grand old man. He died a month after I reached my new home.

It was hot weather. The school was closed for the summer vacation. The artist had ample time at his disposal to use it as he pleased. He started painting pictures in right earnest. A model was needed and my brother was chosen as the victim. Some of the artist's earlier works owe part of their existence to this ever-obliging model. Settling the house, getting familiar with the place and such other minor matters kept me occupied. We did not notice how quickly the days passed till it was time for my brother's return. After he was gone we were left the sole companions of each other with none to dispute our rights.

A Novice in Housekeeping

It is true I was a novice in the art of housekeeping but I did not have to face much difficulty. At my husband's injunction I brought an expert cook from Calcutta who had the additional quality of being an expert thief. He managed everything very smoothly at our cost and in his interest and when he had to return home in the middle of the year owing to some illness, he was extremely sorry to leave such a lucrative job! I do not know whether he meant to console me or himself when he said he would come back as soon as he was fit for work.

My husband's personal bearer, who also falls in the same category as the cook and was collected from our own province, left our service two months after my arrival. He had no hesitation in telling me that he had never worked under a master who had a wife and came with a defi-

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understanding that he would be allowed to home as soon as Madam arrived. Then he broke the news that he had kept some in the master's suitcase,—mentioning the ount, of course, and it was quite a large sum would be much obliged if Madam handed the same to its owner. Sure enough the was in the place mentioned. When I asked husband whose property it was, he neither to know nor care. I, therefore, had to the bearer's word for granted. This gave the first inkling about the management of an ai's household.

A large number of the people in Madras are to speak English. Even the servant class a smattering knowledge of the language, gh I admit, at times, some of them are so original in their expressions that it is diffi- to grasp what they mean. But there are a exceptions who speak and understand hing but their own tongue. Since Madras is a mil speaking City, the head of the Madras ool of Arts and Crafts where most of the dents and teachers belonged to the local place, s expected to know elementary Tamil at least. Deviprosad was, therefore, asked to prepare self to sit for a preliminary examination in language. Though he was not pleased with prospect, he forthwith engaged a "munshi" se duty it was to come thrice a week to teach new language to an unwilling pupil, not an task at all. He, therefore, must have been hty pleased to find that he could collect his ary without having to exert himself. For, ever, he came Sri Deviprosad found a ready se to send him away after a short conversa- carried on in English, of course. I evinced e interest and tried to pick up as much Tamil I could by asking questions. I presume the that I could learn a language where his own rance was profound, was not very pleasing my husband. He does not belong to the legal ession but he is exceptionally good at argu- his own case. By this trick he soon managed get an exemption from sitting for the examina- One can hardly imagine his joy at being to perform such a wonderful feat! The unshi" was dismissed immediately. He might e missed the few coins that were coming into pockets but I am sure he was pleased at heart being released from performing an impossible

At the commencement of his work as Principal, if anyone was unable to understand what he wanted, he would draw on a piece of paper the object of his desire. But now his method of driving home his point has completely changed. He either does it by various inimitable gesticulations or by raising the tone of his voice to a very high pitch, expecting it would convey the intended meaning to the person spoken to. If he is not successful in his endeavour, it is the fault of the listener, and he gets wild at the incorrigible stupidity of the person! After years spent in Madras if my husband is able to speak a few sentences in correct Tamil, he feels extremely pleased and looks at everybody present with an expression, which means to say that he had achieved something which deserved applause.

When the school resumed its session after the termination of the vacation, Sri Deviprosad had to spend the greater part of the day at his office. Perhaps he realized that it would be rather trying for his bride to spend the whole day with her own thoughts specially in a place where she was yet an absolute stranger. He therefore made it a point to spend the mornings in his own quarters, so that even if he could not give her company, he could atleast be near her.

"After the Storm"

In a small wooden balcony upstairs, he had all his equipment for painting. There he used to sit and put into pencil and colour the forms that were taking shape in his ever imaginative brain. I often sat silently and watched while he worked. It was in no way less solemn an occasion than the worship of a deity by its devotee. Sometimes I left him with an almost finished picture and an hour later came back and found an entirely different theme on the same canvas ready to welcome me. Such a one is his well known "After the Storm." Some household duty called me away from his side when he almost completed the picture of a beautiful woman in some captivating pose. It was a wet and windy day. The rain had stopped a little while ago. On my return I found my husband standing before a fniished picture. The woman had vanished as if by magic and a wet crow perched on a branch, had taken its place. The vision came to him in a flash, on actually seeing a crow after the cessation of the rain, and it was at once depicted on the paper.

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I had enough sense to realize that when an artist was busy creating something he did not like to be disturbed. Yet I had to come sometimes in the midst of his work for some advice or other. He always obliged me by answering in short, nonchalant sentences without lifting up his eyes from his work. I soon discovered that those answers were not meant to be taken seriously, for when I referred to them later, he knew nothing.

I was still not quite practised in playing the part of a housewife. Therefore, in spite of his indifference, there were occasions when I had to come to him for help. This disturbed the concentration of the artist and to escape from such unwarranted intrusions, he thought it wise to shift his place of work to a room down-stairs though he was shrewd enough to conceal his ulterior motive by saying that the space upstairs was not sufficient for his work. Perhaps he counted on the invincible staircase of our bungalow as his only safe-guard. He was soon disillusioned, however, and found that he made a wrong calculation regarding the strength of his wife.

Ignorant as I was about the ways of artists, I took him at his word and continued to treat him as the master of the house, while the poor man was racking his brain to find a place of refuge. As a last resort he packed his bags and baggages and retreated to his studio in the school. Here he was well guarded by his peons and the students and was safe from encroachment and interference.

A "Prohibited Area"

All these developments taught me the preliminary lesson of how to deal with an artist. I knew that the studio was a prohibited area for me, so I took to pencil and paper as the instrument for conveying my messages to the unwilling head of the house. To my consternation I found that no notice was taken of them if they arrived when he was in a creative mood. I then followed a displomatic policy and enquired of my husband which was the time to contact him when I needed his invaluable help and advice. The man in him was flattered and he gave me a specific hour. I cannot vouchsafe that my messages are promply attended to even if I keep to the time but on the whole I get better results now.

I do not think it could be considered as a disgression or paying compliments to myself if I said that the love of art was ingrained in myself from my child-hood. I used to dabble with colours which, perhaps, most children of an impressionable age do, and found pleasure in imitating the pictures that appealed to my fancy.

Those who witnessed me in my attempts declared that I was gifted with an artistic taste. This appreciation enhanced my interest in the subject though, of course, I never took it seriously nor was I expected to. In artists, however, I took no interest. Though several books were available on the lives of artists, I never cared to read them. If Providence had been so kind as to give me a hint that one day it would fall to my lot to manage the househould of one of the foremost artists of our time, things might have been different. As it was, I had no chance of preparing myself for my future position. The result was I had to struggle blindly against the hurdles that came on my way till the light of my own experience illuminated the path.

Sri Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury has all the qualities that contribute to the making of a true artist. He feels extremely annoyed if anybody takes the liberty of disturbing him while he is in the mood to work. In fact his peons have strict instructions not to allow any one in when he is in the Studio.

Devi Prasad is an early riser. He would be up from his bed a little after 4 A.M., take his exercise and then start his early cups of tea. He did not like to trouble the servants at such an inconvenient hour and had his own arrangements in a room attached to our sleeping apartment. I have my suspicion that he did not quite enjoy drinking his tea alone, for one evening he suddenly questionad me whether I had ever tried rising before the sun was up. My usual hour is 5.30 or 6.O'clock at the latest. I, therefore, answered in the negative. The artist then suggested, that I should try it for a few days. It was very refreshing and instilled extra energy for work according to him. He was always so active and energetic that I could not quite disbelieve his words and agreed to give his suggestion a trial. Very soon, however, I was disillusioned. Instead of feeling more energetic I felt lazy and sleepy for the rest of the day. After a few days' unsuccessful experiment I took courage and disclosed my difficulties to him. He

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ked at me disappointedly and then smiled in way which told me, though not in so many ds, that he did not expect this from his ner in life. However, he allowed me to revert my old habit.

The crisis came a year after, when my son peared on the scene. Sri Devi Prasad is a er of children and was happy to have a baby the house. So long as the child remained a e nothing untoward happened. We cared for fondled our son together. The little extra time I had to deduct from his share and devote to baby he did not grudge. He knew that the ant's need was greater than his own. But as n as the child outgrew the age of mere lling, trouble arose. He flatly refused to e responsibility to guide the boy during his iod of schooling. His excuse was that since had never crossed the threshould of an versity he was absolutely unsuited to the job. ead of guiding him in the right direction, re was every possibility of his misguiding n. Under the circumstances it was better that e child should be left entirely to the mother's e so far as his school education was con- rned. I knew that this was no reasoning at all I knew it was just an excuse to shirk res- nsibility, but I had to accept it. He did not e approve of the existing system of cation. But he was aware of the fact that there s no other path left open to a child than to a school. This was an additional reason for being so insistent on shoving the whole den on my shoulders. I remember one parti- ar occasion when a phone call came from the ool to discuss certain points regarding our The artist promptly put the receiver down ing, "My wife manages these things, would kindly speak to her?"

As the boy grew in years, my obligations ame heavier. Consequently I had to spend e time with him than I could in the company my husband, specially because the son in- ted the father's antipathy for learning under mpulsion. This my husband resented. His rge against me was that I was all mother. the moment I agreed to rectify my defect if could share with me the responsibility of ing up the child, he quickly changed the e.

When the boy grew up to be a young man, would sometimes join our company and listen to our conversation. He was quick enough to discern from these that his father had full sympathy with his son's attitude towards the education imparted in the schools and colleges of our time. He took advantage of it by discontinuing his studies before he finished his college course on the ground that it would not be of much help in the line which he had decided to choose as his career. When the authorities questioned him whether his parents would not be sorry because he did not sit for the examination, he cooly replied, "My mother might, but not my father."

While the artist is engaged in some sort of creative work he does not feel the need of a companion. In fact he would much rather he had none. It is only when his mind is free that he craves a friend to whom he could open out his heart unreservedly and discuss any subject that pleased him, no matter how unconventional and unpalatable it may seem to others. This sort of diversion gave him relief from mental as well as physical strain. Since he could not get the company of his wife as much as he would like to, he invented another method of finding recreation. At the back of our drawing room upstairs there is a small terrace. Here he started developing what is called a Bengali village in miniature. Small cottages, figures of men and women in their different vocations, came into being by the magic touch of the artist. Green fields, narrow paths whose turfs were pressed by the soft feet of the village wives as they went their way to fill their goglets, the small pond with the floating lotus, the distant temple, were all brought in front of our vision in concrete from. It reached its climax in the tamarind tree under whose shady branches the village travellers rested their tired limbs on their journey forward !

This little plant which sprouted out from a seedling is now a full grown tree, a year or two younger than my son. It is not more than two feet in height though it has the form and structure of a big tree. The shape of each branch, each small twig, is the work of the artist. Without having any knowledge of the science he started this experiment and was extremely happy when it proved a success. This gave him the impetus to try his method on some other trees as well. There are plantains, casuarina and bamboos but they are all babies compared to the

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tamarind tree. Our drawing room which can also be taken as the art gallery of my husband's works, has visitors throughout the day. I have noticed that even people who did not understand anything of art were attracted by this concrete picture of our homeland. Owing to the continuous drought of Madras these little pets of my husband were losing a little of their freshness. He, therefore, shifted them downstairs where they are flourishing under his unfailing and immediate care. Every morning the artist attends to their needs before he starts his duties as an official. It is a pleasurable pastime for him. Many of the figures of this landscape are missing from their posts now. Either they are ravaged by the inclemency of the weather or mutilated by the curiosity of the crows and the squirrels, but the trees are standing as faithfully as ever.

Sri Devi Prasad is not what one would call a sociable person. He prefers to be left alone with his thoughts instead of being forced to accommodate himself in a company where he finds himself to be an absolute misfit. He has a dread of conventional parties with the restrained and superficial conversations of such places. Yet he has to attend some of them to fulfil social obligations and occasionally to please his wife.

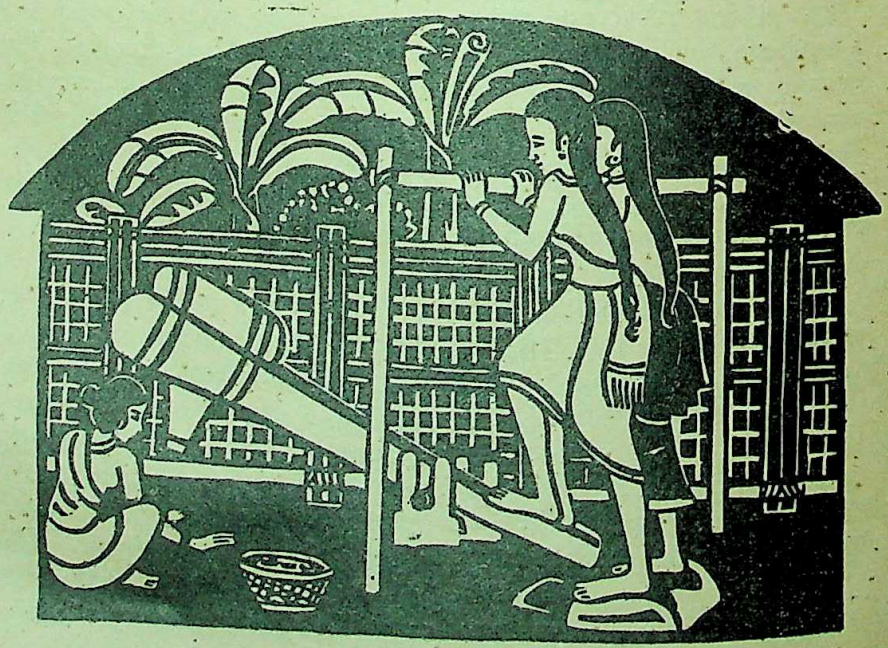
But once Devi Prasad is thrown in the midst of a congenial atmosphere he becomes animated and is the most interesting and coveted company full of mirth and jokes.

Another secret cause of his dislike for these formal social functions, which I discovered from my long association with him, is his aversion to discard his inartistic but convenient garb in order to don something more suitable for elegant and fastidious society.

There was a time when Devi Prasad was attracted by picture houses and was a frequent visitor to these places of entertainment. But with the growth of years and wisdom, his fondness for light entertainment has faded away. Now he spends part of the evenings in writing stories or articles. This hobby which he started developing some years back enabled him to establish his name as a writer in his own language. There is a great demand for his stories written from his experiences in the jungles. I have heard people say that his descriptions are so vivid that they almost visualize the spot and feel its atmosphere.

When he gets tired of writing, he comes back to the landscape of his creation, sits before it with the cup that cheers him from his fatigue and carries him to the land of dreams. Perhaps like Omar Khayam of old he hears a voice which cries :

> Awake, my little ones and fill the cup,
> Before life's liquor in its cup be dry.



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EMERSON

By AMAL HALDAR

LPH Waldo Emerson, the American Poet and ayist, was doubtless one of the most remark- e men of his times. He was born in the beginn- of the 19th Century, in 1803, at a most ificant period, when a transformation was s on in the European mind. All through 17th and 18th Century, history and literature that the Western races had pre-eminently loped the intellectual side of their nature, faculty of reason; and the great philosophers the time thought it possible that man could arrive at a knowledge of God by mere ulation and theorizing. This showed itself the deification of reason during the French olution when a woman, representing the dess of Reason, was shown to the people in streets of Paris, and the French authorities the time actually went through the farce of ouncing by a public decree that the God of istianity did not exist.

The great philosopher Kant, however dered the Western World the eminent service proving by most conclusive arguments that intellect of man alone was incapable of ing God; and his great disciples, Fichte, elling and Hegel, showed to the world by r brilliant oratory and inspired writings that cause of all Being had its seat in the human rt, and that man could only come to a know- e of God through love and devoted service. is is the message of Transcendental Idealism, school of philosophy which flurished in rmany during the first three decades of the Century. Such a philosphy could only be ed when the mind of Europe was no longer ely intellectual, but when the emotional side the race was also simultaneously developed. We this in the outburst of song in contemporary atures, in the increase of tolerance and philan- pic endeavors among the educated classes, a more sympathetic attitude on the part of towards his fellow creatures and surround-

Now if we bear in mind that Emerson was during this period of transition in Europe, passing from one view of the Universe to the other, it will be easier for us to understand the fundamental note of his character and the ideas he represented.

Emerson traced his descent from a long line of Puritans,—as seven of his forefathers were ministers in New-England Churches. They represent the element of reason, and provide him with the splendid heredity of a quick perception, a keen analytic intellect, habits of independence, and steadfast loyalty and deveotion to principles. There having been so many preachers in his family, it was almost natural that Ralph Waldo should become one too; and so we see him, after having graduated from Harvard College and prepared himself for the pulpit at a divinity school in Cambridge, Mass, filling the position of a Unitarian minister in several New-England Churches, chiefly in Boston. Now the Unitarian faith being the embodiment of retionalistic docutrines in theology, it was quite consistent, if it denied that divinity of Christ and the miraculous element in the life of the great Teacher, while it laid a great deal of stress on the historical facts connected with the story of the Gospel.

But Emerson, although of Puritan stock, had become enamoured of the new Philosophy of life which sought the solution of spiritual problems by methods tranceding reason and the speculations of the intellect. The Transcendental Idealism of Germany reached Emerson through the writings of Coleridge; and the doctrine of the inner light, the revelation of God in the heart, which transformed the dry facts of theology into the mystic experiences of the soul, strongly appealed to the spiritual nature of Emerson and made him finally renounce his charge and leave the ministry of the Church, when he could no longer conform himself to certain usages and outward forms, as they had become utterly meaningles to him. Soon after having taken this step, he embarked in a sailing vessel for the Mediterranean, and then travelled through Italy, France, England and Scotland. While on this tour he saw the four men he most desired to see, *viz.*, Landor,

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Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth. "The comfort of meeting such men of genius," he wrote, "is that they talk sincerely." Carlyle like Coleridge was a representative of the German idealistic Philosophy in England; but both these great thinkers applied the teachings of Fichte and Schelling chiefly to social and moral questions, and roused an enthusiasm among the cultured English public for the genius of Goethe and the poets of the German Romantic School, whose works reflected in a beautiful form certain aspects of the new Idealism. But great ideas are universal, no nation has an exclusive claim upon them. The time was ripe for the Western mind to produce the flower of Idealism, and although the parent stock sprang up in Germany, its ramifications extended all over the Occident. Even if there had been no intercourse between the continent and England, Coleridge, Wordsworth and the other bards of the Lake School would probably have struck the idealistic note in their nature poetry; and Emerson's spiritual vision might have enabled him to see the idea behind the symbol and glimpses of reality behind the transitory forms of life, even if he had never studied the contemporary literature of Europe. As it was, Emerson certainly derived great benefit from his intercourse with some of the most prominent literary men of England, and his visit to Carlyle was the beginning of a life-long friendship.

The two men were bound together by a community of ideals, yet their temperaments were essentially different. With the ardor of the chiding prophet, Carlyle was constantly inveighing against the hollowness, cant and insincerity of the times; he has a sovereign contempt for all sham and pretence, and severely blames those who hide a lack of true feeling behind an empty mask. To him the inner life is everything; the outward form is of very little importance. His brow is often clouded, his manner sometimes rough and abrupt. Emerson, on the other hand, shows the serenity and calm of a clear mountain lake, whose unruffled surface reflects all the surrounding objects of nature without distortion. He was an intensely interested spectator at the great drama of life, but there was an absence of passionate heat and unnecessary haste in his nature. Without being conventional he had a fine sense of the propriety of things, and his quiet *mirthfulness*, his gentle ways and the steady charm of his personality attracted to him the hearts of the people.

Emerson published Carlyle's first books in America, and Carlyle introduced Emerson's Essays into England. The things that each admired most in the other were self-reliance, directness and moral courage. A passage in Emerson's diary, written on his homeward voyage, strikes the key-note of his life.

"A man contains all that is needful to his government within himself . . . . all real good or evil that can befall him must be from himself . . . . There is a correspondence between the human soul and everything that exists in the world . . . . The Highest revelation is that God is in every man."

After his return from England, he went to live with his mother at Concord, Mass, and began his career as a public lecturer in Boston. Two years later, in 1835, he married Miss Lydia Jackson, having previously bought a spacious old house and a large garden at Concord. There he spent the remainder of his life, a devoted husband, a wise and tender father, a careful householder, a virtuous villager, a friendly neighbor, and the central and luminous figure of the American Transcendental Idealists, of whom Dr. Ripley, Orestes Brownson, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller and Henry Thoreau were also distinguished members.

More and more, as Emerson's fame spread, those who would "live in the spirit" came to listen to the voice and would sit at the feet of the "Sage of Concord." There was something in his imperturbable kindly presence, his gentle and refined appearance, his commanding style of thought and speech which announced him as the possessor of the great secret that many were seeking—the secret of a freer, deeper and more harmonious life.

Now the works which have made Emerson famous among the philosophers and literary men of the English-speaking world are chiefly prose works, his "Essays;" yet he himself always attached more importance to his potical productions, because he thought that his verse was a truer expression of his genius. "I am born a poet," he used to say, and, writing to Carlyle he calls himself "half a bard."

There is no doubt that Emerson had the most important qualifications of a poet, but he lacked one. He had the artistic eye which saw the

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beauty of all forms of life; he had the creative imagination which enabled him to express the idea in a bold, concrete form, by striking metaphors and characteristic phrases. But he lacked the musical ear, the feeling for rhythm and cadence; therefore his verses are deficient in smoothness and finish, in the regularity of the metre, in the melody of the rhyme.

It seems to me that one of his shorter poems, which he prefixed as a motto to his essay on "Experience," is characteristic of his genius. The poem might well bear the title of "Karma," and there is a true theosophical ring in it. The poet imagines the mental qualities and the manifold activities of man, which are the cause of his destiny, passing before him in a long procession of weird gigantic entities. Admist this strange company of spiritual beings "little man" is seen walking timidly, forlorn, and with a helpless look in his eyes; for he does not know what that strange spectacle means by which he sees himself surrounded. But his Higher Self in the shape of "Nature" comes to his assistance.

An angelic form approaches him, takes him by the hand and explains to him the mystery of life.

"The lords of life, the lords of life,—
I saw them pass,
In their own guise:
Like and unlike,
Portly and grim,
Use and Surprise
Surface and Dream,
Succession swift and spectral wrong
Temperament without a tongue,
And the inventor of the game
Omnipresent without name;—
Some to see, some to be guessed,
They marched from east to west;
Little man, least of all,
Among the legs of his guardians tall,
Walked about with puzzled look:—
Him by the hand dear Nature took;
Dearest Nature, strong and kind,
Whispered, "Darling, never mind!
To-morrow they will wear another face
The founder thou ! these are thy race."

But the "Essays" are, after all, a more complete expression of Emerson's thought. He, perhaps more than any other American writer of his time, had a claim to the title of "philosopher;" yet his teaching did not assume the form of a regular philosophic system. He saw the truth by flashes, by intuitive perception; but did not arrive at it by the process of reasoning. "I do not know what arguments mean in reference to any expression of a thought," he used to say of himself. His style is therefore brilliant, epigrammatic and forcible; but it has the incompleteness of sporadic vision; it is necessarily fragmentary. His thought is always clear in sentences, but not in paragraphs, because the mind of the reader often has to supply the connecting links between the different statements.

As to the quality of thought which forms the essence of his teaching, it is quite obvious that it often bears a resemblance to Eastern doctrines. It was not so much that he had derived his religious and metaphysical ideas from the sacred books of the Hindus, although he had read some of the Puranas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita in English translations, but that the Philosophy of Idealism which he represented was the peculiar method of the Western mind in expressing that doctrine of Unity, of the Infinite and all pervadig Spirit that is immanent in Nature, which is the life throbbing in the heart of all beings, and which yet transcends all forms.

Now Emerson, as mentioned before, was not a theorist and maker of systems, he never committed himself to the doctrine of reincarnation, yet his belief in such teaching might be inferred from the opening lines of his Essay on "Experience;" "Where do we find ourselves in a series of which we do not know the extremes, and believe that it has none. We wake and find ourselves on a stair; there are stairs below us which we seem to have ascended, there are stairs above us, many a one, which go upward and out of sight. But the genius, which according to the old belief stands at the door by which we enter, and gives us the lethe to drink that we may tell no tales, mixed the cup too strongly, and we cannot shake off the lethargy now at noon day."

As in the conversation between Krishna and Arjuna and in the divine wisdom of the Upanishads, man's inner nature, his mental and moral qualities, and the attributes and nature of the Infinite Self are often made the subjects of discussion, in fact, the centre of interest for pupil and teacher, so in Emerson's Essays the inner causes of man's experiences are laid bare

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with a skill and truth beyond mere intellectual acumen, and which show the author to be one of those who have first hand knowledge. The ideal he sets up before us in his Essay on "Character" is not will-power or cleverness or a fascinating manner, but nothing short of a superior and harmonious development of the whole man; "a reserved force which acts directly by presence and without any means, a natural power like light and heat with which all nature co-operates," for to Emerson, "Character is the moral order seen through the medium of an individual nature." Could there be a more original and truer definition?

He begins the Essay by saying that we always feel there is more in great men, such as Lord Chatham or Mirabeau, the Gracchi or Sir Walter Raleigh, far more than they manifest in their actions; that the greater part of their power is latent. Men intuitively know whether people in whom they ought to repose their trust have this force of character or not; they feel its absence or presence in the politician who stands for great issues, knowing that "they cannot come at their ends by sending to Congress a learned, acute and fluent speaker, if he be not one who, before he was appointed by the people to represent them, was appointed by God Almighty to stand for a fact, invicibly persuaded of that fact in himself, so that the most confident and the most violent persons learn that here is resistance on which both impudence and terror are wasted, namely faith in a fact."

The strong character is not that of the tyrant, or the bully, or the great conqueror disregarding human rights; it is that of the man of principle. He represents the highest standard of morality for the average mass of people, and might be truly called "the conscience of the society" to which he belongs.

We can only arrive at an estimate of the power displayed in character by its resistance to circumstances. Weakness yields to environment, character controls it. But our actions will never do us complete justice; because the act is finite, and we are infinite. There is a constant influx of divine power into our innermost nature, or, in the words of Emerson, "there is a door in every man's mind through which the Creator passes."

Another aspect of character is independence. There is a certain amount of energy displayed in competition, in the struggle for power; but there is more energy inherent in the possession of it. Emerson had a profound respect for independence, and that is what he says about this side of character:

"The face which character wears to me is self-sufficingness.

"I revere the person who is riches; so that I cannot think of him as alone, or poor, or exiled, or unhappy, or a client, but as a perpetual patron, benefactor, or beatified man. Character is centrality, the impossibility of being displaced or overset. A man should give us the sense of a mass."

The verses serving as a motto to the Essay on Character very aptly describe this power in the individual man :

The sun set; but set not his hope;
Stars rose; his rath was earlier up;
Fixed on the enormous galaxy,
Deeper and older seemed his eye;
And matched his sufferance sublime
The taciturnity of time.
He spoke, and words more soft than rain,
Brought the Age of Gold again;
His action won such reverence sweet,
As hid all measure of the feet.
Work of his hand
He nor commends nor grieves;
Pleads for itself the fact;
As unrepenting nature leaves
Her every act.

Supplementary to the chapter on "character" is the chapter on "Manners." If character is the inherent force in man which marks a certain stage of his mental and moral development and which makes itself felt even without action, manners are the outward expression of this force in relation to his fellow men, his conduct in the daily walks of life, which will be necessarily the more formal and ceremonious, the higher his rank in society is.

People who are somewhat indifferent about their own manners, sometimes sneer at social observances as meaningless conventions and empty forms, the cloak of insincerity and selfishness. Now while it is quite true that morals and not manners "Make the man," and that a pleasant smile and a polite phrase may often hide a selfish motive. It is equally true that it is extremely difficult to be always well mannered, that the

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...ulking cannot manifest the habitual serenity ...d self control of the perfect gentleman, and ...t the standard of polite society is, after all, ...t the result of the whims and freaks of ...shion-leaders, but that it is based on native ...ength, on force of character.

Lastly, the man of society must also show ...leration and good sense. It is true, the fashion-...le world will sometimes tolerate eccentricity; ...will admit the artist in shabby clothes, the ...sician with unkempt locks, the brilliant ...conteur whose wild gestures prove destructive ...the tea-table, and are a constant danger to the ...knacks in my lady's drawing-room; but it ...l admit these anomalies only, if there is genius ...hind the unconventional exterior. "Therefore," ...e author draws the conclusion, "if you wish to ...loved, love measure."

However, we must not get the impression ...m the preceding that Emerson conceives the ...s of etiquettee to be a code of hard and fast, ...les, unchangeable like the proverbial statutes ...the Medes and Persians.

It is true that social observances, certain ...ms of courtesy, are the ring which surrounds ...lite society; but this ring is not of iron, it is ...stic, and expands according to the needs of ...ong individuals. There are some persons who ...e natural gentlemen; who are at home every-...ere and adapt themselves easily to their ...roundings into whatsoever sphere of life their ...stiny may lead them. Generally, a man born ...ong the lower ranks of the people would feel ...remely diffident, and show a very awkward ...d embarrassed manner, when he finds him-...f among the higher classes. Not so our natural ...tlemen. He is neither bold nor awkward, he ...modest, yet self-confident, and his manners ...w a grace and dignity which he never learned ...any conventional circles. Speaking of the way ...which such a man enters society, we read ...the same chapter on "Manners:"

"A natural gentleman will find his way in ...d will keep the oldest patrician out who has ...t his intrinsic rank."

So we see that good-breeding is not confined ...the members of the upper classes, although ...found more frequently among them; its roots ...far deeper than the position a man is hold-...in his present life; it is largely the outcome ...past lives modified, of course, by his ...ucation and surroundings in the present. Good breeding is, therefore, the flower of spiritual development, it is the beauty aspect of the soul. Emerson makes us fully realize that good manners are by no means a mere outward accomplishment, but that they have their deepest sources in a heart of love.

In studying Emerson's life and works no one, I think, would get an approximately true conception of his genius without reading his Essay on "The Over-Soul," which seems to me to strike the key-note of his philosophy. To do this work complete justice, one ought to quote it in its entirety, for it is not only in the sublimity of thought, but also in the inimitable force and originality of the language, the bold metaphor, the graphic and clearly cut phrase in which its peculiar charm and beauty lie. An account of it must be at best fragmentary.

How do we come to know the existance of this "Over-Soul," this Infinite power which is above, around and in everything? By looking into our innermost nature. There seem to be two beings within ourselves; one, the consciousness which is behind all our thoughts, words and actions-of-daily life, the other is the spectator, the critic, the judge, which is never satisfied with present attainments, but is always pointing out new tasks and holding up higher ideals before our minds. Thus man is not a constant quantity, but an ever changing power, infinite in its possibilities and illimitable in its range.

This seems to indicate that there is a constant influx into our nature from a mysterious but inexhaustible source, an ocean of power, which is God. Let us read this thought now in Emerson's beautiful words:

"The Supreme Critic on the errors of the past and the present, and the only prophet of that which must be, is that great Nature in which we rest, as the earth lies in the soft arms of the atmosphere; that Unity, that Over-Soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other; that common heart, of which all sincere conversation in worship, to which all right action is submission; that over powering reality which confutes our tricks and talents, and constrains every one to pass for what he is, and to speak from his character and not from his tongue, and which ever more tends to pass into our thought and had, and become wisdom and virtue, power and beauty.

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When it breathes through his intellect, it is genius, when in breathes through his will, it is virtue, when it flows through his affection, it is love. And the blindness of the intellect begins, when it would be something of itself. The weakness of the will begins, when the individual would be something of itself . . . . as there is no screen or ceiling between our heads and the infinite heavens, so is there no bar or wall in the soul where man, the effect, ceases and God, the cause, begins. The walls are taken away. We lie open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God."

There is a constant communication between the Great Soul and the smaller soul. When the volume of force pouring from the Great Self into the personal self is larger than usual, it causes an expansion of the lower nature accompanied by a feeling of bliss.

"A thrill passes through as men at the reception of new truth, or at the performance of a great action which comes out of the heart of Nature.

This greater influx of the Divine Life often takes the form of religious revelations. Such a sudden insight into deeper spiritual truth often has an overwhelming effect on the Soul, which it leaves as it were 'blasted with excess of light.' The soul looking into Heaven is in ecstasy, while the body shudders and becomes insensible, or the tongue in its attempt to tell the vision is uttering strange wild sayings which seem to the world like madness. The peculiar characteristic of ravishment is found is the trances of Socrates, the 'union' of Plotinus, the vision of Porphyry, the conversion of Paul, the aurora of Boehmen, the convulsions of George Fox and his Quakers, the illumination of Swedenborg."

Religious revelations are the disclosure of the soul, not the telling of fortunes. Often in past ages, men would resort to oracles to find answers to "Sensual questions; even the representatives of the body politic, before great issues, would consult the gods. But the answers were often equivocal and misleading; for the Soul will not have us read any other cipher than that of cause and effect." Emerson thinks it well that the future is hidden from us, for it teaches men to live and do their duty in the present.

But the Great Soul does not not only speak in the prophet, the sage, or the great religious teacher, it reveals itself in every genius, whether he has a spiritual or an intellectual massage to bring to the world. The great poet, painter, musician or sculptor is able to see more of the shining radiance of the Great Self than the ordinary man of the world, and enamored of Its transcending beauty, he strives to express the vision in a beautiful form recognisable by the senses, so that all, even those who cannot see the idea, might receive the truth. But the work of art, beautiful and inspiring though it may be, must not be made by us the object of excessive veneration, for the artist is greater than the work, and the Soul is far greater than many poets or artists.

"The inspiration which uttered itself in Hamlet and Lear could utter things as good from day to day for ever. Why then should I make account of Hamlet and Lear, as if we had not the Soul, from which they fell as syllables from the tongue?"

The Great Soul is in all men, this cannot be repeated too often; and that makes us all intuitively understand each other and discern the spirit that in each of us is. In every activity of life we are constantly revealing our inner nature: in working and resting, in eating and drinking, in trials and persecutions or in friendly social intercourse the Soul manifests itself through us and every day is really a Day of Judgment.

"We are all discerners of spirit. That diagnosis lies aloft in our life as an unconscious power. The intercourse of Society,—its trade, its religion, its friendships, its quarrels,—is one wide, judicial investigation of character. In full court, or in small committees, or confronted face to face, accuser and accused, men offer themselves to be judged. Against their will they exhibit those decisive trifles by which character is read."

Now Emerson makes a distinction between men that speak from within, and those that speak from without. "Jesus," he says, "speaks always from within, and in a degree that transceds all others . . . . I believe before hand that it ought so to be, all men stand continually in the expectation of such a teacher."

Steadily, tranquilly and cheerfully, the great American sage finished the voyage of life. Ever working for the best interests of his country, whether as lecturer or as a writer, he kept in touch with all the great questions of the day. "I think we must get rid of slavery or get rid

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freedom," he said in 1858; and at the outbreak of the civil war of the American States, he became a powerful advocate of the cause of the Union. The nation showed its appreciation of his public work, when Harvard College bestowed upon him the degree of L.L.D. In 1872, he went on his third foreign journey, and this time as far as Egypt. About the same time his mental powers began to fail, especially his memory. But his character remained serene and unshaken in dignity.

On the 27th of April, 1882, his spirit left the earth. Calmly, peacefully he sank to rest, "like one who lying down on his couch quietly folds his garment about him and falls asleep." The service Emerson has rendered to his country is inestimable. He was one of those great spiritual forces that has acted as a salutary leaven to the somewhat materialistic American mind, his whole life being an exemplification of the doctrine of "plain living and high thinking," and of the truth that wisdom is better than riches, and righteousness stronger than the wealth of the millionaire.

———:O:———

KALIDAS' LAST JOURNEY—A STORY

By DR. H. D. BHATT, ('Shailesh')

Kalidas was a great traveller and a worshipper of nature from his very childhood. He made a number of long journeys in his life time. According to a legend, although Kalidas had produced 'Shakuntala', 'Raghuvansa', 'Kumarsambhava', 'Vikram-Urvasiyam', 'Ritusambhara', 'Malvikagnimistra', it was only after writing Meghduta that he reached the peak of his fame.

Two or three incidents of his life are supposed to be directly connected with his Meghduta, a poem of high calibre. Some people hold the view that the Yaksha of Meghduta is really Kalidas. He had to leave his home because of financial difficulties and the tears that flowed at the separation from his beloved, became the verses of Meghduta. The story goes on to say that the verses of Meghduta became so popular that they could be heard everywhere. People would sit for hours listening to them. And when Prince Kumargupta of Ceylon read it, he was lost in ecstacy. Inspired and guided by Meghduta, Kumargupta wrote 'Janaki Haran'. Janaki Haran, like Meghduta, attracted great attention. The sonorous rhymes found utterance on the lips of every man. When Kalidas himself read 'Janaki Haran' he was delighted and was filled with joy, as if he had come to possess a vast treasure.

"A long congratulatory letter to Kumargupta", he mused, still better, why not a full poem? He ultimately gave up his intention of writing the letter and left his home one day. He would not listen to his wife's lamentations or to other temptations and started for Ceylon.

Men told him of the difficulties and hazards of such a long journey, but the poet was burning with desire to meet Kumargupta. With him were his writing materials. His poetic genius flowed on the way as did the numerous streams down to the Himalayas, and a new Meghduta was complete by the time he reached his destination.

Kalidas was in ecstasy "Now I shall be able to see Kumargupta; how pleased he will be? And of course, when I present him with this.....I do hope he does not go mad with joy."

Ceylon, at that time, was at the height of its beauty and glory. It represented on earth 'Alaka', the abode of gods, shaped by human hands: broad highways, gardens with multi-coloured flowers, tall shady trees along the avenues, stately buildings and palaces.

When Kalidas stepped on the Ceylonese soil, he lost himself in wonder at all its beauty and majesty. Feet were treading, eyes were feasting, on the one expanse,

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and the poet within was composing another great classic. Suddenly through the dusk came a voice, musical and soft. Kalidas awoke from his trance. His eyes were dazzled. It was as if the beauty queen 'Psyche' herself had taken form before him. His lips moved but no words came out. The young woman, as if understanding the stranger's plight, enquired from where he had come and whom he wished to see.

Kalidas, recovering himself, said, "I come from India. I have heard about this land and that is why I am here. I am a stranger to the place and am acquainted with none. You will earn my gratitude if you will kindly tell me where to pass the night." The woman looked at him from head to foot and extended her hospitality. The poet was gratified and overwhelmed. She unlocked a room, lit a lamp and bade the stranger rest awhile.

Kalidas looked around. Portraits, each surpassing the other, adorned the walls and fine silken draperies hung from the ceiling. Their magnificence awed him. After a while the damsel came in and graciously asked him to wash in the adjoining room and be ready for the dinner. Kalidas got up mechanically, washed himself and dined. After due thanks to his beautiful and generous host, whom he found alone in this vast palace, he retired to bed, but there was no sleep. He lay silent on the bed. There was light in the opposite room and the window was open. There she sat in her girlish beauty, lost in thought. She had a pen in her hand and was softly humming to herself.

Time passed and midnight came but the girl still sat absorbed. Kalidas could no longer remain where he was and headed for her oom where she sat intrigued, anxious as if in a maze. He knocked. She was surprised and curious, also a bit frightened. But gathering strength she opened the door and asked with authority what he wanted.

"Nothing."

"Then why have you come?"

"To ask you something." The stranger had by now recovered.

The woman enquired, "And what is that?"

"Why are you up so late? What has made you unhappy? What has given you this restlessness, anxiety? I am being impertinent only to ascertain the cause. Do forgive me for it."

"No, there is nothing, nothing. It is just that I could not sleep." She sounded preoccupied.

"But you are in some kind of trouble. If so you will tell me I shall be obliged."

At this repeated insistence, the young beauty informed him in her simple way, "I am in love with the prince. And he also loves me. I do not want to tell any body about this but without telling you there seems no escape. It is this that he has set a problem in connexion with our marriage."

Kalidas enquired with great curiosity: "If you consider me worthy of trust, please continue. Perhaps I may be of some service to you."

"The Indians are very honest and trustworthy, that is why I am telling you. The problem is not a big one but for me big enough. The prince is a poet and it is his desire that I should be one, too. Of course, it is quite impossible for me. He has given me a line and told me to complete it. Only then can our marriage be possible." The girl explained with the simplicity which comes so easily to the fair sex. The stranger read the line:

"It is only heard and never seen that a lotus grows on another"

and immediately wrote underneath it:

"Oh, Girl, how thine lotus face has two lotus eyes?" and offered it to the girl. She read it again and again and was delighted. She thanked him profusely and escorted him to his bedroom. Then she came back to read it once again and seemed to reel as the pleasure mounted to her head. All of a sudden a thought electrified her. "What if he tells the prince that he has written it". She dared not think any more. An idea came that he should be dismissed then and there, but God forbid that he should meet the Prince some day. She was confused and her face darkened. Taking out her small sword she got up and

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waited for the stranger's room. He was found asleep. She entered the room. A storm seemed to rise within her and the knife was plunged in his chest.

He muttered "Dear friend, good bye. Unlucky Kalidas. He could not meet you. Good-bye."

When she heard the name Kalidas, she was stunned. A feverish search of his baggage brought out Meghduta and the newly created poem. She read and cursed herself. That knife went into her bosom and she fell at the feet of Kalidas.

Kumargupta came to see the damsel, the next morning. Looking into the guest room he was completely unnerved. After some considerable time he recovered himself and tried to read the situation but was unable to do so. He came to Padmini's bedroom and picking up the fallen paper read and reread it.

His face changed. Hastening to the guest room he fell at Kalidas's feet. Everything was clear. When the new poem was read he almost was beside himself with grief.

Everybody was invited there. The whole of Ceylon was steeped in sorrow. Lights were out. Songs, dances, all sounds of jollity and laughter were stopped. All were informed. Kalidas's name brought every one on the run. Men, women, old and young, were all assembled.

The dead body was decorated and brought to the burning place for last rites. The pyre was of sandal wood. The body of Kalidas was put on it and the pyre was lit. Flames were reaching to the sky and then Kumargupta rose to address the people, "My people, it is my misfortune that the great poet Kalidas came to our country to die. This is his great poem which he wrote for me. He could not meet me but I will go to meet him." Saying this he jumped into the raging pyre with the poem in his hand. Ceylon was plunged in gloom. Sorrow and grief were on all sides. This is the last journey of Kalidas.

——:O:——

MADHYA PRADESH
A Profile

By Y. KRISHAN

The State of Madhya Pradesh is a geographical reality with "split personalities" politically and administratively. Though it had its birth in 1956, as a result of the States Reorganisation and is largely homogenous linguistically, it still continues to be a mixture of its four original integrating units, *viz.*, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Mahakoshal region of the former Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal. Emotionally, it is the least integrated State in India. In the case of other States, regional dissensions are largely confined to linguistic minorities and the question of emotional integration is largely one of integrating linguistic minorities in the dominant linguistic group and the elimination of caste and parochial consciousness. Linguistic homogenity has failed to give a sense of unity to the peoples of Madhya Pradesh. Political thinking is on regional lines, the political leadership including the alignment in the Government is rooted in regional loyalties. In fact, the political leaders and, following them the civil servants, even think and act in terms of the political units existing prior to the merger of the princely States such as Gwalior, Indore, Rewa and Chattisgarh. The facade of unity in the ruling party has been maintained by importing a Chief Minister, from outside who has no regional affiliations and who is, therefore, most acceptable to the warring factions. Regional orientation of Government naturally affects its decisions on the matter of allocation of funds for development for various regions, recruitment, posting, promotions and transfers of officials, location of Headquarters

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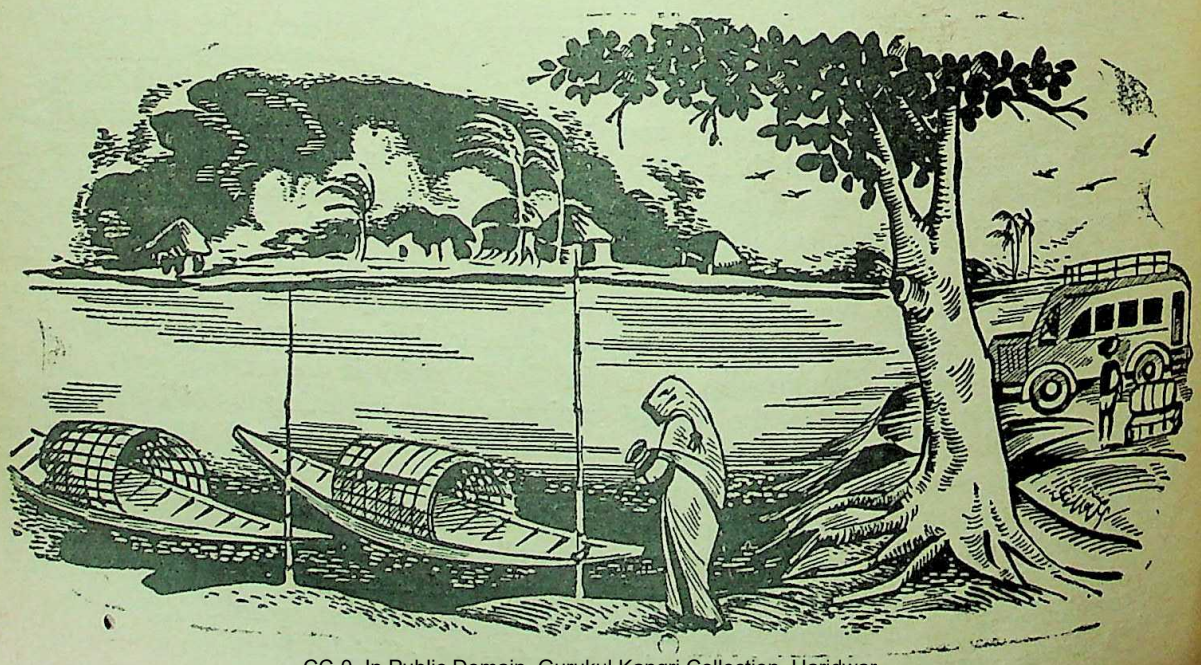
of various Departments of Government and action to be taken against defaulting officials. Even after a lapse of five years since the formation of the State, the service personnel of the various component units has not been integrated and their service conditions and scales of pay not unified. In consequence there is a virtual administrative breakdown, nay a paralysis of the governmental machinery. Delays are the normal feature of the administration. In fact, it is a wonder how it is functioning at all. The administrative inefficiency is further aggravated by the fact that the Heads of Departments of Government are dispersed all over the State and the channels of communication are difficult.

Failure to effect service integration has had far reaching consequences: there is widespread discontent among service personnel who are remunerated differently for doing identical jobs under the same roof and whose mutual relationship is embittered by squabbles of relative seniority. This only serves to accentuate regional feelings. While the rank and file is demoralised and discontented, officers of the All-India Services feel helpless and are apathetic or complacent because of the ministerial indecision which is essentially due to regional jealousies and conflicts. No wonder that the administrative machinery was not able to cope with the Jabbalpur riots that occurred recently and that there was serious trouble in Bastar. In fact, rampant regionalism has not unnaturally given strength to the demand for a separate State the Adivasis (tribals) who constitute a substantial portion of the population. It would not be surprising if some members of the ruling party had a hand in formenting or at least encouraging communal and political troubles to cause embarrassment to their regional rivals.

Educationally Madhya Pradesh is backward. Percentage of literacy is very low. Means of communications are primitive which tends to accentuate regional exclusiveness. Industrially it is an underveloped area. Its premier industrial town is Indore, having the largest population of 9 lakhs but it smarts under a sense of injury at having been denied the honour of being the capital of Madhya Pradesh on regional considerations. Bhopal is still a medieval town which is groaning under the honour thurst on it by being made the capital. It is an extremely dirty and congested city whose water supply is a constant source of danger to its overgrown population. It is woefully deficient in amenities of modern life. To a large measure, however, it typifies the backwardness of Madhya Pradesh where maintenance of regional honour is the chief virtue and maintenance of the status quo a matter of utmost satisfaction.



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ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCES IN THE MAHABHARATA

By A. N. CHANDRA

Puranas are the ancient storehouse of dom and may be tapped for all branches of wledge. *Mahabharata*, as we find it now, unds in astronomical references which, -a-ris our present day knowledge, yields y interesting information. True, it has been ced that many portions of the great epic have n interpolated by different authors at different es changing the true shape of facts, still it tains much which is original. Here, we shall go into that controversy, but only pick up persent the astronomical references from the t epic which, according to some, was com- d near about the 4th or 5th century B.C.

In *Mahabharata*, the twety-seven constella- s started from Aswini and they were be- ed to be the wives of the Moon.[1] When the erunners of the *Vedic* culture lived somewhere r the Polar region in about 13,000 B.C., God hma introduced Dhanistadi system of mea- ing time,[2] but at a later date under the orders God Vishnu the system to count time from Nakshatra Sravana was introduced.[3] In *Maha- rata*, we find references to these systems.[4] e principle adopted was to give every star minence when it rose exactly in the east and sacrifices started with the star concerned.[5] seems that upto the time of *Mahabharata*, kshatra meant a star or a cluster of stars not a division of the ecliptic. In the great most of the major events have been des- ed in reference to the position of the Moon the various contellations and rarely by Solar sit.

In *Udyoga Parva*, we find that Krishna left Hastinapur in the month of Kaumudi, when on was in the constellation Revati, at the end Sarata and in the beginning of Hemanta.[6] in *Salya Parva*, it is seen that Krishna sed the Pandavas to start for the battlefield en Moon was in Pushya,[7] but the Pandavas ted two days later, *i.e.*, when the Moon was in sha.[8] Balaram, the elder bother of Krishna, not like to join the war ; so he went on pil- age with all the Yadavas when the Moon was in Pushya (Maitra Nakshatra).[9] It may be noticed that reference to the position of the Moon is predominent in the above cited cases.

Reference to month has also been quoted in a few instances, such as, कौमुदे मासि *i.e.*, in Kaumudi month, पौर्णमासी च कार्तिकी *i.e.*, on the full Moon day of Kartika, श्रावणं पा-क प्रभ *i.e.*, Sravana like fire, or माघोदयं समनु प्राप्तो मासो सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर *i.e.*, Oh Yudhisthira, this is the sacred month of Magha. It seems that at that time Solar months were not in force and dated as we know it now were never quoted. Even week days have not been mentioned. A period of time was, it appears, measured by Tithis and, therefore, by a Lunar period from Moon. Any particular period was thus indicated by the transit of the Moon through one or more of these twenty-seven Nakshatras. Allegorically, the Moon was said to have been visiting his 27 wives one after the other.

The positions of other Planets and the Sun have also been indicated in reference to the con- setllations and not in respect of the Zodiacal Signs which leads us to believe that these signs were either not discovered or were not much in use to denote the position of the heavenly bodies. We find that on the eve of the war Jupiter and Saturn were near the constellation Bishakha;[10] in Visma Parva we find that Mars was retrograde in Magha[11] or that Jupiter was in Sravana[12] or Saturn is afflicting Uttaravadrapada[13] or Venus is upon Purbavadrapada.[14] Such instances are many and can be quoted at length.

The five Planets, viz, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn and also the Sun, Moon, Rahu and Ketu, the two nodes of the Moon were known and have been mentioned in many places. Retrograde movement of the Planets were also known and have been mentioned. The posi- tion of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn at the war has been mentioned earlier. As regards Venus and Mercury we find a mention that Mars and Venus

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were together with Mercury.[15] The Sun and the Moon were treated as Planets as in astrology and we find reference to seven fiery Planets in the Salya Parva.[16] Unless Herschel and Neptune were known to the astronomers of that time, we may take it that the Sun and the Moon were included in "saptamahagraha" *i.e.*, seven great Planets. If instead of Sun and Moon, Rahu and Ketu the nodes of the Moon were meant, then दिप्यमानाश्च संयेतु दिति carries no meaning as these nodes can not glow like the Sun and Moon.

The applied aspect of the Planetary positions on human beings and mundane affairs were taken into consideration. It is apparent, therefore, that astrology was in common use at the time. It was believed that Solar and Lunar eclipses, retrogression of the Planets, *etc.*, were not good omen and did not speak well of the future. In Visma Parva, we find a reference that Saturn is afflicting Uttaravadrapada[17] and Ketu is on fire with fumes.[18] The first is an astrological term and the second is pure imagination. In the Visma Parva, we further find that both the Sun and the Moon are afflicting the Rohini constellation and this indicates astrological aspect and not the position of the Sun and the Moon.[19] Instances where the future is predicted from the signs are not rare. In the month preceeding the war there were two eclipses, Solar and Lunar. This happened before the scheduled time अपर्वणि and this was taken to bring disaster to the people in general.[20] In Visma Prava, there is a reference that if vulture falls on the head, it brings fear to the people.[21] In Mausala Parva, it has been stated that King Yudhisthira saw strange signs and symptoms in the thirty-sixth year of his reign which presaged the advent of Kali Yuga.[22]

Special mention of Solar and Lunar eclipses before and during the war has been made in many places and its evil effects on human beings and mundane affairs have been stressed. The how and why of these eclipses were known to the Indian Astronomers earlier, even during the Rig-Vedic time.[23] In Mahabharata, we find that on the day of the battle there was a Solar eclipse[24] and in the month preceeding the war there were two eclipses, Solar and Lunar, before scheduled time.[25] These eclipses occurred before time अपर्वणि on the thirteenth day of the Moon, on a त्रहस्पर्ष day, when three tithis met. Visma Parava refers to a Lunar eclipse on the full Moon day of the month Kartika and it was a क्षयमास of twenty-six days only.[26]

The position of the Planets, if determined correctly, can give an idea of the time when the Mahabharata war happened. But unfortunately evidences are conflicting and the positions can not be determined correctly. We know that there was a Solar elipse on the day of the war; therefore, it was a day of Amavasya, *i.e.*, new Moon day, and the Sun and the Moon were together in the same sign of the Zodiac. We have already seen that Moon was in Bishakha, therefore, Sun was also in Bishakha. Saturn and Jupiter were also near Bisakha विशाखाया समीपस्थौ बृहस्पति शनिश्चरौ। This may either be Libra or Scorpio. They were there together for one year सम्वत्सर स्थायिनौ च From this it may be safely assumed that Jupiter was retrograde for most of the period. Mars was covering Brahmarsi and was red in appearance.[27] Thus it was in Libra together with Venus and Mercury भृगुसुनु धरा पुत्रौ शनिपुत्र समन्वितौ As Mars was in Libra the other two Planets were also there. There was, therefore, a configuration of all the heavenly bodies either in the same or in two consecutive signs of the Zodiac, Libra and Scorpio. On consideration of the Planetary position of the period some scholars have found out that this configuration could have occurred in 3137 B.C. and have fixed this year as the year of the Mahabharata war.

The division of the Yugas, *i.e.*, Krita (Satya), Treta, Dwapara and Kali has been mentioned in several places and from the omens obtaining during this period it was predicted that the advent of Kali Yuga was near at hand. It is said that the Bharata war was fought at the juxtaposition of the Dwapara and Kali Yugas.[28] Thus Kali was to begin very shortly अचिरात् प्रवर्तते and King Yudhisthira, in his thirty-sixth year of reign saw bad omens"

In the Stri Parva, we find Gandhari cursing Krishna by saying that thirty-six years from the war Krishna will die, his kinsmen will be killed, his councillors and children will die, he will roam about in the forest and will be killed in a very evil manner.[29] The period when Krishna died coincided with this time as well as the time when Yudhisthira saw the bad omens. It is said in Vishnupurana that Kali came when Krishna died.[30] According to the Puranas, Kali

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consists of 4,32,000 human years. The ...ale of the division of the Yugas can not be ...ctly ascertained at such a distant date but ...ppears that it has some bearing on the 360 ...rees of the Zodiac (300×1200) and also to ...time taken to complete one full precessional ...ation of the Equinoctical points which takes ...t 25,960 years at 50 bikalas per year or 72 ...s for each degree of the ecliptic. From the ...tion of 4,32,000 years to the Kali Yuga, it ...ld not be far out to assume that the astrono...s of that time were quite aware of the prece...al revolution.

It has been said that grandfather Visma ...d die according to his will. He retired from ...battlefield on the 10th day of the war and ...ed for 58 days so that he could die in Uttar...a.[31] Uttarayana is the phenomenon of Sun's ...ing the Equator and moving northwards. ...religious men wanted to die in Uttarayana as ...as taken to be the path of Gods देवयान This ...ens when the Sun enters the celestial northern ...sphere. Bhisma left the world after waiting ...58 days, in the Lunar month of Magha, in ...bright half and on the 11th day.[32]

The data given hereinbefore may be ...ined by the scholars to fix a time period of Mahabharata war. We know that कौमुदेमासि ...n the Moon was in खेती Krishna started for ...inapur for the settlement of the dispute ...een the two parties and on his failure, the ...ava warriors gathered in Kurukshetra, when ...Moon was in मघा This is the 7th or the 8th ...of the dark half as Krishna said that there ...be New Moon after 7 days[33] and on this ...Moon day the great war started. Therefore, ...e New Moon day the Sun and the Moon ...together in Bishakha. In the previous month ...was a Lunar eclipse when the Moon was in ...ka: Therefore, Sun was in opposition. *i.e.*, ...degrees apart. In a fortnight Sun moves ...13 to 14 degrees; hence Sun was on the ...part of Bishakha during the Lunar eclipse ...on the last part when the war started. After ...ys from the begining of the war, when ...ma died, Uttarayana took place and the Sun ...at about 278 degrees of the Sideral Zodiac. ...we see that Bhisma died on or about the ...7th Magha, war started on or about the first of Agrahayana and Krishna went to Hastinapur on or about 22nd Kartika.

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1. *Mahabharata*, Adiparva, 66.

धनिष्ठादिस्त्रदाकालो ब्रह्मना परिकीर्तित

i.e., Dhanistadi system of measuring time was introduced by Brahma.

विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य···विष्णुपदे (श्रवणी)

i.e., under orders of Vishnu is being introduced —the constellation Sravana.

प्रतिश्रवणपूर्वाणि नक्षत्राणि चकारसः ।

or,

श्रवणादीनि ऋक्षाणि ऋतवः शिशिरादयः

(महाभारत)

5. *Taitteria Samhita*, (7|5|8),

चित्रापूर्णमासे दिक्षेरण मुखं वा एतत् सम्पत्सरस्य

यत् चित्रा पूर्णमासी मुखत एव··· ।

i.e., the full Moon of Chaitra is the beginning of the year and the Yagmas shall start on that day.

6. *Mahabharata*, (5.83.7)

कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे ।

i.e., in the month of Kaumudi, when Moon is in Revati, at the end of Sarata and in the beginning of Hemanta.

7. *Salya Parva*, 35.10.

निर्गच्छध्वं पाण्डवेयाः पुस्येण सहितामया ।

Oh Pandavas ; start for the battlefield when the Moon is in Pushya.

8. *Salya Parva*, 35.13.14.

मघा विषयवाः सोमस्वदिनं··

9. *Salya Parva*, 35.13.14.

मैत्र नक्षत्रयोगेभ्य सहित सर्व्ययादवे ।

10. *Visma Parva* 6.3.27

विशात्वाया समीघस्यौ बृहस्पति शनिश्चर

11. *Visma Parva* 3.14.15.

मघस्वं वाहके वक्रः

12. *Ibid.*

श्रवणे च बृहस्पतिः

13. *Ibid.*

भंग नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण पीड्यते

14. *Ibid.*

शुक्रः पीष्ठपदे पूर्वौ समाहुह्य विचरते

15. *Salya Parva* 11.17.

भृगुसूनु धरा पुत्रौ शशिपुत्रो समन्विते ।

i.e., Venus and Mars were in conjunction with Mercury.

16. *Salya Parva*

दीप्यमानाश्च संपेत दिति सप्तमहाग्रहा

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17. *Visma Parva* 3.14.15.

भंग नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण पीड्यते

18. *Visma Parva* 3.12.16.17.

श्यामो ग्रहः प्रज्ज्वलितः लधुम इव पावकः

i.e., the dark Planet is burning with fumes and fire.

19. *Ibid.*

रोहिणींपोड्यतयेव्यं उभौच शशीभारक है :—

i.e., both Sun and the Moon are afflicting the constellation Rohini.

20. *Mahabharata* 6.3.28.

चन्द्रादित्या इभौ ग्रस्तौ इकायहुतहि त्रयोदशीम ।

अपर्वणिग्रहेनैति प्रजा संछय मिच्छत् ॥

i.e., on the thirteenth tithi there have been eclipses of both Sun and the Moon; this untimely eclipses denote loss of the people.

21. *Visma Parva* 3.31.

गृध सम्पतते शीर्षे जनयन् भयमुत्तमम् ।

i.e., when vulture falls on the head, it brings fear to the people.

षड्त्रशेत्वथ सम्प्राप्ते वर्षे कौरवनन्दन ।

ददर्श विपरितानि निमित्रानि युधीष्ठिर : ॥

23. *Rig-Veda* 5.40.9.

यं वै सूर्यं क्षर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुर : ।

अत्रयस्तमन्दविंदन्नह्यन्ये अशक्नवन् ॥

i.e., solar eclipse happens when Moon comes between the Sun and the Earth; again Lunar eclipse occurs when Moon enters the shade of the Earth.

24. *Mahabharata* 4.143.4.

सौभक्त्य लक्षनव्याव्रत्वं शहुरर्कमुपैति च

25. *Mahabharata* 6.3.28.

26. *Visma Parva* 2.23.

अलक्षयः प्रभयाहीनः पौर्णमासीं च कर्तिकीं

चन्द्रहम्बुदभिवर्णश्च समवर्णो नभस्थले...

27. *Mahabharata* 6.3.18.

ब्रह्मराशिं समावृत्य लोहिनांग व्यवस्थित :

28. *Mahabharata, Adiparva* 5.13.

अन्तरे चैव सम्प्राप्ति कलि द्वापरयोरभूत् ।

समन्त पंचके युद्धं कुरु पाण्डव सेनयो : ॥

i.e., in the junction period between the Dwapara and Kali there was a battle between the Kurus and Pandavas in Samanta Panchaka, which is commonly known as Kurukshetra.

29. *Mahabharata, Stri Parva* 25.14.

त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षे षटत्रांशे मधुसूदन ।

हतज्ञातिः हतामात्यो हतपुत्रो बनेचरः

कुत्सितेनः उपायेन निधनं समवायह्यसि ॥

i.e., Oh killer of Madhu, thirty-six years hence you will roam about in the forest after your kinsmen, councillors and children are dead and you will met death in a very evil manner.

30. *Vishnupurana* ..24.14.

यदैव भगवद्विष्णोः अंशो यातोदिवंद्विज ।

बसुदेव कुलोद्भूतःतदैव कलिरागत : ॥

i.e., Oh Brahman, when God Vishnu, who came from the house of Vasudeva, died, then Kali came.

37. *Visma Parva*

अष्टपंचाशतं रात्रःशयानसाद्य मे गता : ।

शरेष्ठ निशिताग्रेषु यथा वर्ष शतं तथा ॥

i.e., I am lying here for 58 nights on pointed arrows and it appears like hundred years.

32. *Visma Parva.*

माघोहयं समनु प्राप्तो मासः सौम्योयुधिष्ठिर ।

त्रिभावाशेषः पक्षोधरम् शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥

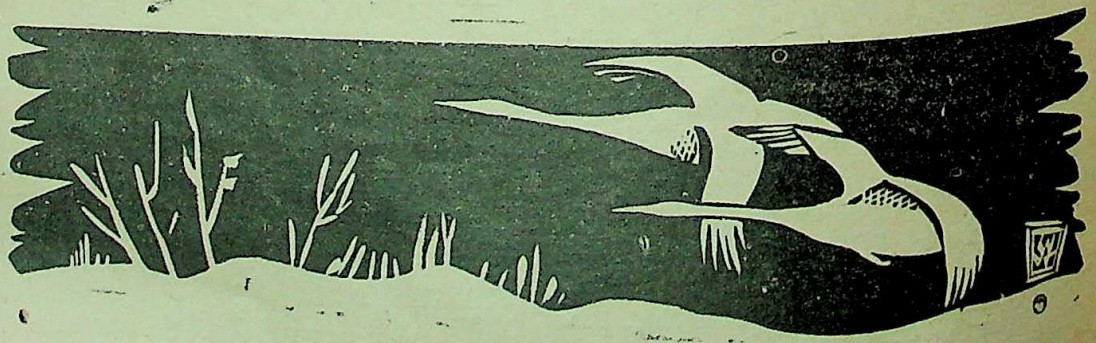
i.e., Oh Yudhisthira, this the bright half of the sacred month of Magha and two thirds of it has since elapsed.

33. Mahabharata 5.143.18.

सप्तमांचापि दिवसादभावस्था भविष्यति ।

संग्रामो पुज्यते तक्ष्यां तासाहु शक्रदेवताम् ॥

i.e., seven days hence there will be New Moon controlled by God Indra and it is better to start war on that day.



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SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONALISM

By RAGHUVIR SAHAY NIGAM

It has been said that the future evelopment and growth of Science will not epend upon the break-through achieved individual or even a group of scientists, even by one nation, but upon interna-nal co-ordination and co-operation.

Annihilation of distance, quick means transport, inter-dependence of nations the web of Life, the impossibility of ilised and comfortable existence without er-national exchange of goods (smugg-s are also inter-nationalists in a sense) d lastly the pollution of the atmosphere atomic fall-out have compelled Man to ink of people beyond the national bound-ies. Mountain peaks to climb cannot be d everywhere, game is found only in the lds, medicinal herbs are not universally istributed.

Problems can only be attacked teams of scientists, geographical factors emand crossing of man-made boundaries, thropological and ethnological problems ill take you to foreign lands till national unds appear mere tribal enclaves. Pala-tology tells us that the earth had had any species as the top-rulers, and the mo-sapiens may on account of having own dragon's teeth may pass into the mbo of geological history. Cry halt now, Man, to your attempts at self-annihila-n.

Co-operation in the study of meteorlo-al and climatological factors on an inter-ional basis last year must teach us that e world is ONE. International Atomic ergy Commission, however impotent to op nuclear armaments-race, is there. ternational Aid to developing nations s become a field for competition.

Humanity is maturing and has come to e Age of Reason if a few mad-caps do not ecipitate a global war within these enty years, Man will continue to flourish r centuries to come. The populace needs ing freed from the net of prejudices, short-sighted economic interests, demago-gic persuasions, ambitious scheming of rulers, before it can take to scientific mode of thinking, rationalsation etc.

Science has enabled Man to conquer Nature, but its greatest triumph will be if it inculcates the habit of calm rational scientific thinking in the populace. It is the common man that has now got the destiny of man in his hands and the edu-cation of masters will be the supreme act of science and scientists. Even the leaders in the armaments race look to scientists for the furtherance of their plans. Humanity is come to man-hood and will easily brush aside all shimmering cob-webs woven by Religion and Politics (Sant Vinoba Bhave has pronounced the end of Religion and Politics and heralded the coming of Science and Spirituality).

Science should not be taught in isola-tion with other traits of human personality. It should lead Technology and not subserve it at the behests of the Economic Man.

If the earth is to be made fit for man to live, Man must also be made fit to live. Forces of evolution can now be studied and the course of humanity in future can be guided, and a better type evolved. Conditions favourable to the emergence of a nobler type have to be created (care should be taken that the result is not Beautiful Futility) with all the demonaic energy of man bent on **Conquer-ing** deserts, oceans, space and planets. Science advancing vertically, and organi-cally expanding in other directions can achieve this millennium.

Nearer home we have the problem of national integration. These very methods applied after due consideration of exist-ing local factors are to be applied. Let anthropological and entnthnological studies dispel many notions about the superiority of castes, study of migrations of populations showing how the Pants came to Kumaon.

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Chavans to Maharashtra, Tagores and Chatterjis to Bengal, how a Namboordripad Brahman came to officiate as a priest in Badrinath. Collection of statistics of income these days will show to D.M.K. people how much more are southerners earning in the trans-vindhyan region than are the northerners in their zone.

How historical events in the north shaped the history of the south, how religions and migrations affected the life of one people and are even now affecting for good or evil to a much greater extent. It is the policy of making much of the States (though really they had been moities of one unitary whole unlike that in U.S.A.) that has created these regional schisms. Raising the standard of education and research will put into shade and shame protagonists of regional languages. Establishment of a National University will throw into the back-ground all the regionalised universities. The hard necessity to have the best teachers can be exploited by having an all-India cadre of University professors, all-India services, river-basin corporations for flood control, development of roads etc. Zones should be made more powerful and states denigrated. Unite or die. Politicians are always afraid of extending of spheres because they feel they will loom lesser on the horizon. By February 1962, all the contending politicians should have been painted as devils, and every party besmeared with pitch. Politics shall have been shown in its naked brutish uncouthness.

Growth of scientific knowledge with its compelling dose of scientific mode of thinking shall have done its part in the scheme of national integration.

Similarly inter-nationalism can also be promoted by scientifc developments and the ever-widening spheres embraced by it shall be developing an inter-national outlook if within these 20 years there is no global armageddon, and flights into Space are not accompanied by the shooting of inter-continental ballistic missiles.

The leavening influence of science is working beneath the cold crust of international jealousies. The latter shall have to give way.

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THE BHAKRA-NANGAL IRRIGATION SYSTEM

By Prof. K. S. SHARMA, M.A., M.Com.,
Head of the Dept. of Economics, D.A.V. College, Bulandshahr.

Among the achievements of the Punjab after partition, the Bhakra-Nangal Project stands out as the most remarkable which we are all proud of. The rapid progress made by the project during the last twelve years is its outstanding achievement. This the biggest and the most ambitious enterprise of the Government holds out a great promise of prosperity and progress not only to the people of Punjab but also to the people of U.P., Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. This splendid multipurpose project, unique in its dimensions and varied in its possibilities, has surpassed even the loftiest of the lofty dams in the world of today. It is likely to rejuvenate the lost aspirations and regenerate the life of the people of India.

Jungles had been cleared, hillocks broken down and the Sutlej like the sleeping dragon has been completely chained. The area which had once hummed with activity with the unbroken and deafening roar of engines, bulldozers and shovels and the dancing of trollies pouring concrete round the clock is now coming to a satisfactory close; where silence in the narrow valley will reign supreme again. Bhakra Dam the highest straight gravity dam in the world, has attained its final height of 740 feet from the deepest foundations. The project is now assuming fast the shape of

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completion—October 31, 1962, being the target date. Within the period of thirteen years a network of canals have been constructed.

Nangal-Hydel Channel

The Nangal-Hydel channel which takes off from the left bank of the river Sutlej is a Chef-d'oeuvre of engineering skill. It is the channel which feeds the Bhakra Main Line canal and its distributory system. It is also utilised for the generation of hydro-electric power. The principal features are :

Length—39.6 miles
Flow capacity—12,500 cusecs.
Excavation—23.8 million cubic yards.
Lining—34 million square feet.
Number of cross drainage works—58.
Number of bridges—34.

The total length of the canal is about 39.6 miles upto Rupar from where the main Bhakra Line Canal takes off its tail. It is designed to carry 14,500 cusics of water for the first 9,700 feet of its length and 12,500 cusics thereafter. The normal bed-width and water-depth of the canal are 80 feet and 20.5 feet respectively. The top-width being 140 feet.

The construction of the canal throughout the region presented a major construction challenge, many problems encountered being without precedent. The excavation involved 24 million cubic feet of earth and gravel. High ridges and deep ravines required excavation and earth-fill from 40 feet to 80 feet in height. The excavation work was more or less mechanised. The built-up banks of this canal were compacted with sheep foot rollers. By this technique the soil could be compacted even harder than the outside natural surface.

The canal is lined with concrete upto Kotla Power house about 18 miles from Nangal and with tile lining beyond Kotla. Lining is 5 inches thick in the bed so as to reduce the loss of valuable water through seepage and also to allow water to flow through it with a high velocity. To avoid cracks the concrete is laid in slabs of suitable dimensions, the joints resting on concrete sleepers underneath. It has been calculated that the total number of tiles used in lining the Bhakra canals and its branches are 65 crores and of bricks in masonry works in the entire irrigation system is 28 crores. These if put end to end, will go round the earth seven times at the equator.

The maintenance cost of the canal would be much lower in comparison to other canals in India because there would be no silt problem to be tackled in the channel. The water running at a high speed will wash it down the canal automatically. The canal has been provided with underground drainage in the tracts where sub-soil level is high so as to drain out seepage water at the bottom.

The canal was opened on 8th July, 1954, by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. The ceremony marked the inauguration of the Bhakra Canals described by the Prime Minister in his speech as a "living witness of the growing strength of a nation and its determination to go ahead." Declaring the Canal system opened before a vast multitude of men, women and children, he dedicated the project, "to the good of the Indian people." Pt. Nehru after having a view of this huge constructional undertaking said that he looked upon these places of big works as "temples and places of worship," "I feel more religious minded when I see the great works", he reitterated.

Rupar Head-works and Its Remodelling

Rupar Head-works feed Sirhind Canal which takes off from the left bank of the river Sutlej at Rupar. Prior to this remodelling, the Head Works consisted of a weir 2,370 feet long and the canal head regulator consisting of 13 bays of 20 feet each. It was found necessary to remodel the Rupar Head Works on account of the following reasons :

(i) The capacity of the Sirhind Canal was to be improved from 9040 cusecs to 12000 cusecs.

(ii) A new canal, called the Best Doab Canal was to be taken out from the right bank of the river Sutlej. It was, therefore, required to construct gates on the right

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side for the proper control of the river and the silt that it would carry.

(iii) The Head-works prior to remodelling was short of the required capacity. The former was designed to pass a maximum flood discharge of 3,50,000 cusecs only but actually a flood of 4,90,000 cusecs had passed causing considerable damage to the works.

The Head-works now have been completely remodelled at a cost of Rs. 1.26 crores. Now the remodelled weir consists of 60 feet, each separated by 7 feet thick piers. The height of the gates has been raised by two feet and a 22 feet side bridge across the barrage has been constructed.

Remodelling of the Sirhind Canal

There were certain reasons which compelled the authorities to remodel the Sirhind Canal system. There were considerable areas commanded by the Sirhind Canal which were included in the project irrigation boundary to start with, but were not actually brought under irrigation due to shortage of supplies. It was, therefore, proposed to supply water to irrigate these areas. At the same time, it was also decided to improve the water allowances on the Sirhind Canal to provide irrigation to the areas of the Punjab lying south west of the canal and the entire area of the earstwhile PEPSU. The revised capacity of the Sirhind Canal main line is worked out to 12,567 cusecs. The Sirhind Canal, its branches and distributories have been remodelled at a cost of Rs. 4.51 crores for extending irrigation to new areas of the Punjab.

Bhakra Main Line

The Bhakra Main Line is a continuation of the Nangal Hydel channel, and is designed to carry a discharge of 12,455 cusecs. Starting from Rupar it passes through the Malaves of the earstwhile PEPSU and proceeds almost straight to the border of Hissar district where it bifurcates into two branches—one lined (Bhakra Main Branch) and the other relined (Fatehbad Branch).

Work on the Bhakra Main Line started in 1950. About two years were spent on excavation work and lining was started on experimental basis in April, 1952. Thereafter, the work gained speed and in 2 years' time the entire Main Line was lined.

This is the biggest lined canal, 108 miles long. In fact a lined canal of this size and length does not exist anyhwere in the world. An idea of the magnitude of the work in lining this canal can be had from the fact that it involved the use of 28 crores of tiles, 20 lakh bags of cement, 2000 masons and about 15,000 labourers working daily. All tiles used in this work if placed end to end would go twice round the world at the equator.

Bhakra Main Branch

The Bhakra Main Branch takes off from the tail of the Bhakra Main Line near Tohana and runs west upto the boundry of Rajasthan where it feeds two Rajasthan channels. It is a lined channel 90 miles long, carrying discharge of about 5000 cusecs at the head and about 2000 cusecs at the tail. The work on the Bhakra Main Branch was started in May, 1949. The completion of such a gigantic system of canals in a period of about 5 years is a proud achievement.

Fatehbad Branch

This branch is 160 miles long and takes off from the tail end of the Bhakra Main Line with a head discharge of 1997 cusecs. One of it's offshoots pushes itself towards the Rajasthan border where it feeds Rajasthan channels. Both the canals i.e., the Bhakra Main Line and the Fatehbad Branch will irrigate the arid zones of the Hissar district, Dhudhal tract, Rajasthan and the earstwhile PEPSU. The last 30 miles of these canals pass through such a dry region that water is not available even at a depth of 100 feet.

Narwana Branch

Like the Upper Jhelum Canal and the Upper Chenab Canal left by us in Western Pakistan, the Narwana Branch is the only canal in the Punjab (I) which has

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signed and constructed as a feeder chan- d across the Doab. Taking off from the akra Main Line at Mile 32, near Sirhind, runs parallel to the railway line from hind to Ambala and then to Kurukshetra ere it joins the existing Sirsa Branch of e Western Jumna Canal near Budhera.

Acute shortage of supply has been the stant feature of the Western Jumna nal. Its three branches hardly run for days in a month which by no stretch of agination can provide thriving agricul- re. How to increase the supply on the stern Jumna Canal remained a pressing blem, until at last the construction of rwana Branch was decided upon. Now existing Sirsa Branch with a discharge 1894 cusecs will be fed through the rwana Branch by means of Bhakra water.

The Narwana Branch is 64.2 miles long d carries a discharge of 4500 cusecs at its d. It tails off into Sirsa branch deliver- a discharge of 2952 cusecs. An area of 3,000 acres of the Punjab and 1,73,000 es of the earstwhile PEPSU will be irri- ed on the west of the canal. A discharge 2952 cusecs will be passed into Sirsa nch which will increase the intensity of gation of about 10,25,000 acres in Hissar Karnal districts and in earstwhile PSU. The total irirgation will, there- e, come to about 17,93,500 acres. The or benefit of its construction will go to districts of the Punjab in addition to the gation of the forest areas of the Gula -Tehsil of Karnal district.

The Narwana Branch comprises 64.2 s of lined canal, 400 miles of distribu- s and minors, 160 miles of drains. The l length of channels aligned and con- ted comes to 874 miles.

One can imagine the vast magnitude of work accomplished when he is told 60,000 tons of cement, 10,000 tons of and 14,00,000,000 tiles have been used 50,00,00,000 cubic feet of earth, 00,000 square feet of lining, 25 crores age works, 100 falls and regulators and bridges have since been constructed on Narwana Branch. The drainage prob- was both colossal and complicated and oil met with along Narwana Branch ally hard. In spite of the serious bottlenecks created by non-availability of qualified staff and scarcity of materials causing delay, the speed with which the work has been completed two years ahead of the schedule has no parallel in the history of the Punjab Irrigation Department for more than a centuary.

It makes an interesting study to note that the perennial full supply discharge of 45,000 cusecs of the Narwana Branch at its head is equivalent to the construction of about 3 lakhs of new percolation wells. It will bring an area of about 10 lakh acres under irrigation in the Punjab, including the earstwhile PEPSU, increasing food production to the tune of 3.5 lakhs tons annually i.e., worth Rs. 20 crores. It is needless to say that this increase in the income of the farmers is bound to open up new evenue of employment even in the non-agricultural spheres. Besides, the present devastation done by the floods will be controlled and the jungle infested areas brought under the plough.

Beas Doab Canal

The tract of land enclosed by the two great rivers of the Punjab—the Sutlej and the Beas—is called Doab and more rightly known as the 'Garden of the Punjab'—is a fertile piece of land but unfortunately devoid of irrigation facilities. Their traditional form of irrigation has been by means of wells. The under-ground water has however, been progressively depleted during the last 50 years by extensive well-irrigation.

The Bias Doab Canal system consists of 90 miles of main and branch canals, 600 miles of distributories and minors. Thanks to the untiring effeorts of our engineers and the labourers, a job which should have ordinarily taken 7 years to complete has been finished in two years' time, a rare achievement of which Punjabis are justly proud of. This has resulted in making available the benefits of canal irrigation to the farmers of the area much earlier than the scheduled time.

The engineers have put in the requisite tremendous efforts by collecting about 21000 men workers on the canal during the

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winter of 1952-53. On an average 10,000 men have worked for 2 years. In this period the total amount of the works executed have been 50 crores cubic feet of earthwork, 27.2 miles of lining and 396 bridges.

The estimated cost of the Bias Doab Canal is Rs. 4.3 crores. The areas to be irrigated are Jullundar and Hoshiarpur districts. The discharge of the canal at its head is 1800 cusecs which is equivalent to the services of 1 lakh new persian wells. The major benefits of this canal go to Jullundar district. Most of the 'Barani' and 'Banjar' areas will come under cultivation bringing about an increase in the production of food grains and additional income to the agriculturists. In the ultimate analysis, the accelerated construction of this canal is an integral part of the over-all schemes launched by the present State Government to ameliorate the economic and social conditions of the public in general and the displaced persons who were deprived of their canal irrigated lands in the West Punjab in particular.

The opening of these canals and the extension of old ones has ushered a new ara of prosperity and plenty in the North-Western India. Distribution of supplies has been improved resulting in an increase of irrigation by 30 per cent within the shortest possible period. The measures adopted by the Government to increase irrigation have never been so comprehensive and consumate in the past as were adopted in the Punjab after partition. The tempo of work has indeed been the highest ever recorded in the State. Let th figures lay bare the truth themselves. The opening of the Barwala and Sidhwan branches serving over 7 lakh acres within a period of 2 years of the start of the work and another five distributories in 1952-53 were stupendous tasks ahead. Last five years have seen a net work of 2800 miles of the canals branches and ditributories completed. These include the Bhakra canal the longest lined canal and the Nangal Hydel channel the most difficult canal ever constructed in the world.

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CULTURAL PATTERNS REGULATING LAWS OF INHERITANCE OF THE SANTALS

By AJIT KUMAR DANDA, M.SC.,
Cultural Research Institute

In the month of October, 1960, the author undertook the survey of a Santal village, *viz.*, Muramsol, of Jhargram sub-division in Midnapore district. The object of that study was to get some first hand idea about the laws of inheritance of the Santals. It is a fact, that the Santals have no codefied law of inheritance as yet, and connection seems to guide the procedure.

The act of codification of anything is a [illegible] thinking. Because legislative measure cannot change the actual practice of the society if it is not given the status of a norm. By legislation we may create a physical fencing but this is nothing but a barricade to individual thinking. What is apparent may appear to be the just opposite of the actual norm. Naturally, we will encourage inhibition rather than imposition in this respect.

The village studied, is about 25 miles away in the north-western direction from Jhargram town which is the sub-divisional headquarter. It is connected with Jhargram and Gidni Railway Stations by bus route. Public buses ply several times a day through this village. The district board pucca road has crossed through the heart of this village.

The village studied is purely a purposive sample. Little statistical procedure was followed while selecting this village for study. As the study was exploratory in nature there was no harm in taking a purposive sample [illegible]

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tion. It is true, however, that the result is nificant to a limited degree.

There are 31 families in the village with an rall population of 180, of which 93 are males 87 are females. Of the total population, only persons were studied, *i.e.*, 13.3 per cent and e 24 persons are represented by both sexes, proportion of which is 5.1, males and females ectively. In spite of the selectiveness of ple and feebleness in numerical strength, of informants, the limited value of this study not be ignored.

Printed questionnaires were administered ch contained 41 questions regarding the laws inheritance and almost all the probable wers with their alternatives were put forward re the informant to choose his return. Each the alternatives were pursued further to study norm and attitude of the persons concerned. ough this method has the drawback of some- biasing the informant, yet here in this case, was felt necessary to give him a ready answer its form or shape at hand. As the subject of dy is a highly complicated one, the applica- of this method was worth following. Side side with it, the actual movement of the assets e studied with the application of Genealogical hod or case history method. All the 41 ques- s with probable returns were put-forward variabilities in norm and attitude were ked against 25 items only. Here, however, I l discuss about the extent of variation of m and attitude in the laws of inheritance of persons concerned.

The general standard or pattern of be- iour of the society is called the norm. But, the society itself is going through a processes hange we may not expect any stability in the m and ideas which are practically the exter- outburst of thoughts of the folk organisers. e to contact and other factors, the ideas of a ular era change with the march of time. this process of change we find certain new ghts or ideas which being consolidated take shape of attitude. In the latter phases of the ess of change; sometimes the attitude re- es the previous norm and itself takes the e of it.

The norm is the codified form may be d as a law. But there are certain cases find that the law has encased itself within the sleeves of books being disapproved from all corners of the society.

The term law is confined to "social control through the systematic application of the force of politically organised society". But instead of systematic social control if it disturbs the central balance of the society, the absolute value of the whole phenomenon comes down to nothing, whatever the relative values may be.

However, so far the age groups of the informants are concerned, they may be classified into the following five categories :—

Age group :	Number of persons.
—20	3
20 + —30	6
30 + —40	6
40 + —50	6
50 +	3
Total :	24

Of the 24 informants only 6, *i.e.*, 25 per cent did not show any variation in their norm and attitude and 75 per cent, *i.e.*, 18 differed in their norm and attitude to one or some of the items.

Out of six persons, who did not show any variation four persons belong to the age group 50 and above. Their age fairly satisfy their orthodoxy. Of the other two, who did not show any sign of variation one was 40 years old and the other was 19 years of age.

If we take the number of items into consideration we find the variability up to the extent of 60.97 per cent and when the number of informants are counted we find that 75 per cent of them differ from the actual norm. In both the cases the percentages are significant to a greater degree which apparently may promulgate the chaotic condition of the society. But, in fact, the society is going on well without causing any injurious sore on persons, in spite of so much diversities. There are certain reasons behind it.

First of all the norm of a society may be considered as the behaviour pattern of the major portion of the society. At least once [illegible] supported by the majority. In course of tim[illegible] the change of the world new ideas may [illegible] among the members of the society [illegible] Yet the change in behaviour pattern [illegible] readily acceptable, as in the case [illegible] objects.

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Secondly, the outward expression of norm, so far as the laws of inheritance are concerned, is very limited.

Thirdly, individual flexibility allow some tolerance.

Fourthly, all the 75 per cent of people do not differ in all the 60.97 per cent of cases. Most of the people differ—one or two item. From the last table it will be clear that as many as 14 persons differ in one item only. On the other hand, only one person differs in 12 items which is the maximum. Lastly, rationality of the social being do not disturb the central pivot of the social balance due to some minor reasons.

Of the 18 persons who differed in norm and attitude 14 persons differed against question one. The question was "if a man dies with three sons (born of the same wife) surviving" which of the following provisions is correct according to you", etc. Then the answers were put forward with its probable alternatives. I shall not deal with them here in detail. However, all the 24 informants agreed that the eldest son got a larger share but 14 persons of the 24, *i.e.*, 58.3 per cent cast their opinion in favour of the answer that the three sons should inherit the property equally. Their argument is that as the sons belong to the same father and mother there should not be any differential treatment in this regard. The opponents also had their own argument. According to them the eldest son is entitled to entertain the relatives and it is he who is to worship the family deity and to offer sacrifices to the deceased ancestors. So the larger share enjoyed by him is quite legitimate. However, as I am not to discuss the arguments and counter arguments here, I will delimit my discussion towards the extent of variation.

The next item against which a major number of people differed is the serial 17 and the number of persons differed is 8. Here the question was "if a man dies with his daughter's son and own brother surviving which of the following provisions is correct according to you", etc. All the informants agreed that the [illegible] property is inherited by the deceased, brother, [illegible] indicative of the fact that the family is joint [illegible] society [illegible]oned. But 8 of the 24 informants, *i.e.*, legislation [illegible] said that the daughter's son should [illegible] this is [illegible] property if the property had been [illegible] *thinking* [illegible] before—the death. One thing, which *just* [illegible] will no[illegible] be out of place to mention here is that there is a great controversy about the property right of the women in different patriarchal societies. The Hindu Succession Act has given equal share of property rights to the Hindu women. But there are certain laws which cannot gain ground against social convention, in spite of its legislative protection. The name of Widow Remarriage Act may be mentioned here as an example. The Hindu Succession Act is also a matter worthy of observation. Among the Santals also the women have no right to inherit the property. But this question has obtaind the sympathy of 1|3rd of the total persons questioned. This is undoubtedly a noteworthy trend which may perhaps be a recent development.

The Santals have their own customary laws of inheritance which is neither purely Mitasshara nor Daybhag or anything else. Naturally there are certain local variations found in different areas. As they have got no codified law of their own, instinctively they become influenced by the law of the loca people.

In the area of my study the Santals are living side by side with the Hindus and naturally they have become Hinduised to a greater degree. Among the Hindus the modern trend is towards the equal property right of both the sexes. The impact of Hindus also has imported identical forces among the neighbouring tribals.

The next items in which a large number of informants differed are the serials 15,16, 20 and 32. Seven persons differed in their norm and attitude against each of these four items. But one thing that should be remembered here is that the same group of seven persons did not show the variation against all these four items. They are different groups from the total number of 18 persons.

Question 15 asks "if a man dies with his daughter and brother surviving which of the following provisions is correct according to you, etc". It is the usual custom of the society that the brothers will inherit the property and the daughter will get her maintenance till marriage. Each of the informants admitted that; but 7 of them, *i.e.*, 29.16 per cent said that the daughters should inherit the property.

Question 16 asks "if a man dies with his son's daughter and own brother surviving, which of the following provisions is correct according to you, etc". The convention is that the [illegible]

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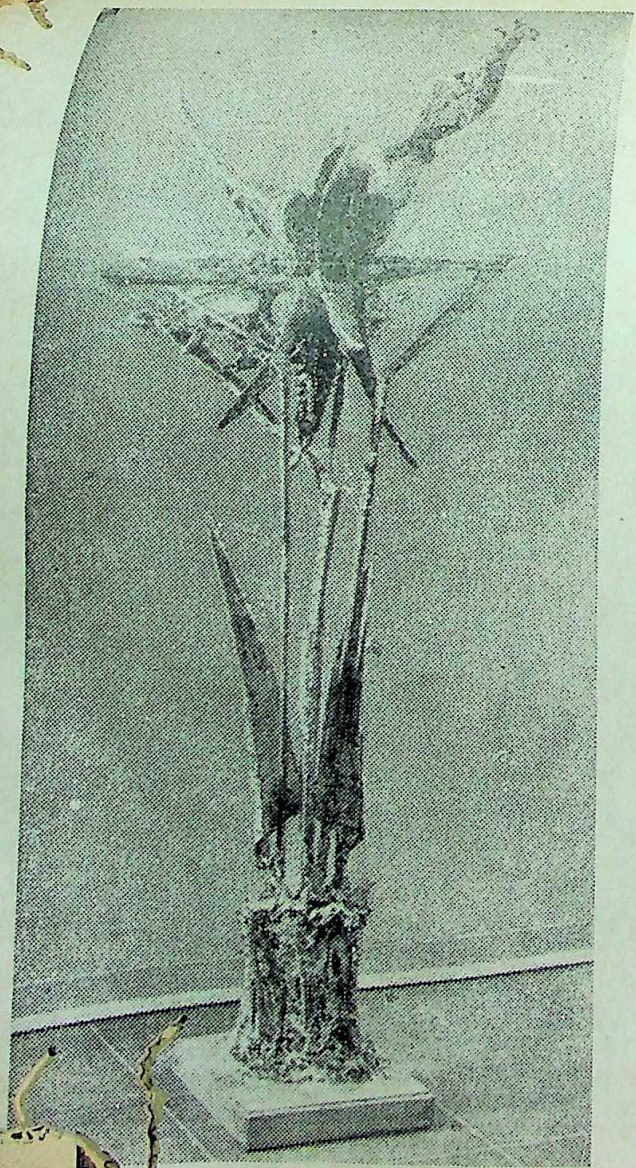
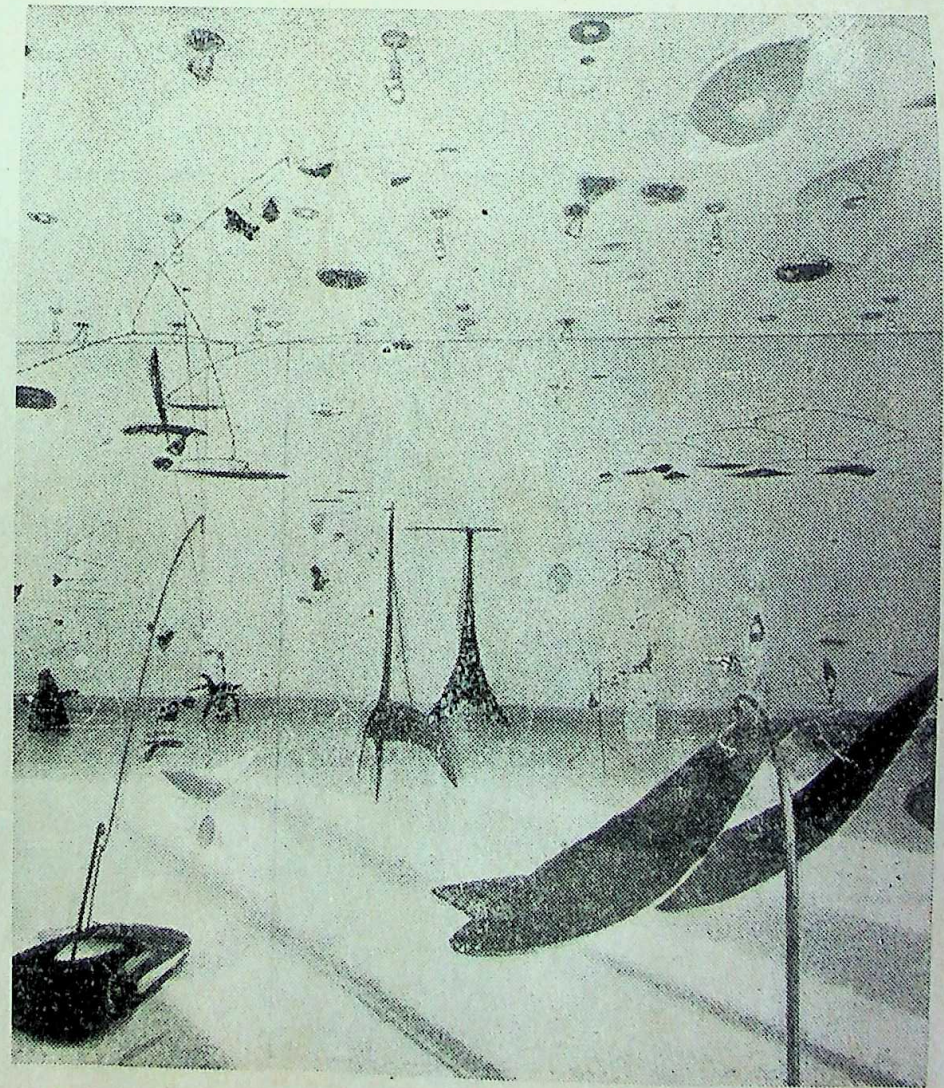


e Roszak's "Sea Sentinel" a
magery in steel and bronze



Alexander Calder's work, including mobiles and drawings, is shown here

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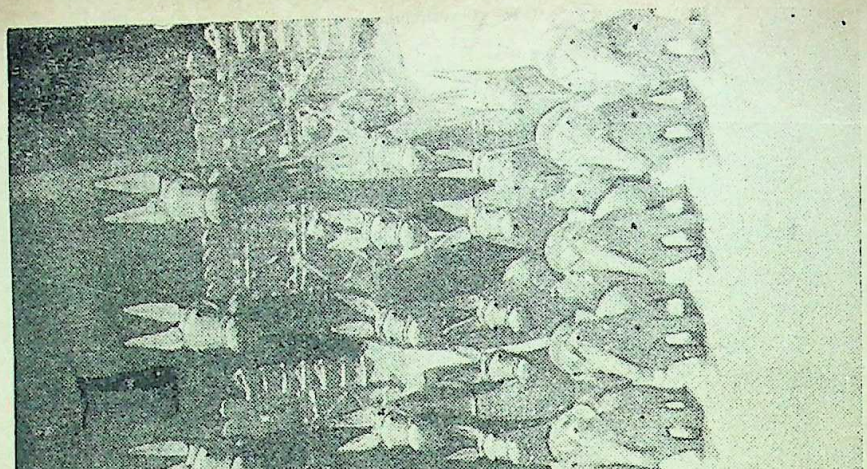

Image of Devi Manasa
(Lower Centre)
From Panchmura, Bankura

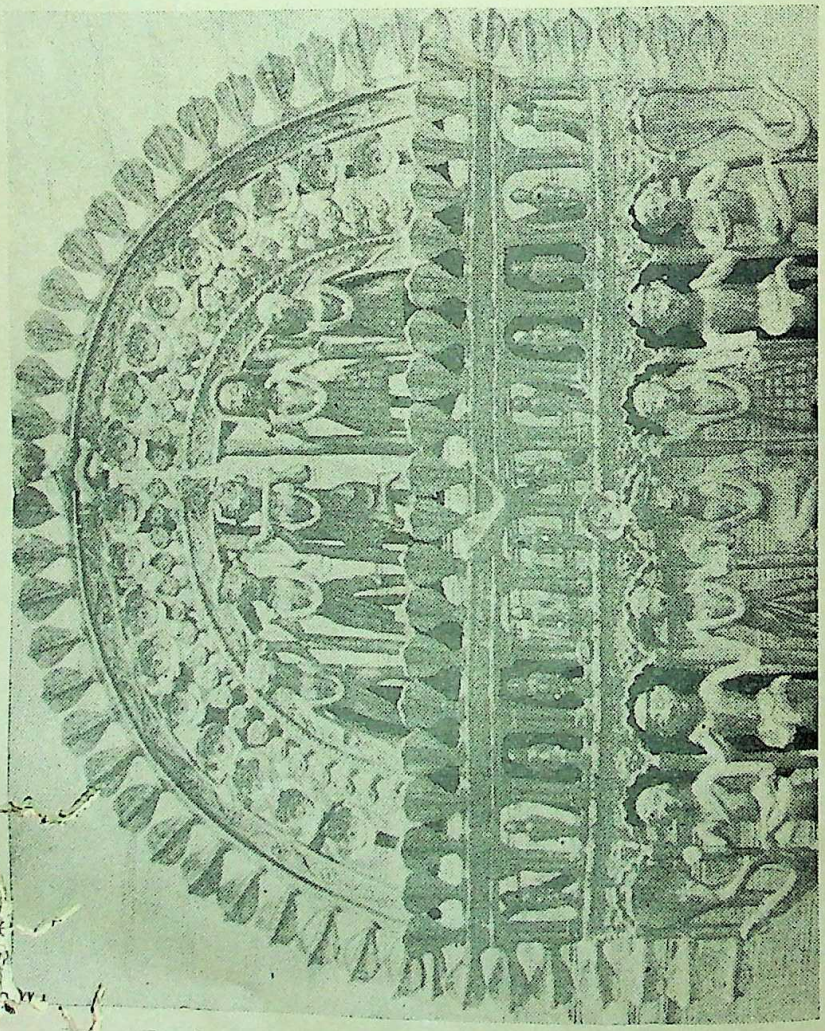

Image of Devi Manasa
From Panchmura, Bankura

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ld inherit the property but 29.16 per cent the informants differed in their norm and ude. Of them 16.7 per cent are of opinion the property should be equally shared by brother and son's daughter and 12.40 per cent of opinion that the son's daughters should erit the property to the exclusion of brothers.

In serial 20 the question was "if a man dies a son's daughter and a brother's son sur- g which of the following provisions is ct according to you, etc". In this case also per cent of the informants differed in their and attitude. All the informants agreed the brother's son would inherit the pro- , but 12.40 per cent are of opinion that the daughter should inherit the property and per cent are in favour of dividing the pro- equally between them.

In case of question number 32, the matter most identical. Here it was asked, "if a man with his father's father and brother's son iving which of the following provisionis are ct according to you, etc". All the informants ed that the convention is that the brother's should inherit the property, but 7 persons red from this norm of the society. Of them sons are of opinion that the property should qually shared by them and 2 persons said the property should go to the father's father the exclusion of brother's son. According to the property is sure to go to the brother's in the long run. So let the ancestor enjoy property so long he is alive.

In question number 21 it was asked, "if a dies with a daughter's daughter and a her's son surviving which of the following isions is correct according to you, etc". In this case all the informants agreed that property is inherited by brother's son but them, *i.e.*, 25 per cent are in favour of the daughter's daughters equal share of rty.

So far as the question numbers 3, 12 and are concerned 3 persons difffred in their and attitude in each case. Question number "if a man dies with three sons born of wife and two sons born of another wife of the following provisions is correct ing to you", etc. The usual norm is that three sons born of one wife will get one-half property and the two sons born of another get the other half. But all the three persons who differed in their norm and attitude agreed that the 5 sons should get equal share.

In question 12 it was asked "on the death of a woman who was married more than once, do you think that property originally inherited by her from one husband should devolve upon the heirs of that husband and not upon the children by another husband or heirs of another husband. Each of the informants answered in the affirmative but 12.5 per cent of them argued, if the woman originally inherited the property from her respective husband then property should be equally distributed amongst her heirs.

"Question 31 asked if a man dies with a brother's daughter and a sister's son surviving which of the following provisions is correct according to you etc." All the informants agreed that the brother's daughter would enjoy the property till her marriage and ultimately the property would go to the sister's son. But 12.5 per cent of them are in favour of giving the property to the brother's daughter to the exclusion of sister's son.

So far question numbebr 8, 9 and 14 are concerned only 2 persons different in their norm and attitude and only one person different each of another 13 items. As the number of heads differed are meagre, I will not discuss these cases here in details. Not only that, as the subject of study is the extent of variability in norm and attitude, it is of no use to discuss these cases in elaborations.

The following table will show the total number of persons differed in their norm and attitude and the total number of items.

No. of persons.	*Total no. of items.*
14	1
8	1
7	4
6	1
3	3
2	3
1	12
Total :	25

From the above analysis, it will not to conclude anything definitely and alised way as the sample is small and one. However, what ever we may purely on empirical statement. But it is

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picuous that a fairly large number of people deviated from their norm sofar as laws of inheritance are concerned. What is the reason behind this deviation is yet a matter for consideration.

One thing which I wish to mention here is that the society itself is running well inspite of so many deviations. Apparently it may seem to be sometning unnatural. But it is because the inherent conservatism in our minds which copensates the innate disturbances.

Another thing which is noteworthy to mention here is that the attitude of the Santal law of inheritance is growing as per the Hindu concept. Whether this trend has been imbibed from them or not; is still to be revealed.

———:O:———

SOME LINKS BETWEEN BENGAL AND RAJPUTANA

By O. C. GANGOLY

I cannot express in words how happy I feel in coming to this meeting and take part in the opening of this Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings executed by young artists from Rajasthan.

In Calcutta there has been a lot of development in the growth of Modern Painting and we have in Calcutta, almost every week Exhibitions of the works of Modern Artists.

But this is first time that we are having an Exhibition of living artists from Rajputana.

The practice of pictorial art in Rajputana comes down from several centuries and the traditions of Rajput Painting come down to as late as the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. Although the generations of the old Master of Rajputana at various centuries—have gradually died down. I believe, there are still some practising painters, here and there, who are carrying on the great traditions of the Rajput School.

And the responsibility of developing the old traditions now rest on the young painters of Rajasthan, who are the legitimate heirs to the great traditions of the old School, the works of which have been carried to all parts of the world and have won unstinted praise and admiration. [illegible] are all anxious to see how the present heirs [illegible] great traditions, the new and young [illegible] of Rajputana, are able to do credit to [illegible]luable heritage and on what path of [illegible]velopment the modern practitioners will [illegible] carry the traditions of old. Most of the masterpieces of Rajput Painting are to be seen in the soil of Rajasthan and have found their way to all the Museums of the world. And it is a difficult task for our young artists to get access to them and facilities to study them except in good reproductions and in photographs.

It is, therefore, necessary to provide proper facilities to our young painters to study the great masterpieces of this School.

For, unless they can realize by actual study of the old Masters how much has been achieved it is not possible for the moderns to chalk out the paths of new developments.

We are all anxious to see how modern representatives of these old Schools build the ways for new developments. I only hope the young painters should avoid the baneful influence of the Modernistic manners and techniques imported from Europe. Our young painters should stand firmly rooted on their own traditions and yet find new ways of developments along lines, manners and methods not previously tried by the old Masters.

In their new experiments they deserve our sympathy, appreciation, encouragement and patronage. They can learn much from the experiments of the New School of Modern Painting founded by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. And many of the new Bengal artists, disciples of Tagore, have carefully studied the old Masters of Rajasthan and have greatly benefited by such study.

Bengal and Rajasthan, separated by long distances of space, and cultural climate, have on several occasions in the past and [illegible]

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A seated Marwari Lady

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the products of their respective cultures and have been tied up by many intimate relations of understanding. We can cite at least three significant occasions of mutual understanding and respect.

The famous masterpiece of Vaishnava devotional poem the great *Gita-Govinda* of Jayadeva (12th century) was carried to Rajputana and was studied by a great connoisseur of literature the famous RANA KUMBHA OF MEWAR (1419-1460 A.D.) who has recorded his reactions to the great Bengali masterpiece in his learned and illuminating commentry—on the *Gita-Govinda* known under the name of *Rasikapriya*.

So that by composing this commentary, Rana-Kumbha built an intellectual link between Bengal and Rajasthan annihilating the great distance that separates the two countries. It has been well said : that "One touch of Vaishnavism makes the whole world kin."

The touch of Vaishanvism—that the *Gita-Govinda* has stretched out of Rajputana, has tied two distant culture—areas in one intimate knot of close kinship.

Another link between the two distant countries was built by Raja Man Singh of Jaipur when he came to Bengal under the orders of emperor Akbar When he returned from Bengal after finishing the royal commission—Man Singh carried with him the Image of Kali,—known to us as *Yasoreshwari*, (Shalyadevi) all the way from Jessore and installed this Image of Kali in a temple he built for the Goddess—on the hill of Amber. So that if Vaishnavism was one of the links—the cult of Shakti—provided another link between Bengal and Rajputana. Along with the Image of Kali went a group of Bengaless to Amber and the descendents of this group of Bengalees are still living at Amber as the priests and *sevayets* of the Goddess

Going to Fetch water

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Visvesvari. These colonized Bengalees have now forgotten their own native language—speak in the Hindi language.

A third link between the two countries is provided by the activity of King Jay Singh when he founded the new city of Jaipur, in the year 1731. For planning and building the city Raja Jai Singh requisitioned the services of a Bengali town-planner named Vidyadhar Bhattacharyya, who planned the beautiful city of Jaipur for the King and his name is still commeorated in the name of a Street called *Vidyadharki rasta.* The house where Vidyadhar lived is still identified and pointed out to visitors. The later links between Bengal and Rajasthan have been kept up by generations of traders and commercial people who began to pour into Calcutta about the year 1890 and these traders and commercial adventurers have contributed greatly to the building and development of the new city of Calcutta. And now a group of young painters of Rajputana have today built a new link by exhibiting their paintings for the appreciation and understanding of the cultured citizens of Bengal.

On behalf of the citizens of Calcutta, I have great pleasure in according to these paintings and their painters a warm welcome of appreciation and understanding.

Our politicians are busy devising means to bring about an emotional integration between different groups of our people and I personally believe that the best means of attaining an 'emotional integration' is by appreciating the Visual Art productions of the different parts of our great country.

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open. I am sure all the lovers of Art—in this city will crowd into this hall and pay their tribute to the productions of these young painters.*

**An adderss delivered on 7th May last—while opening an Exhibition of Modern Painters of Rajasthan. The Illustrations are from Blocks lent by the Courtesy of Sangit Kala Mandir.*

———:O:———

UNITED NATIONS' NEW PROBLEM

By J. A. NAIK

When in October, 1945, the leaders of 50 States met at San Francisco to found an International organisation in place of the dead League of Nations, they had borne in mind the fact that the major weakness of the League was both constitutional and functional. The League had to deal with an indefinite number of big powers with their unsettled roles. During its course Germany was given a permanent seat; when Japan resigned, Russia received one. Italy withdrew in the wake of the Ethiopian crisis and U.S. never joined.

Both the League Council and the League Assembly were given identical mandates to deal with any matter . . . affecting the peace of the world." Even though the Council, along with its big powers, was conceived to shoulder the major responsibility, as years rolled on, its importance decreased as major decisions began to be taken in the Assembly.

In order to avoid exactly this defect, the United Nations' Organisation was made, in constitution, a government of the big. The Security Council gave permanent seats to five major powers with the right to veto any resolution dealing with substantial matters not procedural in nature. It was thought that the functional strength of an international organisation lay in its big power association. The defiance of its decisions by big powers lead either to the latter's exit, as was witnessed in the case of the League, or saps the former's strength.

With a view to strengthen the effectual functioning of the United Nations' Organisation, the Security Council was made its principal organ whose "primary responsibility" was "the maintenance of inter-

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national peace and security." The members "agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council." The General Assembly, on the other hand, "may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security" and .... "may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the State or States concerned or to the Security Council or to both."

The U.N.O. functioned in accordance with the provisions of the Charter during its earlier period. As the course of international politics led big powers into blocks, unaccommodative to each other, decisions of the Security Council began to be halted and hampered by exercise of the powers of veto and thus the Security Council became very often a non-functional body. Irrespective of its paralytic state, pressing problems of the world community had their own way. The expediency, the cold-war politics, and the pressure of the unresolved problems brought a smooth constitutional change in the working of the U.N.O. It is this unamended change in the United Nations which has posed a new problem for the big powers and, as some of them feel, is possibly leading the U.N.O. towards the way of the League.

The United Nations' Organisation, thus, underwent a change which affected both the working of the organisation and the big powers in it. The Security Council which was intended to be an agency of the international govt. proved far below its alloted role and the General Assembly, contemplated to be a deliberative body, went ahead of its limited functions. This decline of the Security Council, and through it of the hold of the big powers, and the ascendency of the General Assembly went on record when in 1950 North Korea committed aggression on South Korea and the Security Council, as expected, was deadlocked by the use of the Soviet veto. America was impatient to act swiftly and her representatives took the matter before the General Assembly under a 'Uniting for Peace' resolution. Passing of this resolution by the General Assembly, and acting upon it by the U.N., constituted a precedent amounting to almost a constitutional change in the functioning of the world body. The new role of the General Assembly was emphasised in the resolution which provided that "if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility .... in any case where there apears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including, in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression, the use of armed forces when necessary." The General Assembly then recommended that each member should maintain "within its national armed forces elements trained.....for service as U.N. unit or units." In addition a "Collective Measures Committee" was to formulate plans for the application of sanctions as required. The new role of the General Assembly, thus, was to fill the vacuum created by the inaction of the Security Council. A further resolution passed made the General Assembly summonable in such circumstances on 24 hours notice. In the event the Security Council deadlocked it became, thus, the primary specific responsibility of the General Assembly to act for the preservation of peace and security. It was certainly more than an organisational improvement.

Over and above such usurpation of authority by the General Assembly the Security Council was crippled in other ways also. Provisions of the Character require the General Assembly not to proceed with matters on the Council agenda. Course of events, however, led to a different practice. A number of cases have been removed from the deadlocked Security Council to the General Assembly by a simple majority vote on the interpretation that such a removal is a procedural matter and hence not requiring the unanimous votes of all the big five. A simple majority of seven, as in other such cases, suffices now to bring any matter before the General Assembly irrespective of its seizure by the Security Council. Furthermore the General Assembly has interpreted Article 12 liberally and has made recommendations on issues lingering on the Council agenda at the same time. These new

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practices have virtually side-tracked the Security Council when it seems to be unwilling to move on.

What is more important here is not whether the Security Council is losing its ground or the General Assembly is gaining. We are more concerned with its repercussions on the big powers who were intended to be the governing heads of the organisation. With its decline, the Security Council brought descendency on the big, and with its rise the General Assembly brought importance to the small. Whether this is helpful to the international organisation itself is worth examining.

If one follows the recent trends of behaviour in the U.N. of some of the big, or the reactions of the leaders and the press, it makes clear to him that the West, at least, is not very happy over the course of the change that has overtaken the U.N. Voting analysis in the U.N. shows that both France and U.K. are lagging far behind the tune of the times. The world war ended nearly two decades ago. But the French have not still adjusted themselves to the requirements of the current trends. On any resolution with some liberal provisions, such as conceding freedom to some African countries, opposing segregative policies of Africa's White rulers, or keeping Portugal within the bounds of human decency, etc., de Gaulle's France is still on its pedestal of the past. On more than one occasion General de Gulle has shown his open hostility to the domination of the 'small and weak'.

The reaction is understandable in case of the French and the English ; for, a nation with lost power is generally the last to adjust with the rest. It is more so with regard to people whose attachment to the past governs their sense of the present. The English will normally have it. But what they are more concerned with is the American reaction. An Assistant Editor of a leading American weekly (Look : Oct. 10, 1961) has asked whether the 'new-nation rule' will lead the U.S. to 'destroy the U.N.' Adlai Stevenson is reported to have said : "The crisis of our loyalty to the U.N. is still ahead of us. We lost our position of domination . Are we prepared to accept this change ? Our test—our decision—remains to be seen."

The second factor which is crucial in this respect is whether the small nations will use their power with a sense of responsibility befitting their new role. It is too early to hazard any conjecture in this regard. It depends upon so many factors, such as their unity, their participation in cold war politics, their leadership, etc.

If, however, the emergence of the numerically larger group takes the U.N. consistantly against one or two really big powers, one is afraid whether the history of the League of Nations would also be repeating itself in the U.N. premises. The majority may carry resolutions along with it. But in international politics, as in family affairs, it is not what we say that shapes things ; it is the strength behind that really counts.

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MODERN SCULPTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

Industrial Civilization Affects Current Trends

By PAUL MOCSANYI

RICHARD Stankiewicz, one of the "angry young men" in American sculpture, said the other day:

"I do not agree with those who separate machines from nature and say 'when a bird builds its nest it's *nature*, but when man builds a machine it's artificial.' Why? Man too builds by instinct. And is thinking unnatural? The machine is a correction projected from the mind of man."

Many of the leading sculptors in this country started their careers as artisans, mechanics or engineers. Herbert Ferber was a dentist, David Hare a commercial color photographer, Alexander Calder studied engineering, Richard Lippold was an industrial designer, Devid Smith welded armor plates on tanks during the war, Theodore Roszak built aircraft and taught aircraft mechanics.

Some artists use hand cranks and small motors to make their sculptures look like working machines. Others have adopted working methods borrowed from industry and technology, like welding. They work with heavy, obdurate material, the very nature of which is hostile to traditional refinements of sensibility.

In the workshops of Calder, Smith, Lipton and Ferber, to name only a few, one would look in vain for casts, marble, plaster or armatures. Their places are cluttered by steel shavings, wire, nuts, bolt, punched metal, lathes and saws.

Herbert Ferber's "Horned Sculpture" offers a good example of a method described by Sam Hunter in his book, "Modern American Painting and Sculpture":

"Ferber proceeds by stages, from a line or wash drawing to a small, working model, and then attacks the final large-scale sculpture as an independent structure, often discarding or elaborating on some of the features of his model. He cuts with automatic shears from sheet copper or brass appropriately shaped strips. The flat strips are joined by welding to form narrow v-shaped troughs and sharply angular zigzags, or they are bent and hammered into a variety of curved shapes. These individual elements are then welded together into an open construction or geometric and organic forms. In the process Ferber continues to cut, perforate or build out his surfaces with the torch in irregular bosses and protuberances. In this way, he can introduce new structural tensions, which may either reassert his original forms or actively oppose them. . . ."

Seymour Lipton has given an interesting account of his evolution in this direction:

"In the late thirties I made wooden pieces based on social problems, the formal mood stemming from memories of Gothic and primitive sculpture, as well as German Expressionism. I soon found wood and social problems too limiting for my creative freedom. I went into metal casting. Leaving the human figure in 1942, I began using skeletal forms, horns, pelvis, first in bronze and then in lead construction and other ways to convey the basic struggles in nature on a broader biological level. . . .

"I sought to make a sculpture as an evolving entity, to make a thing suggesting a process. I felt the rightness of curved, convoluted forms, outgrowing but not fully spread, as a new sculptural phraselogy for what I was doing, concern with internal and external anatomy. . . ."

Alexander Calder, began with a vision of the celestial universe. As a boy he had been fascinated by 18th-century toys demonstrating the planetary system. It was the age-old dream to make things that can move. Art had been too static for him.

Calder used to start a piece of sculpture by fairly complete drawings. Now he digs into it immediately by cutting out a number of shapes. Then he files them and smooths them. Next he arranges them on a table with wires between the pieces and finally he cuts out some more pieces in an effort to balance the whole as perfectly as possible.

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Some of the younger artists, like Stankiewicz and Chamberlain, make their sculptures by assembling, hammering, sewing and welding together discarded objects of use, like broken wheels or dented oil cans. Critics have said that sculpture of this kind brings the junkyard into the realm of art. These artists probably would reply that the junkyard is no less part of the American scene than the Statue of Liberty and the White House.

"Since the war America has witnessed a phenomenal upsurge of sculpture," wrote the critic A. L. Chanin on this occasion in an article published by *The New York Times Magazine.* "As startling as the constant output of new works are the unorthodox ideas they express."

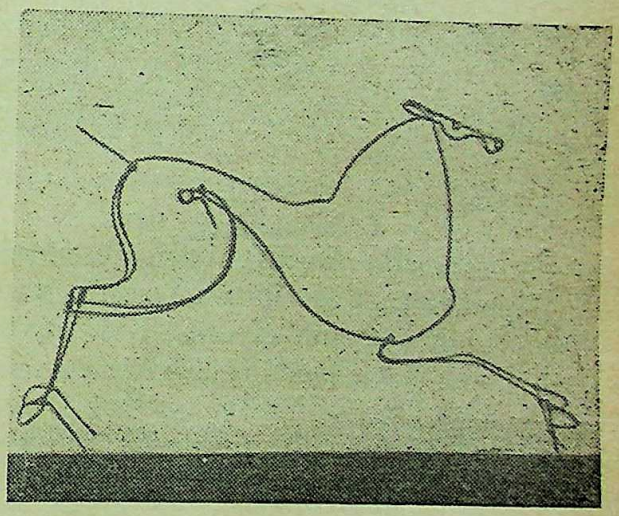
Alexander Calder is one of the most inventive modern sculptors in the United States. Critics may or may not like his work, depending on their own attitude toward modern *vs.* classical styles, but few would deny his originality or his unmistakably American character.

James Johnson Sweeney, a prominent art critic and museum director, pointed out in a penetrating essay that Calder's art is imbued with the rugged spirit of the American frontier. Sweeney wrote of Calder's "coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness," his "practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients," his "masterful grasp of material things," his "restless, nervous energy," and the "buoyancy and exuberance which come with freedom."

Calder was born in Philadelphia in 1898. His mother was a painter, and his father and grandfather were distinguished sculptors of an earlier period. The third generation artist in the family did not take much from any of them in his own work.

Although familiar with studios from boyhood, the younger Calder found little satisfaction in sculpture. The work he saw as a boy was "too static to reflect our world of movement," he said later. His imagination was more readily stirred by 18th century toys which could imitate the movements of the planetary system. Tools and machines fascinated him, and these interests led him to the Stevens Institute of Technology, from which he graduated in 1919. His first job was that of industrial draftsman.

The young Calder was deeply attracted by the contrasts he saw in the circus, the risks taken by high wire performers, the suspense and surprise coupled with humour, and the element of chance which often tipped the balance between failure and success. Perhaps with an inherited yearning to put this life into some enduring artistic form, he began to study painting at night classes, and worked for a time as a magazine illustrator. In 1926 he sailed for Paris to learn wood carving from the sculptor Jose De Creeft, and began experimenting with wire sculpture. Still an avid follower of the circus, he began working on miniatures of his own, using wood and wire to produce a troupe of tumblers, lion tamers, sword swallowers, acrobats, trapeze artists, trained dogs, and meanagerie animals. He made them move somewhat as their flesh-and-blood counterparts did, and he found pleasure in the effort even if his dogs could not always clear a hurdle, or his acrobats usually landed in the net.



Alexander Calder's witty wire figure, "Circus Horse"

De Creeft became interested and introduced Calder to the Paris "Salon des Humorists," which arranged an exhibition of this strange "circus." The show was a hit and Calder became established among Paris artists as a genuine humorist, with highly original talent.

This success established the general direction of Calder's career. In the following years his work reflected his early dislike for traditional forms, and became more and more abstract.

Calder's first experiments with mobile sculpture came next. Still fascinated by freedom of movement, and loving the unpredictable, he produced his first "wind mobile," a construction

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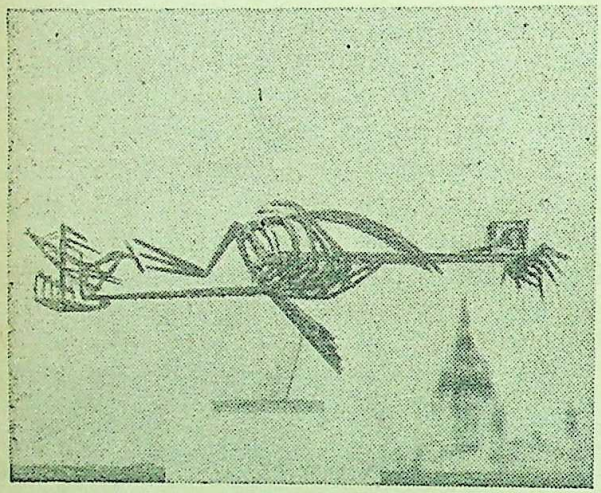
so delicately balanced that the slightest movement of air could set his work dancing.

He achieved another international success at the Paris Exhibition in 1937, when he was commissioned by Spanish authorities to design a piece of sculpture that spouted mercury. Calder's "Fountain" was an outstanding success. One French critic, unaware of Calder's background, wrote : "In the field of plastic expression, Spain has realized a masterpiece."



David Smith's "Royal Bird," done in stainless steel

During World War II Calder returned to the United States. Metal was scarce, and he began making sculpture of small odds and ends of wood, sometimes painting them in contrasting colours. Then he wired them together in a way that would produce the movement he always sought in all of his work. He called them "constellations."

After the war, he exhibited his mobiles again in Paris. This time Jean Paul Sartre wrote the catalogue preface. He saw in Calder's art an illustration of some of his own philosophical concepts.

Calder himself stated his aesthetic principles in the following words :

"Disparity in form, colour, size, weight, motion is what makes a composition, and if this is allowed, then the number of elements can be very few. . . . Symmetry and order do not make a composition. It is the apparent accident to regularity, which the artist actually controls, by which he makes or mars a work."

Calder had large retrospective shows in 1943 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and in 1952 at the Biennale in Venice, where he won first prize for non-Italian sculpture. He also won first prize at the Carnegie International in 1959.

Other sculptors from many nations have explored the tragic aspects of life. Calder makes people smile.

There are two main currents in modern American sculpture: one lays emphasis on the power of organic life; the other is preoccupied with the growing ascendancy of mechanization in the world of man. Theodore Roszak and Devid Smith are outstanding representatives of these two approaches.

Roszak was born in 1907 in Posen, Germany (now Poznan, Poland). Two years later his parents emigrated to the United States.

He studied painting at the Chicago Art Institute, and from 1929 until 1931 was in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on a fellowship. Under the influence of the German Bauhaus and the Russian constructivists, whose theories and experiments were widely discussed by the artists of Prague, Roszak took up modelling and construction. He worked in a geometric, frugal style which he kept for years after his return to Chicago.

Chance led him to new paths. Working in an aircraft factory during the war, he noticed the strange and beautiful fretted surfaces and nodules his acetylene torch left in its wake during the welding process. One day, while exploring the artistic possibilities of this technique, something went wrong. The result was a strange but beautiful form. Accepting this accidental suggestion, Roszak ventured into a world of grotesquely distorted flora and fauna that characterize his later style.

"Accidents may awaken dormant responses that can be plastically useful," he said. "But I should not care to stake my creative life upon the exclusive use of such chance procedures. Their suggestions are helpful only within the essential framework of *consciously directed effort*."

His first impulse for a new work comes usually from the sight of some strange rock formation, plant or animal.

Since the late forties he has produced organic forms that, without being copies of natural objects, look like plants, animals or man from an outlandish, luxuriant, fantastic and grotesque

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land. They might suggest almost anything: th, abundance, struggle, decay, death, or thing else.

"The forms that I find necessary to assert meant to be blunt reminders of primordial e and struggle, reminiscent of those brute es that not only produced life, but in turn ened to destroy it," Roszak says.

Devid Smith also works in metal, but in y ways he and Roszak stand in sharp con- to one another. Smith was born in 1906 Decatur, Indiana, a small community in the west. He studied painting at the Arts Student gue in New York. During World War II he ked as a welder of tanks and locomotives.

At the age of 27, Smith picked up an art azine with reproductions of Picasso's iron structions. At once he started working in ed iron. At first he used solder to hold bits metal together. On a summer junket he rowed welding equipment from a local garage- and began to weld.

Cast iron and stainless steel are his main stic materials today. "They possess little art story," said Smith. "What associations they sess are those of this century: power, struc- movement, progress, suspension, destruction, tality . . . ."

Unlike Roszak, Smith doesn't believe in ning a sculpture. "I start with one part," he te in his "Notes on My Work." "Then a unit of parts, until a whole appears . . . The order of the whole can be perceived but not planned . . . . When I work, there is no consciousness of ideals but intuition and impulse."

Smith takes his subjects from industry, agriculture, dance, music and even Greek mythology. His subject matter might be a landscape, a still life, an interior, a group or an individual figure. Sometimes his art is strongly social conscious. At other times it is symbolic, surrealistic or purely characterized by bold structural projects and counter reliefs. But whatever his theme or his style, his sculptures are created, with rare exceptions, in the image of the machine.

While in his earlier work there was an ostentatious display of technical bravura, in his later years Smith has avoided all showmanship. He strives for simplicity; his artistic statement is terse and to the point, without any adornment. He does not care to please and does not mind to hurt.

Hilton Kramer pointed out, this unusual combination of a welding workshop in an isolated mountain spot which brings together two old-fashioned ideals of American life : the proud individualism and keen workmanship of the man who lives by his skills, and the independent spirit of the man who lives on his own land. Both are ideals of freedom out of the American past.

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THE CHINESE BRUSH—A SENSITIVE IMPLEMENT

By CHI YEN-LANG

The brush he uses is a short length of boo into which are fixed the hairs of ious animals. Firmly gripped in the d, it is wielded from the shoulder and ow, and not from the wrist. It produces ne, a stroke or a dot of any thickness at will of the artist and reveals his perso- ity. "The brushwork is the man," is a nese saying.

Such is the amazing power of the nese writing brush. Over the centuries Chinese have developed what is basi- y no more than an ancient writing implement into a sensitive instrument for any artist. No other tool has played such a vital part in the development of Chinese calligraphy and painting as the brush.

Almost the sole writing and painting tool in China until the introduction of the pen and pencil at the turn of the 19th century, the Chinese writing brush has scarcely changed through its entire history.

Modern Chinese brushes are of three general types: soft hair, usualy that of goat; stiff hair, of rabbit or weasel; medium hair, a mixture of goat and rabbit.

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The hairs are tied into a tuft and set directly into the hollow bamboo. An accomplished calligrapher or painter will choose the kind of brush best suited to his style.

Stiff brushes are made of choice hairs from the strong and elastic hairs in the backs of the rabbits native to the mountain-ous areas of Huoan and Kiangsi Provinces. Blackish Purple in colour, it is generally considered to be the best of rabbit brushes. Soft brushes are made of white hairs from the goat, the best of which is found in Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces. Weasel hairs come from the tails of the animal, and the best of these is found in North China. The colour is usually greyish white.

Dipped in a light Chinese ink, a good brush will cling together to form a fine point. When pressed against the paper, the hairs will spread out evenly, but when lifted they will resume their original tapering and compact shape.

A popular Chinese story goes that General Meng Tien of the Chin dynesty (221-206 B.C.) was the inventor of the Chinese brush. While supervising the building of the Great Wall, he saw a tuft of goat hair stuck to one of the stones. Peeling it off, he noticed its reserblance to the whittled, sharpened willow sticks then used for writing. After many experiments he made a brush and introduced it for manufacture in his home town of Huchow in what is now Chekiang province, the most famous brush-making centre in China.

In fact, Chinese brushes appeared much earlier than his time. The earliest known brush in China was discovered in 1945 in a tomb from the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) at Changsha, Hunan province. In a full-length case, it was made of rabbit hair set in a bamboo holder.

At first the brush was mainly a writing implement. Since Chinese is not an alphabetical language, each word (syllable) is represented by an idiograph that may contain lines, strokes, waves and dots in varying thicknesses. To acquire a fine hand in writing demands mastery in manipulating the brush and modulating the strokes. From this technique developed traditional Chinese painting, for which the same brush and ink are used. This particular branch of handwriting, with its unbroken tradition of nearly 2,000 years, is one of the greatest schools of painting the world has seen.

A legend illustrates how the brush developed in the Chinese painter's hand. Chang Sheng-yu, a great painter of the 6th century, attained such a high level in manipulating his brush that when he painted a dragon and started to fill in the eyes, the dragon took to the clouds in the sky.

Chekiang, Hunan and Kiangsi have been the three most famous brush-making provinces in China, while Huchow in Chekiang has the longest tradition. Brush-making in Huchow was perfected through the centuries with the help of many painters and calligraphers. The Yuan dynasty painter-calligrapher Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322) after long years of experimentation, formulated a whole set of requirements for good brushes, which he passed on to a local maker. Today the city boasts of many long-standing brush manufactories, including one established in 1740.

Peking, the traditional cultural centre of China, is among the most famous brush-making cities in China. The city's output has jumped from the pre-liberation figure of 200,000 in 1949 to the present 3 million. A large brush co-operative with some 500 workers has replaced the former home industry operated individually by handicraftsmen. Over 120 varieties of brushes, each for a particular purpose, are being manufactured, as compared with 30 in 1949. The glass and ceramic industry, for instance, recently ordered special types of brush for painting and decorating their products.

With the flowering of traditional painting in China today, good brushes are in great demand. To improve their quality, brush workers visited famous painters and calligraphers, and even hold conferences with them.

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INDIA'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

By KARUNA K. NANDI

One of the principal problems of rrent Indian development planning uld seem to be the continuing deteriora- n in the country's balance of payments ition. This has, obviously, a mounting nificance in the especial context of the reasingly larger incidences of foreign sistance that would be required to cover e requirements of development planning gets of the Third Five-Year Plan and ich would, on the face of it, continue to w during the next few quinquennial ans ahead. Of additional significance uld seem to be the fact that redemption ligations in respect of capital assistance ready used from abroad, over and beyond e current-account obligations would cor- spondingly and increasingly load adverse- India's balance of payment position in is behalf.

Thus, although during the year 1961-62, e trade gap was reduced by the compara- ely substantial amount of Rs. 159 crores, dia's over-all balance of payments vertheless worsened considerably; the vantage thus acquired having been wip- out by the increased load in the invisible count causing a much larger than usual -flow of short-term capital and, what uld continue to be endemic in the years ead, by the increasing incidences of pital repayments. As a result, the untry's foreign exchange reserves fell, ring the year, by a further net Rs. 6.3 res to the level of Rs. 297.3 crores even er the net drawing, during the year, of further Rs. 58.4 crores from the Inter- tional Monetary Fund had been account- untry's foreign exchange reserves was, s, of the order of Rs. 65 crores, which s about Rs. 16 crores more than during e immediately preceding year.

Thus, a study of the actual position during the year under review would demonstrate that although the deficit on current account during the year was large enough, it was nevertheless appreciably smaller than in the previous year. What would appear to be significant in this context is that while in the immediately preceding year inspite of net earnings on the invisible account, it was accounted for in its entirety by the trade gap alone, the position was somewhat reversed in the following year, the trade gap having been narrowed down by as much as Rs. 159 crores, but the increased net deficit by very nearly Rs. 48 crores was accounted for by a sharp deterioration in the invisible account.

Current Account Transactions

The table below will demonstrate that compared to 1960-61, the current account deficits in each quarter of 1961-62 was smaller, especially during the third and last quarter of the year. It would be a mistake, however, to deduce from these trends that basically India had acquired increased strength in her trading operations abroad, inspite of the fact that there was a substantial upsurge in her exports during the year which aggregated as much as Rs. 688 crores, the highest since 1950-51. This gave rise earlier to the rather wishful notion that it might, thus, be possible to realise the Third Plan annual export target of Rs. 740 crores if the tempo of exports could be maintained at this level while continuing the present rather severe import-curbs. Thus, it is noticed, that during the year under reference in the present study, imports gradually decreased from Rs. 250 cores in the first quarter, to Rs. 242 corres in the second and Rs. 217 crores in the third quarter of the year, their basic trends reasserted themselves to rise to the level of Rs. 269 crores in the last quarter while exports, which were at the level of Rs. 160 crores in the first quarter, rose through

1. "Report On Currency & Finance, 1961- Reserve Bank of India, Pp. 105.

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Rs. 168 crores in the second Rs. 180 crores in third and a slight fall to Rs. 168 crores in the last quarter.

This last, which was, then, considered to be only a temporary fall-back appears, however, to have re-asserted itself as a trend for the immediate future and figures during the first quarter of the current year register a further substantial fall inspite of all the additional measures for export promotion that have since been adopted by the new Board of Trade.

Rs. 205 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 78 crores only in 1961-62. This improvement in the balances position would appear to have accrued almost wholly out of better trade balances, although a part of the benefit had been lost in the unfavourable balances in invisible transactions amounting to Rs. 26 crores net excluding official donations. Part of this was accounted for by the rise in the exports of jute manufactures and sugar by a net Rs. 16 crores, but most of it, by Rs. 140 crores, was accounted for by a net fall in import payments, a substantially reduced

India's Balance of Payments[3]

(In Rs. crores)

	April-June 1961	July-Sept. 1961	Oct.-Dec. 1961	Jan.-Mar. 1962	1961-62 (Prelim.)	1960-61 (Revised)	1959-60
A. Current Account:							
Imports, c.i.f.							
(a) Private	156.5	152.1	137.0	154.4	600.0	621.7	515.9
(b) Government	93.2	90.2	80.4	114.2	378.0	478.5	412.4
Total Imports (a + b)	249.7	242.3	217.4	268.6	978.0	1100.0	928.3
Exports, f.o.b.	160.0	160.3	179.7	167.5	667.5	630.5	623.7
Trade Balance	—89.7	—82.0	—37.7	—101.1	—310.5	—469.7	—304.6
Current Account (net)	—78.5	—80.2	—29.5	—90.0	—278.2	—387.1	—185.1
B. Errors & Omissions	—3.4	+11.0	—18.2	+15.1	+4.5	—10.7	—22.6
C. Capital Account (net)							
Private Capital (net)							
(a) Long term	—5.4	+1.0	+1.4	+1.5	+1.5	—18.6	—7.1
(b) Short term	—0.5	—0.8	—3.4	+1.0	—3.7	—3.0	+0.2
Banking Capital (net)	—5.7	—17.1	+4.7	+4.8	—13.3		+12.5
Official Capital (net)							
(a) Loans	+69.0	+64.5	+70.1	+61.4	+265.0	+249.6	+187.7
(b) I.M.F. Drawings	—30.6	+89.0	....	....	+58.4	—10.7	—23.8
(c) Amortisation	—13.5	—18.1	—8.5	—16.4	—56.5	—32.4	—9.3
(d) Miscellaneous	+43.8	—38.6	+7.6	+3.2	+19.0	+102.9	+32.0
D. Movement in Reserves (A + B + C)	—21.8	+10.7	+24.2	—19.4	—6.3	—59.3	—16.0

It is significant that regionally, it was the dollar area of the country's trade which accounted, most substantially for the reduction in the deficit on current account. In our trade with the dollar area the deficit would appear to have narrowed very substantially from approximately

incidence of P.L. 480 food and raw cotton accounting for the bulk of the reduction. The payments position with the non-dollar countries, however, demonstrates a generally worsening condition of varying magnitudes as compared to that in 1960-61 :

2. Report On Currency & Finance, 1961-62, *Reserve Bank of India*, Pp. 105.

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Regional Current Account[3]

Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)

(In Rs. crores)

	April-June 1961	July-Sept. 1961	Oct.-Dec. 1961	Jan.-Mar. 1962	1961-62 (Prelim.)	1960-61 (Revised)	1959-60
Sterling Area	—16.6	—19.9	+10.8	—19.0	—44.7	—41.3	—45.7
Dollar Area	—23.5	—20.9	—6.4	—27.5	—78.3	—205.4	—61.5
O.E.E.C. Countries	—38.0	—36.1	—30.1	—42.2	—146.4	—141.7	—104.8
Rest of Non-sterling Area	—0.4	—3.3	—3.8	—1.3	—8.8	+1.3	+26.9
TOTAL	—78.5	—80.2	—29.5	—90.0	—278.2	—387.1	—185.1

Sterling Area Trade

The situation as it transpires from the fore-ing would seem to indicate that worsening nds in our balance of payments is generally counted for by increasing smaller 'invisible' nings in most of the areas concerned despite e increasingly rigorous curbs on imports that ve been placed during the period in question, en while taking into account the higher levels ained in export performances during the year all but the sterling areas. In the sterling area dia's exports during the year is found to have clined by approximately 3 per cent to Rs. 292 res. But having regard to the fact that the rling area remains to-date India's largest ecitve export market, the significance of even s comparatively slight decline in her trade th these countries should be of very important ment. Of especial significance should be cur-t trends especially in respect of the conditions der which Britain, it is now more than amply ar, intends to join the community of the ropean Economic Community and its inevit-e future impact upon India's exports abroad. hough certain safeguards to Commonwealth de may be conceded for a temporary period rrently it is visualized to be effective upto 65-66 only) the immediate impact of Britain's ctive acceptance into the E.E.C. even during s proposed transitional period, would be bound be severe and from trends already in evidence ing regard to the figures of India's balance payments during the first quarter of the cur-e year, a further worsening of the situation uld, clearly, be an inevitable eventuality.

Other European Countries

But, to resume the present analysis of our rent trade position and visible immediate future trends, it would appear that the payments position with the O.E.E.C. countries is not likely to improve; on the contrary, from immediate past indications, it is likely to deteriorate further. India's current deficits with these countries have been steadily moving upwards from Rs. 105 crores in 1959-60 to Rs. 142 crores in 1960-61 and to Rs. 146 crores during the past year. Most of this was, of course, covered by, on the one side, the increasing import bill on account of purchases of machinery and capital equipments, especially from West Germany and Italy and, on the other hand, by the rising trends in invisible transactions, obviously accounted for by investment income payments on fairly large West German credits. Exports moved up somewhat by about Rs. 6 crores but it would be too optimistic, especially in view of the stiffening external tariffs, to accept this as an already established trend. With the R.N.S.A. (rest of the non-sterling area countries) group of countries on the other hand, India had a small favourable balance of just about Rs. 1.3 crores in 1960-61, which was converted in 1961-62 to the comparatively substantial deficit of Rs. 9 crores. The actual deficit on commodity account rose from Rs. 6 crores to Rs. 13 crores, India's imports from these countries having risen by the very substantial amount of Rs. 30 crores compared to 1960-61, accounted for by increasing purchases of capital equipments and iron and steel from East European countries. Exports also moved up comparatively substantially, accounted for mostly by raw wool, tea, oil cakes and jute manufactures.

A point of some significance is the increasing trade with East European countries on a rupee payment basis obviously compelled by the

3. "Report On Currency & Finance", Pp. 106.

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precarious foreign exchange position. In consequence trade with these countries has continuously increased over the past few years, its total volume having moved up from Rs. 97 crores in 1959-60 to Rs. 106 crores in 1960-61 and Rs. 164 crores in 1961-62. Of this imports accounted for Rs. 100 crores, having moved up from Rs. 59 crores in 1960-61 by more than 69 per cent, while exports moved up by very nearly 27 per cent to Rs. 64 crores over the same period. Although this had the net effect of widening the deficit from the previous year of Rs. 12 crores to as much as Rs. 36 crores or by 300 per cent, it may be well worth the country's while to explore possibiities of enlarging the area of her trade with this group of countries even though it may result in substantially higher import bills and increased payments deficits in the end, in the context of her increasing foreign exchange difficulties which do not seem likely to improve in the immediately visible future. It is true, that on a net showing and upon basic economic considerations endeavours should be increasingly directed towards wiping out deficits wherever they may occur—even where these could be met by funding rupee credits within the country on behalf of the net earning countries concerned—having regard to India's present development needs and the load of capital imports necessary to cover these, this may afford a measure of relief which might be very welcome, indeed, in the present circumstances.

India's Exports

Since export promotion would seem to lay one of the vital corner stones of curent development planning, it may be pertinent in this context to study in greater details the position of our present export markets abroad. It is found that with slight annual variations, the incidence of exports from India during the Second Five-Year Plan (1955-56 to 1960-61), averaged a value of approximately Rs. 612 crores per annum. The Third Plan programmes estimated a minimum export earning of an average Rs. 740 crores per annum or Rs. 3,700 crores over the five year of the current Plan period, In 1960-61, the first year of the current Plan period, exports looked up only hesitatingly to Rs. 630 crores, to be followed by a substantial Rs. 38 crore jump upward to Rs. 668 crores during the following year which, incidentally, has proved to be the most fruitful export year snice 1950-51, when, according to the then Union Finance Minister, the country had a very large "windfall" export earning. The first nine months of this year accounted for Rs. 7 crores higher earnings to Rs. 143 crores on exports of Jute manufactures, presumably, on account of the higher prices prevailing. Impressive gains were also recorded in the exports of sugar, raw cotton, coffee, oil cakes, hides and tanned skins. Gains registered in other sections included Cashew Kernels (total exports Rs. 21 crores), and comparatively smaller gains were also registered in the export of iron ore and engineering goods. Export declines, during the same period were registered by cotton textiles (by Rs. 12 crores), vegetable oils (Rs. 3 crores) and raw hides and skins (Rs. 2 crores). Of especial significance would seem to be the steadily declining trends in Indian cotton textiles exports, especially to the sterling area markets in the U.K., Austraia, Malaya and Burma. The higher prices of vegetable oils appear to have accounted for the current fall in their demands abroad.

A cursory analysis of India's export markets demonstrates that the biggest purchasers of our short-staple raw cotton was Japan, followed by U.K. and Hongkong; coffee had a particularly good market especially in East Europe and Germany and Italy; Purchases of Cashew kernels were accounted for mostly by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and the best market for oil cakes were in Hungary and East Germany.

Imports

As against exports, India's imports also shewed a decline of Rs. 122 crores to Rs. 97[illegible] crores, imports on private account having registered a fall of Rs. 22 crores against a corresponding decline in Government imports by Rs. 10[illegible] crores. Apart from the results of the severe tightening of the import policy, reimbursement lags on account of the deteriorating reserve position and a comparatively slow utilization of aid credits also accounted, to a certain extent for the slackening of the import rates which consequently, would seem to be, partially a temporary symptom only. Thus, to assist the payments position, Government imports were severely pruned by as much as a Rs. 100 crore

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imports: Rs. 378 crores which were the st of any year since the inauguration of the d Plan except 1956-57). Although both opment and non-development imports were affected, the severest pruning was, natu- effected in non-development imports, deve- nt imports registering a decline of only 5 crores. Since development imports related y to expansions of heavy industry in the sector, they were obliged to maintain upward trends except railway stores which severely slashed by as much Rs. 10 crores. ction of non-development imports, which slashed by 30 per cent, were considerably ted by the reduction in P.L. 480 food im- s by Rs. 80 crores during the year under con- ration. In the private sector reduction in orts affected a large variety of items, espe- y raw materials and manufactures, particu- raw cotton (Rs. 21 crores), non-ferrous als (Rs. 5 crores) mineral oils and rayon iles (Rs. 4 crores) vehicles (Rs. 3 crores) other miscellaneous items (Rs. 7 crores). On elopment account, however, imports increased stantially by Rs. 24 crores to Rs. 138 crores st of which were procured from O.E.E.C. as on rupee payment bases.

Food Imports and Agricultural Deficits

The above details would indicate several portant conclusions. Of the greatest signifi- ance would seem to be India's continuing d, although on a substantially reduced scale 1961-62 (which, however, is hardly indicative an improving trend but was presumably a ritious gain), for dependence upon imported d grains in very substantial quantities. Al- ugh the process of development planning in e country was initially started off by endea- ring to lay down adequate agricultural bases improving production and yield, there was visible slackening of emphasis in this regard n as early as in the Second Plan and which ems to have been almost entirely withdrawn in e Third Plan programmes. All this, under- ndably, was done with a view to laying down bstantial industrial bases for rapid develop- nt and a possibly earlier arrival at the point a "self-generating take-off." It is thus seen t except for propaganda for increasing agri- ltural production, the principal bases for a substantial agricultural take-off, that of a rapidly accelerating fertilizer programme and irrigation have both slowed down considerably over the last Plan period and has been continuing well into the current Plan processes.

After ten years of development planning,—and it has been already underlined that the First Plan at least had a major agricultural bias and directed a major proportion of its resources towards laying down adequate agricultural bases by way of developing flood control measures, irrigation facilities, and laying down capacity for fertilizer production,—India remains still very substantially dependent upon food imports for the sustenance of her peoples. This, as it has been doing, was bound to put very substantial burdens on both the resources for and the process of development planning. It has, obviously, especial significance in the context of the country's balance of payments position. Thus, although on account of very favourable crops the need for food imports was somewhat less urgent in 1960-61, which accounted for a gross import-curb gain of Rs. 80 crores over the year, this could not be regarded as a permanent gain until agricultural bases have been so firmly laid as to ensure absoute certainty of minimum crop yields, at last, in the food grains sector, from year to year. Taking into account the progress in food grains production including pulses although on the face of it a 46 per cent rise in yield is noticeable over the two Plan periods from 1950-51 to 1960-61, we have still been very substantially short of our minimum requirements which had to be supplemented by massive imports of food grains. Food grains yield which was assessed at a gross 52.2 million tons in 1950-51, was found to have risen to the fairly substantial 65.8 million tons in 1955-56 and to 68.8 million tons in 1956-57, but fell sharply to 62.5 million tons next year, to rise gradually to 76 million tons in 1960-61.[4] At this level of production, the country is woefully short of her minimum subsistence requirements which has to be met very largely by massive foodgrains imports from year to year. The target for the Third Five-Year Plan has been placed at a 100 million tons, at which level, it is estimated that accounting for a population rise to 492 million persons (at the current rate

4. "Towards A Self-Reliant Economy", *Planning Commission*, Pp. 172.

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of net annual increase), the country should be self-sufficient in food grains production. The position of Progress of Agricultural production during the First two Plans and Third Plan targets have been computed as follows :

Agricultural Production[5]

Item	Measure	1950-51	1955-56	1957-58	1960-61	% increase in 1960-61	Traget 1965 1965-66	% Increase over 1960-61
Rice	mill. tons.	20.9	27.1	28.6	32	54	45	41
Wheat	„ „	6.6	8.6	7.7	10	51	15	50
All Cereals	„ „	43.7	54.9	62.5	64.0	46	83.0	30
All Food Grains (Cereals and Pulses)	„ „	52.2	65.8	75.5	76.0	46	100.0	32
Oilseeds	„ „	5.1	5.8	6.1	7.1	39	9.8	38
Sugarcane (Gur)	„	5.6	6.0	6.9	8.0	43	10.0	25
Cotton	Mill. bales.	2.9	4.0	4.7	5.1	76	7.0	37
Jute*	„ „	3.3	4.2	4.1	4.0	31	6.2	55
All Commodities (Index of Production : 1949-50=100)		95.6	116.8	114.6	135.0	41	176.0	30

Even at the level of the targets set for the current Plan, agricultural production as a whole, will still remain a deficit one. The assessments as regards foodgrains, it has been claimed, if targets are reached would be likely to take the country to a level of self-sufficiency admittedly, however, on the basis of a somewhat inadequate daily ration of 17.5 ounces of cereals and pulses per head of the adult population of the country. But even in this particular sector, having regard to the extremely slow progress in irrigation and fertilizer production, the likelihood of targets being reached would seem to be rather remote. And so far as flood control measures are concerned, it has been increasingly made obvious during the last several years that all our river valley projects notwithstanding, Indian agriculture is still very largely dependent upon the mercy of the seasons.

Production Imbalance

All these various factors indicate that no early remission of the present rather dismal position in the country's balance of payments can be legitimately looked forward to in the assessable years ahead. One of the fundamental bases of rapidly successful industrial development, that of a surplus agriculture, seems to have been neglected and the attempt at what may be described as "putting the cart before the horse", that is, laying the economic bases for rapid industrialization ahead of basic agricultural sufficiency, has been creating a situation in which the process of industrial development may be following the irrationale of an overwhelmingly labour-intensive economy being fed by highly capital-intensive machinery of production. In fact, that is what has been obviously happening with the result that the unit of production per unit of capital employed for developing the production-organization has been so small that cost of production bears no relation whatever to competitive efficiency *vis-a-vis* world standards in this respect. The needs of development, however, have been making increasing incidences of imports, both visible and invisible, essential, while at the same time making the corresponding need for covering export incidences impossible to achieve.

Changing Pattern of Markets

An interesting fact that would seem to emerge from a study of our current foreign trade characteristics would seem to indicate a changing pattern of both demand and markets. Thus, one of India's most important conventional exports, jute manufactures, appears to have been facing

* Excluding Mesta which may provide 1.3 million bales in 1965-66.

5. "Towards A Self-Reliant Economy", *Planning Commission*, Pp. 172.

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tuating demand over the years since the First n was launched and although it still remains rwhelmingly the most important item in lia's export merchandise, its former strength a world monopoly in packaging materials pears to have been definitely over. Tea, another st important Indian export merchandise, ems to be definitely on the decline, while dian coffee has been gradually beginning to k up and finding new markets which were not merly open to it. Another important deve-ing Indian export merchandise, although the ss annual value of its exports is still very all, indeed, would appear to be cashew kernels d which might repay a measure of develop-ent effort. Cotton textiles, however, seem defi-ely on the decline presumably because of its ability to provide competitive advantages in e price factor, and has been rapidly losing its arkets abroad. It would also appear at the same e that in spite of a somewhat preliminary rt some years ago, there has not been much ogress in our efforts to market Indian hand-m fabrics abroad and its future possibilities t yet as adequately explored as it might have en. Another significant fact which would also m to emerge from the above study is that al-ough exports of iron ore had advanced only rginally, there is no indication, so far, of the anning Commission's earlier expectations of ing able to develop a market abroad for Indian el after the projects of the Second Five-Year an had been completed. This would seem to e a problem of both production progress and st of production which, apparently, the Indian el manufacturers, both in the public and the vate sectors are yet unable to cope with at the esent moment. There is, however, a distinctly h potential for marketing large quantities of el billets abroad, if not the finished product, d unless the country is able to take advantage this, the vacuum at present available, would e bound to be filled in by other competitors in e field. In the main, it would not be very far rong to concude, that except in certain selected ses of our export merchandize, in most cases r export possibilities are being woefully be-ted by our higher cost of production. Our getable oils are a very pertinent case in point ich have been fast losing their markets road apparently for no other reason than our gher prices.

Export Promotion Measures

It is, perhaps, pertinent in the present context to review and restate the various export promotion measures and proposals that have been before the Government of India during the past few years for a better understanding of the problems that would seem to beset our export progress. This would seem to be especially necessary in the context of the fact that not merely the country's process of development planning, but her very existence even at the present dismal level of living in the country, would seem to depend vitally on our ability to export on a widening scale. The recommendations of the Mudaliar Committee not all of which appear to have been accepted by Government, and very few of those accepted so far implemented, listed a number of requirements which would seem to be of the greatest importance in this regard. Thus, for instance, their observation that export promotion has, so far, been based upon inadequate and imprecise information of not mearly both demand patterns and prices abroad, but also of the potentials and performances of our own export oriented industries, is a severe indictment of the manner in which export promotion has been and is being handled in this country. It is possible that with the constitution of the new Union Ministry of International Trade and the Board of Trade that has been formed under its aegis, errors and omissions may be corrected in the near future in this regard, but judging by results achieved so far, unless more vigorous measures are immediately adopted, not much progress could be expected in the near future. It is, indeed, necessary, to make an immediate and comprehensive survey of world markets and patterns of demand, to make precise and factual assessments of the reasons why our conventional export merchandize have been losing their markets abroad and measures adopted to obviate them. It is also necessary to make a thorough and comprehensive assessment of the possibilities of export-orientation of new Indian products and to explore potentials of new or so far unexpored markets for Indian exports. It is, above all, necessary to make a factual assessment of the production performances, keeping in view the need of developing productivity of export oriented industries in relation to their capacity. It is also equally necessary to provide such incentives or proffer such assistance as may be

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necessary, on the basis of factual surveys, to enable our export-oriented production machinery to develop competitive strength in the world markets. All this may call for a thorough revision of all economic factors impinging upon the production of our export-merchandise and their marketing prcesses which may include such factors as a wages and price-policy, tax remissions, transport facilities and concessions and a host of other facilities and requirements. The burden of work involved would, admittedly, be frightening, but if it results in setting India's export transactions back on a footing where it may gradually look up towards a balanced payments position in the end, it may be amply rewarding in the fact that only thus development planning in India, having regard to current trends, may be saved from eventual shipwreck.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review* should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

LIVING BIOGRAPHIES OF GREAT SCIENTISTS : *By Henry Thomas and Danaly Thomas. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Bombay 1961. Bhavan's Book University Series, No. 88. Pp. 233. Rs. 2.00.*

This short monograph contains the life-history of twenty-one outstanding scientists of the world from ancient to modern times. The list begins with Archimedes (287-212 B.C.) of ancient Greece and concludes with such titanic figures of our own times as Marie Curie (1867-1934), Frederik Grant Banting (1891-1941) and Albert Einstein (1879-1955). The work justifies its title by making the biographies living to the general reader. Stress is laid throughout upon tracing the careers of the eminent men often from very humble beginnings and through formidable difficulties to the summit of their success. In the course of this survey, the authors repeatedly show the supreme qualities of character of the great men such as their indomitable will, their imperviousness of fame, their sturdy independence, their simplicity and their kindliness. The great scientific discoveries are explained in non-technical language so as to make them intelligible to the uninitiated. Short lists of the important scientific contributions made by the scientists and of their publications are appended at the end of each narrative. The work is made immensely attractive by the story-telling style in which it is written. Altogether it is a highly stimulating production bringing together for an astonishingly low price a large and useful stock of information which is bound to be of great value to the class of readers for whom this series is meant.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ETERNAL VALUES FOR A CHANGING SOCIETY : *By Swami Ranganathananda. Published by Swami Gambhirananda, President. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Price Rupees Three only.*

The value sense in man is a queer phenomenon. This value sense pertains to man where

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he is a person, as distinguished from an individual. The definition of man as a 'rational animal' refers to man as person and man as individual. It is surprising that a value-reference seems to divide man into two watertight compartments, his animality and his rationality. Rationality is the differentia of man and as value-sense is exclusively restricted to the world of human beings it must be referred to the differentia. As the value-sense is not shared by other animals it must not be considered as 'shorafli'. This characteristic of values leads to a division of man into animality and rationality and it should be presumed that man's value-sense has hardly anything to do with his animal nature. But empirical evidence takes us to a different conclusion. We have seen that man's progress in civilization and culture means a harnessing of man's animal nature to a particular pattern of value-sense. Different types of civilisation bring forth different value-patterns in different ages and climes but a fundamental unity may be discerned in these widely varying types. May be, that is due to man's basic identity in their rational nature.

The author of the book under review presents in the very first chapter the philosophy of the *Sanatana Dharma, i.e.*, the eternal religion. The abiding values are sheltered in the life arteries of this religion whose philosophical basis was the conclusions of the *Vedanta*. Vedanta, we know, viewed life as a whole and this world-view was the basis of *Sanatana Dharma*. To view things sub-specie acteritatis, as was told by Spinoza, was to see things in their true character. This seeing things in their true nature was essential for proper evaluation. The *Sanatana Dharma* could give us a set of eternal values simply because it was based on a type of philosophy whose aim was 'to see into the truth of things'. These Vedantists pursued this aim with a passion, vigour and objectivity rare in the history of philosophic thought. Value is subject-dependent and its universality lies in its objectivity. This seems to be again paradoxical. The subjective value-sense finds its universality in being as objective as possible. This seemingly impossible has been achieved by the *Sanatana Dharma* as its value-patterns are rooted in the *Vedanta* philosophy. *Vedanta* symbolises man's passion for the highest truth. This passion of the Vedantist coupled with a deep interest in human happiness and welfare has transfomed a metaphysics into a living faith, a world-view into a social philosophy. 'An idea and a vision became transformed into a 'lamp unto our feet and a light unto our soul'. This basic character of the *Sanatana Dharma* makes it somewhat impersonal and objective and as such its universality is ensured. This *Dharma* is rational out and out and at the very outset we suggested that universality could come only through rationality. Because this *Sanatana Dharma* is philosophy based, it easily becomes universal and the way of life it prescribes or the value-sense it upholds, easily combats the onslaught of time. *Vedanta* is not only a system of philosophy but it is religion as well. That is how Swamiji interprets the character of *Vedanta*. The absolute of the *Vedanta* is not a mere logical postulate. It is a given fact of experience, an actuality, the basis of all presuppositions of logical thought and common experience, but ever beyond the grasp of both. The highest reality, as conceived by the Vedantist, is at once the absolute of metaphysics and the God of religion. It is the unity of reason and faith. This characterisation of the highest reality as the unity of reason and faith helps us understand how value-sense, though belonging to man's rational nature, transforms and transmits our animal nature through a slow but sure process. The learned author of the book thus propounds and presents a new meaning of an ancient religion, quite consistent with our hoary traditions and scientific outlook of modern times.

Apart from this lucid discussion on the nature of the Enternal Religion Swamiji presents in 'Part one' of the book very learned essays on the *Upanishads*,. the *Gita*, the message and personality of Lord Krishna, Gautama the Buddha, Sri Sankaracharya, Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Sarada Devi and Shri Narayana Guru. They are illuminating and inspiring. They take us to the lofty heights of reason and intuition and we feel elated and sustained at that giddy height.

In 'part two' of the book we find essays entitled 'Science Democracy & Religion', 'Religion and the Spirit of Enquiry', 'Role of Religion in Politics', 'The Administration in a Welfare State', 'Law, Society and the Citizen' and 'The Indian Ideal of Womenhood'. It is an age of science & democracy. Science as knowledge and science as power have completely captured our imagination and there is a craze for teaching science all the world over. Humanities have been relegated to the background. With the emergence of science, democracy—political, economic and social—has been taking roots everywhere. For, true democracy consists in enhancing the dignity of the individual and ennobling the aspirations of the group. The persistent demand of the common man for being recognised and valued as a full and free citizen of his motherland finds its

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strongest endorsement in the ideal and practice of democracy. These democratic aspirations acquire a new meaning when they are valued against a spiritual background. We inherited this spirituality as a legacy from our forefathers and the author rightly observes :

> "India's spirituality can enable Indians and the peoples of the world to digest the formidable forces that are being generated and placed in man's hands today. The spiritual meaning of democratic living and fulfilment, as taught by India's ancient and modern seers—in other words, the religion of the spiritual oneness of humanity—has to be revieved and reactivated in man's thinking and day to day living and its powerful influence brought to bear on these new and ever newer forms of scientific and social power, thereby giving then a higher direction and a loftier spiritua and human purpose."

Thus, Swamiji reconciles science and religion as they both encourage a spirit of enquiry and this reconciliation gives a new and lofty direction to the forces of democracy to struggle and achieve the desired goal. Here in India science will have no opposition from philosophy or religion. In the West on had such an opposition. Our religion begets a spirit of enquiry and critical acumen. "Our national thought is quite helpful and conducive to the growth of science." This observation of the author finds corroboration in the recent utterances of the Union Minister for Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs, when he says that Indian will be at par in scientific research and technological know ledge how with other advanced countries in course of next twenty-five or thirty years. Our achievements in the field have been of considerable import.

The book deserves attention from all serious students of phiosophy & sociology and the common readers will find it profitable and interesting.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

LEGACY OF GANDHIJI : *By Rajendra Prasad, Publishers. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., (P.) Ltd., Agra, Delhi, Jaypur. First Edition 1962. Price Rs. 5/.*

Ex-President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was Gandhiji's collaborator and follower since he started his political life in India—after coming back from South Africa (In 1915). Rajendra Prasad sat at the feet of the Mahatma for about 30 years and was always in close association with him, and thus had a lot more to see of Gandhiji than many other Indian leaders of the period.

Gandhiji's public life, although it began in South Africa—reached its culmination in India, his land of birth.

The author has mentioned some incidents in Gandhiji's life. He ought to have mentioned that it was Rabindranath who placed his Santiniketan Ashram at Gandhiji's disposal. Gandhiji, after landing in Bombay—went with his wife, sons and a batch of 50 of the members of his "ashram" at South Africa to Santiniketan. It was in 1915—that the two great men, (or *Rishis*) of the Modern World, first saw each other in Santiniketan. Gandhiji was so impressed with Rabindranath that he had not had the slightest hesitation to accept Rabindranath as his *Gurudeva*. It was again Rabindranath who styled Gandhiji as the Mahatma by which name he was known throughout the world. In spite of differences in their respective views of life—the two never lost their love and respect for each other.

In this book of 130 pages, (royal 8vo.) Dr. Rajendra Prasad has devoted the major portion to Charkha and Khadi—which alone according to Gandhiji (and to Rajendra Prasad also) could cure India of her economic ills and foreign subjection. It may be called that Khadi and Charkha were the Mahatma's mission in life. One should be permitted to have his doubts on "Khadi and Charkha" as the cure-all of India's economic distress and it must be admitted that after Gandhiji's departure—Khadi and Charkha have lost much of the sanctity and the sentimental value even to the people who now continue to swear by him. Rajen Babu is compelled to write that "I see that a gloom has come over the various items of Gandhiji's programmes. It seems that we are giving them up one by one. I cannot deny that it is so." But whatever that might be— this book by Rajendra Prasad must be read with due respect and many things he has said in this book deserve the closest attention of those who want to learn about Gandhiji—and the principal human characteristics of his life. Gandhiji has departed from this life, but his work, his ideals and ideas will continue to live for centuries. Gandhiji's whole life was dedicated to the service of man, and through man, of God. He used all his powers for the uplift of humanity and when the end came, so sudden and tragic, he departed with God's name on his lips and merged with him.

In dealing with Gandhiji's Legacy, Rajendra Prasad has not spared Gandhiji's erstwhile collegues and followers, who now form the Union Government. He rightly observes "unfortunately, we must confess that even in Gandhiji's time; not merely today, there were indications that we were forgetting his teachings and were not observing

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ordinary decency expected of us in our social aviour." But swearing by Gandhiji's name is ignant.

But to the common man, the depressed and down trodden, Gandhiji's name will live for er. What he preached—he practised in his own . Truly, he said and believed that "Truth God and God Truth". Gandhiji not only ached Non-violence and *Ahimsa*—by words of uth only, but he adopted the same as his ding principle in life. This he showed by his actions.

The book is nicely printed, finely got-up and utifully presented. But the price seems to be it too high for ordinary people—who are the cipal readers of such books.

C. K. H.

TOWARDS A SELF-RELIANT ECOMY: *Planning Commission, Government of dia Publications Division, Pp. 370, Price. 3.00.*

This attractively printed and jacketed proganda volume of the Planning Commission a sequel to the earlier volume, *The New dia: Progress Through Democracy*, put out by Publications Devision of the Government of dia four years ago. The present volume, as so ctly stated by Union Planning Minister and ce-President of the Planning Commission, Shri Lalilal Nanda, describes the "approach and ls of India's plan, especially in relation to Third Five-Year Plan" and has "been preed in the hope that it may lead to still wider derstanding of her problems."

What would appear to be somewhat of a radox in our Planning processes is that although is frankly recognized, and as frankly admitted the volume under review, that agriculture st have the *highest priority* (emphasis ours) all India's plans for development "to-day and r the future," it has in actual effect been egated to a position following, not preceding, needs of rapid industrialization, especially so the Third Plan, although the shift in emphasis between agriculture and industry, had already gun to obtrude itself visibly even as early as end of the First Plan period. Thus, although First Plan had an overwhelming agricultural s, there was already a shift in emphasis wards industry, although the country were yet long way away from the absolute minimum icultural bases, even in the primary produces, continued to be overwhelmingly, dependent on large food imports. At the end of the ond Plan, therefore, although agricultural production had increased by what would normally be considered a substantial margin, basic food imports had to continue in very large quantities throughout the period. Third Plan targets plan to raise food production, especially in food cereals and pulses to the 100 million ton mark, the necessary fertilizer production programmes as well actual irrigation water made available and envisaged (in spite of its being largely wishful) would however seem to lag far behind the measure required to sustain production at this level. A curious statement in the volume under review in this connection would seem to be the claim that with the achievement of Third Plan targets in this behalf, the country would arrive somewhat at a level of self-sufficiency with a per capita ration of 17.5 ounces per capita per day at the level of the anticipated population of 492 million persons in 1965-66. How 100 million tons can yield 17.5 ounces per day to 492 million persons is beyond the grasp of our arithmatical attainments! However, the impression I have gained about the purposes and outlooks of the country's development planning authorities after a more than ordinarily careful study of the volume under review is that in their imitational anxiety and impatience to reach a level of industrial sufficiency comparabe to the advanced countries of the modern world, the slower processes of growth to a level of minimum agricultural surplus, especially in food production, inspite of frank admissions of the need for precedence in this behalf, has been and is being deliberately evaded. The emphasis, obviously, is on industry with corresponding use of advanced technology. One is reminded in this context of Prof. John Galbraith's recent statement in this country that the use of advanced technology is, primarily, an accommodation to labour shortages and may prove to be ruinously expensive to an under-developed economy.

But even in the processes of industrial growth certain anomalies would seem to be all too apparent. Thus, the total capacity laid down for the steel industry in the private and public sectors together, at the end of the Second Plan aggregated 6.01 million tons. Investments required to cover this growth aggregated Rs. 525 crores resulting in the expansion of the private sector capacity from 1.30 million to 3.00 million tons and the laying down of three new public sector plants with an aggreagate capacity of 3.00 million tons. This capacity has been projected, under the Third Plan, to be raised to 9.2 million ingot tons by the end of the Plan

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period and would call for fresh outlays aggregating Rs. 672 crores of which approximately Rs. 320 crores shall be in foreign exchange. It is conceivable that in the context of the emphasis that is being laid upon rapid industrial development and having regard to the large outlays in this behalf both in internal resources and in borrowed foreign exchange, the utmost emphasis would also be laid, at the same time, upon production performances levelling upto if not actually exceeding (which, by all normal standards should be the case) laid down plant capacity. Unfortunately, however, according to a recent estimate made by the Planning Commission themselves, while the gross demand for steel in terms of ingot tons in the country during the Third Plan period would be likely to aggregate some 29 million tons, actual production out-turn could not be expected to exceed approximately 21.8 million tons, leaving a short fall of some 7 million tons which, if it were necessary to cover by imports, would present a foreign exchange bill aggregating some Rs. 600 crores. Plan targets obviously have been projected upon the steel capacity laid down, but production performances, on the Planning Commission's own showing, could not be expected to cover their requirements to within more than about sixty per cent (and it is yet very much uncertain if even this has not been an over-estimated !).

On the employment front certain advances have been made and more substantial progress is promised during the Third Plan period. A question, however, which would seem to be very pertinent in this connection, that would seem to obtrude itself, is, what is the extent of the labour intensification that had to be provided in the highly capital-intensive new large industries under the Second Plan to achieve this result? This is a question which seems to have been deliberately evaded by the Planning Commission and as cleverly side-tracked by their highly glamorous committee of Economic Advisers obviously for the inevitably adverse impact such a paradox would be bound to have on productivity and costs of production.

It is not possible within the short compas of a review to include all that one would like to say about this attractive and bulky volume put out at the expense of the public exchaquer except to conclude that however plausible it might look on the surface, its propagandist purposes are all too obvious. It lacks even the elementary virtue of subtlety.

RESERVE BANK OF INDIA, Annual Report, 1962 :

The statutory Annual Report & Accounts of the Reserve Bank of India for the year 1962, so far as it relates to a comprehensive survey of the national economy during the year under report is, more or less, a summary of the Reserve Bank's more Elaborate Report on Currency & Fiance for the year 1961-62, issued earlier.

The assessment of trends in the national economy as detailed in the report admits the growth of developing strains and stresses alongside of development planning, although it seeks to explain away these factors as inevitable concomittants of growth. But what the report is not altogether successful in wholly conjuring away is the existence of a growing apprehension on account of the country's widening balance of payments gap which is likely to further substantially widen in the years ahead. Despite a bold front being maintained, the growing anxieties on account of the country's continued inability not merely to make any new dents in the world markets, but even to hold together her traditional export superiority in the past in certain export commodities, can be all too clearly read between the lines of the report.

Altogether it is a factual analysis of immediate past movements in the economy, current trends and future prospects and although the report necessarily endeavours to explain away or cover up defaults of development planning in certain aspects of its objectives and methodology, as it must, its principal value is in providing information which could be the basis for more realistic assessments as a guide to possibly more rational future policies. No student of applied economics in any of its branches could afford to do without the compendium which this report is in fact, or its more elaborate edition issued earlier, careful studies of either or both of which would be bound to prove amply rewarding.

KARUNA K. NANDI

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Indian Periodicals

The Real Path of Economic Development

Writing in the *Indian Libertarian* in its issue dated 15th August, Prof. C. Carl Wiegand exposes certain fundamental misconceptions about the postulates of Economic Development which would appear to be especially pertinent to India's current efforts at development planning:—

Few nations have been successful in developing an industrial system until they were able to produce agricultural surpluses. The industrial revolution of England followed and coincided with a rapid development of agriculture. The farm surpluses necessary to feed the growing industrial population require a gradual change from a primitive local self-sufficiency to the production of marketable surpluses. Land reforms, which are at present widely advertised as the solution of Latin America's problems, may or may not meet the needs of increased production. When the large estates of eastern Germany, which due to scientific farming and centuries of careful tending produced before the war large surpluses, were distributed among the workers and deserving party members, the production dropped sharply, and before long the Communist regime found it necessary to unite the individual farms into co-operatives with the peasant, like the serf of yester-years, prohibited from leaving the land. In theory, the new collectives could have been operated as efficiently as were the former private estates, but in reality they are not, and eastern Germany, which was a good exporter before the war, is now dependent upon food imports despite a sharp decline in the total population and in the *per capita* consumption.

The tendency in underdeveloped countries to overlook the importance of agriculture as a basis, not a prerequisite for industrial and economic growth in general, is in part at least the result of prejudice dating from the colonial rule. The nations no longer wish to be merely the producers of raw materials, the handmaidens of industrial nations. Dr. Raul Prebisch, one of Latin America's best-known economists, has built a whole theory of economic development upon this assumption, forgetting completely that until the end of the last century, the major portion of United States exports consisted of two farm products: cotton and wheat, and that even today farm exports account for about one-fourth of United States exports. The expansion of farm production even during decades of declining prices, did not prevent, but actually made possible the industrialisation of the United States.

Since the United States is today the most highly industrialised and mechanised nation and enjoys the highest standard of living, the leaders of many underdeveloped nations jump to the conclusion that their economic problems can be solved if they can only build enough modern factories. This is a dangerous illusion. The steel production does not necessarily determine "the *tempo* of progress of the economy as a whole", as India's Second Five-Year Plan assumed. The demand for steel is not self-generating, neither is the demand for machinery. Industrialisation requires a peculiar type of skilled worker, quite different from the skilled artisan, and a market for finished industrial products. Neither can be developed overnight, and stronger the cultural ties of a peasant-handicraft culture, the greater the difficulty of producing modern industrial workers and demand for machine-made products. Europe required centuries to achieve the transition. To speed this cultural process through government fiat, as the totalitarian countries have attempted, causes a profound cultural shock and indirectly retards economic development.

The case against heavy industries, created by the government and financed through heavy taxation or inflation is particularly obvious in India with its very large supply of cheap labour, and its acute shortage of investment capital. Economic logic calls, for the time being at least, for labour rather than capital-intensive industries. It requires at least $10,000 in capital investments to provide one job in an automated steel plant, compared with $100 to $200 in cottage industries. Some 100,000 steel plows at $20 each will do far more for India's economic development than a $2 million machine tool.

This raises the whole problematic question of capital formation and investments. One may well question a recent statement by one of India's

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highest government officials that "there is only one factor of growth missing, and that is capital." Even though capital is admittedly important, the lack of certain psychological, cultural and social prerequisites is probably a far more critical and difficult handicap. There are four ways in which investments can be financed: through private savings, private foreign investments, government funds obtained through taxation or through the printing press; and finally through foreign aid or inter-government loans. It is a widely held misconception that the four are complementary. The inter-American "Alliance of Progress" is based on this illusion. The four sources of investment capital can be complementary under ideal conditions, but in reality they are often mutually destructive. Private domestic capital formation and private foreign investments go hand-in-hand. Traditionally one depends upon the other. Public investments on the other hand, whether financed through taxation or through inflation, are likely to hamper —contrary to post-Keynesian doctrine—both private capital formation and private foreign investments, unless great care is taken not to undermine private capital formation through heavy taxation and to discourage private investments through direct government competition. Unfortunately, modern economic planners are rarely satisfied to use public funds to prepare the basis on which a private economy can develop. Instead of building roads, schools, irrigation systems, and enforce social and economic order, modern economic planners build steel mills and power plants in direct competition with private enterprise, and yet they wonder why private enterprise seeks greener pastures in other countries.

Foreign aid can provide a sound basis for economic development, but the temptation of inter-governmental loans being used to expand the public sector at the expense of the private sector is obvious. The leaders of many underdeveloped countries and certainly many American experts, trained in Keynesian theories and raised in the spirit of the "New Deal," are basically distrustful of private enterprise and too impatient to permit the development of a free economy by logical stages. They build steel mills before the peasant has learned to use a steel plow, they build super-highways instead of all-weather feeder roads even though the price of the cheapest car is equal to the average *per capita* income for ten years. When Mexico, and more recently Colombia, nationalised the remaining private power plants, in which American investors held a substantial stake, the foreign exchange needed to pay off the American owners was obtained through a loan from Washington. Instead of being used to build more power plants, American aid was used to spread socialism. Why should private investors, under such circumstances, risk their capital?

Investment policies in underdeveloped countries suffer from a basic defect in economic reasoning. Instead of starting with the available resources and planning their most effective allocation, much of what passes as economic planning in underdeveloped countries is concerned with production goals, usually far beyond the available supply of capital and skilled workers. While there is an old saying that some men succeed better than others because they attempt more, and the fraudulent check-passer may succeed better for a while than his more honest neighbour, in the long run he is likely to get into trouble; and inflating the currency in order to achieve utopian production goals, like passing bad checks, is a form of fraud, as the two great scholastis writers, Buridan and Oresme already warned more than 500 years ago. Nor does inflation pay in the long run. It hampers private capital formation, drives existing private capital abroad or into sterile treasure hoards, and scares away foreign investors.

Of all the dangerous socio-economic theories which have found wide currency in recent years, probably the most deadly is the idea, which always appeals to spend-happy politicians, that a nation need not worry about the effect of rising price on the balance of payments as long as the national income continues to grow at a rapid rate. As *The Economist* wrote recently: "One cannot believe the governments of the United States and Britain will labour under artificial and irrational restraints on their economic growth,"—meaning, the maintenance of a sound balance of payments position. In order to import machinery essential to economic growth, underdeveloped countries must export and they will find their foreign markets vanishing, if their prices rise above world market prices. The "growth-through-inflation" formula is undermining the strength of the United States, and it makes impossible the economic development of India except on a totalitarian basis and at a cost in human dignity and well-being far greater than even Mahatma Gandhi could have anticipated when he called the state a "soulless machine" which "can never be weaned from violence."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Politics of Survival

David Marquand writing under caption "The Politics of Survival" in *The New Leader* of August 6, 1962 says:

Whatever else may be said of it, no one can accuse the British Conservative party of lacking an instinct for survival. That instinct was shown at its most ruthless in Prime Minister Macmillan's purge of the Cabinet last month. In the reconstruction, about a third of the Cabinet lost their jobs. Gnarled party war horses were put out to grass; new men were brought forward: but important though it was, this political face lift was not the most important aspect of the changes. The most significant feature of the purge was that poor, plodding Selwyn Lloyed—Chancellor of the Exchequer and chief exponent of the Government's economic policies—was thrown to the wolves. The reason for his fall was quite simply that the policies associated with his name have become bitterly unpopular with the electorate.

This point must be emphasized if the Cabinet changes, and the course of British politics in the last year, are to be put into perspective. Lloyed fell, not through extraordinary incompetence or sudden unpopularity in his own party, but because of his unpopularity in the country. But the polices which made him unpopular were not his alone, they were the policies of the whole Government—officially regarded until a few weeks ago as the height of fiscal wisdom.

Another point should be emphasized, too, and the Prime Minister wished only to change course under pressure of public opinion, and to promote younger men to high office, he could have done so without sacking Selwyn Lloyd. Lloyd, who was Foreign Secretary both during the Suez expedition and during the Anglo-American *rapprochement* that followed it, is no danger to the strategy of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. And if it had been thought unseemly that he himself should preside over the retreat from what were nominally his own policies, he could have been moved discreetly to some other department.

Instead he has been dismissed althogether, in the most abrupt and humilitating manner possible. Clearly, then, Macmillan wished not only to change course but to advertise the change as dramatically as he could. Lloyd's function was to act as the scapegoat whose sacrifice is designed to protect the rest of the tribe from the wrath of unseen powers.

But why should such a drastic maneuver be necessary? What has the Conservative party really to fear from unseen power? The answer is that it has a great deal to fear.

During the last six months the face of British politics has been transformed, at least for the time being, by an astonishing series of Parliamentary by-elections. In these by-elections the Conservative share of the total poll has fallen by as much as 30 per cent; the Labor share has remained more or less constant; and the Liberals have made off with the difference. Worse still from the Government's point of view, the Conservatives have lost two seats which would universally have been considered safe a year ago —one to Labor, the other to the Liberals.

If the pattern of these by-elections were to be repeated at a general election, the Conservative party would be massacred; the Labour party would have an enormous majority in the House of Commons; and the Liberals would once again become a major party in terms of Parliamentary seats. The "if" is, of course, a very sizeable one. By-elections are an unsafe guide to subsequent general elections: It is quite normal for the pendulum to swing away from the Government in the middle of its term of office, and to return once again at the end.

But when all the qualifications have been made, the fact remains that the Conservatives have suffered a humiliating slap in the face at the polls. It now looks like they will lose the next election. Why?

There are, in fact, two main reasons—one relatively superficial, the other more profound. The superficial reason is the Government's economic policies during the past year, particularly its so-called "pay pause." The pay pause was originally imposed a year ago to halt inflation. But, unfortunately for its own future political prospects, the Government imposed the pause without the agreement of the unions, and in a high-handed and arbitary manner perfectly calculated to alienate them.

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The result was what might have been expected. The unions failed to co-operate. Breaches in the Government's incomes policy began to appear almost as soon as the policy was announced. Before long, it became clear that the pause would in fact affect only those too weak to resist it. The higher income groups were not touched by it in any case, and organized labour was able to fight back. Those who suffered were the unorganized and semi-organized white-collar workers—a social group whose support is indispensable for the Conservative party if it is to stay in power.

Not surprisingly, the white-collar workers took their revenge. In by-election after by-election, it was they, more than any other group, who deserted to the Liberals. It is they who have changed the British political landscape out of all recognition. It is to them that Selwyn Lloyd's head has now been presented on a platter. The Government can certainly be expected to exert its most strenuous efforts toward winning back this crucial group. What is not so certain is that these efforts will succeed.

For the Government has to face two formidable obstacles. The first of these is the schizophrenic social composition of the Conservative party, which is, above all, the party of the classes posturing as a party of the masses. In order to win elections it needs the support of the white-collar workers and the lower middle class generally, of the suburban commuters and mortgage payers who have recently been deserting *en masse* to the Liberals. To win their support, it has to present itself as the architect of prosperity and economic growth.

But the Conservative party is also the party of the "old" middle class, of the retired colonels and the widows living on fixed incomes in the genteel squalor of some seaside boarding house. And the economic interests of this group are diametrically opposed to those of the "new" middle class in the housing estates.

To the "new" middle class, economic growth means cars, washing machines, holidays on the Continent and a steady ascent up the ladder of status. To the "old" middle class it means, in practice, inflation—and inflation means slow strangulation. The "new" middle class saw Lloyd as an economic executioner ; the "old" saw him as a potential savior.

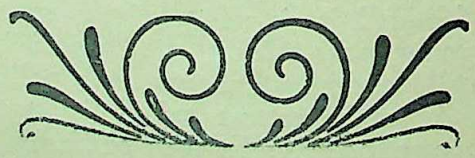
Already the voice of the "old" middle class has been heard, tuttutting morosely over Llyod's fall. Lord Avon (better known as Anthony Eden, and next to Churchill the leading elder statesman of the Tory party) has publicly suggested that Lloyd was badly treated. This is not to say that Macmillan now faces a revolt from outraged Llyodites : that is not the Conservative way. It is to say, though, that he will be unable to count on much enthusiasm from an important body of his followers until he convinces them, by results, that Lloyd's fall was necessary for the party's future.

The second and more profound reason for the bleak prospects, athough few Conservatives are prepared to admit it, is that the Government's unpopularity has deeper roots than the discontent of this or that social class. This is due to a growing sense that the country has been allowed to drift for too long, and a growing—if still confused— appetite for change.

The Conservatives won the election of 1951 because they promised to end "Socialist austerity". They won the two succeeding elections because it seemed that their promise had been kept. For 10 years, the British people voted against the restrictions and shortages of the 1940s, much as in the 1940s they had voted against Munich and the Great Depression. But just as the memory of the '30s started to grow dim during the last years of the Attlee Government, so the memory of the Attlee Government is growing dim now.

For the first time since the Conservatives came into office, the affluent society is being taken for granted. It is no longer enough merely to offer still more prosperity. It is also necessary to offer a solution to the problems which the existing level of prosperity has brought. Most important, it is necessary to hold out a vision of Britain more inspiring than that of endlessly increasing material prosperity, and more contemporary than the traditional Tory vision of empire.

The real reason for the Government's loss of popularity is that the Conservatives have so far been unable to do either of these things.



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A FATHER'S DREAM

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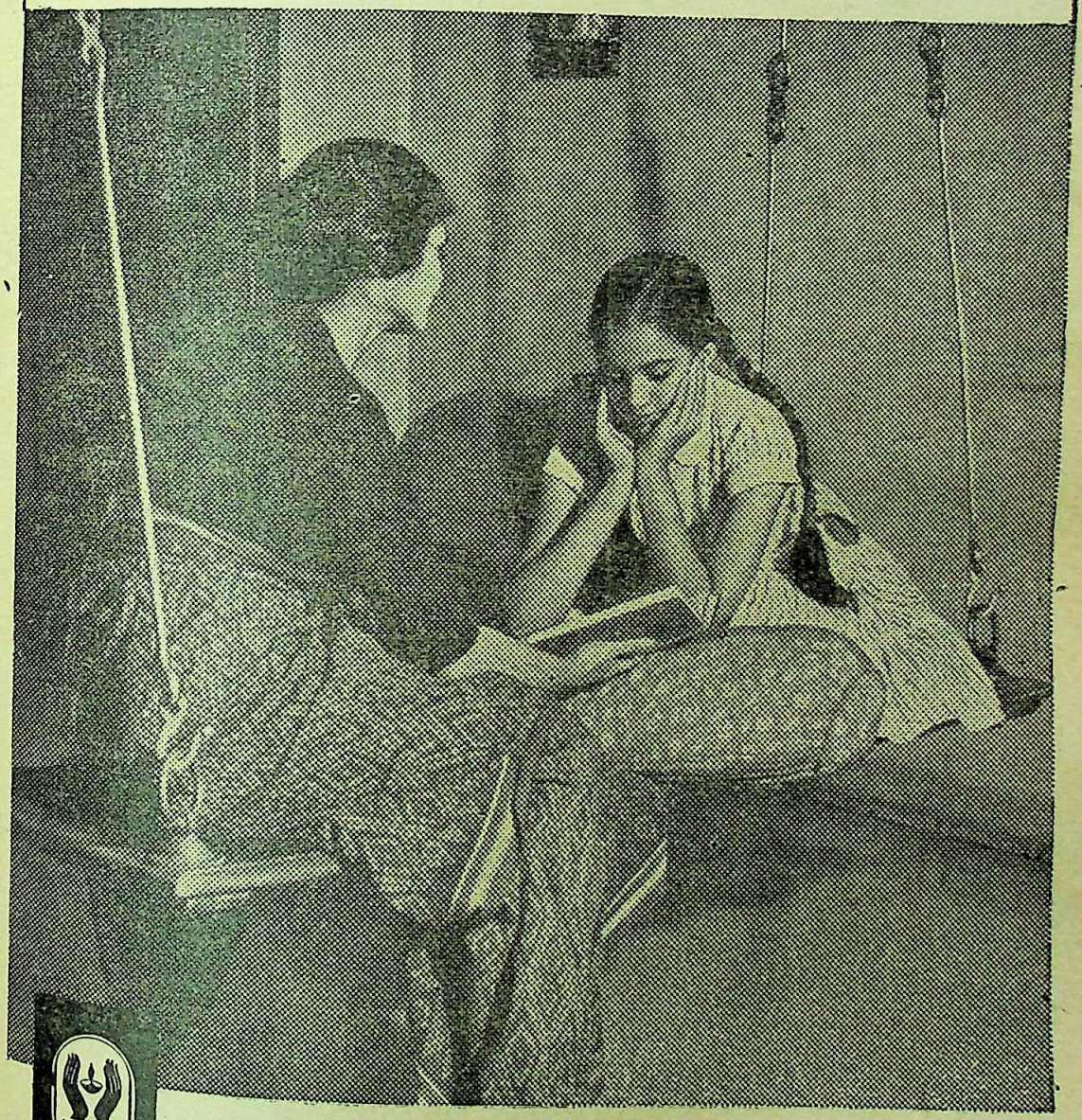

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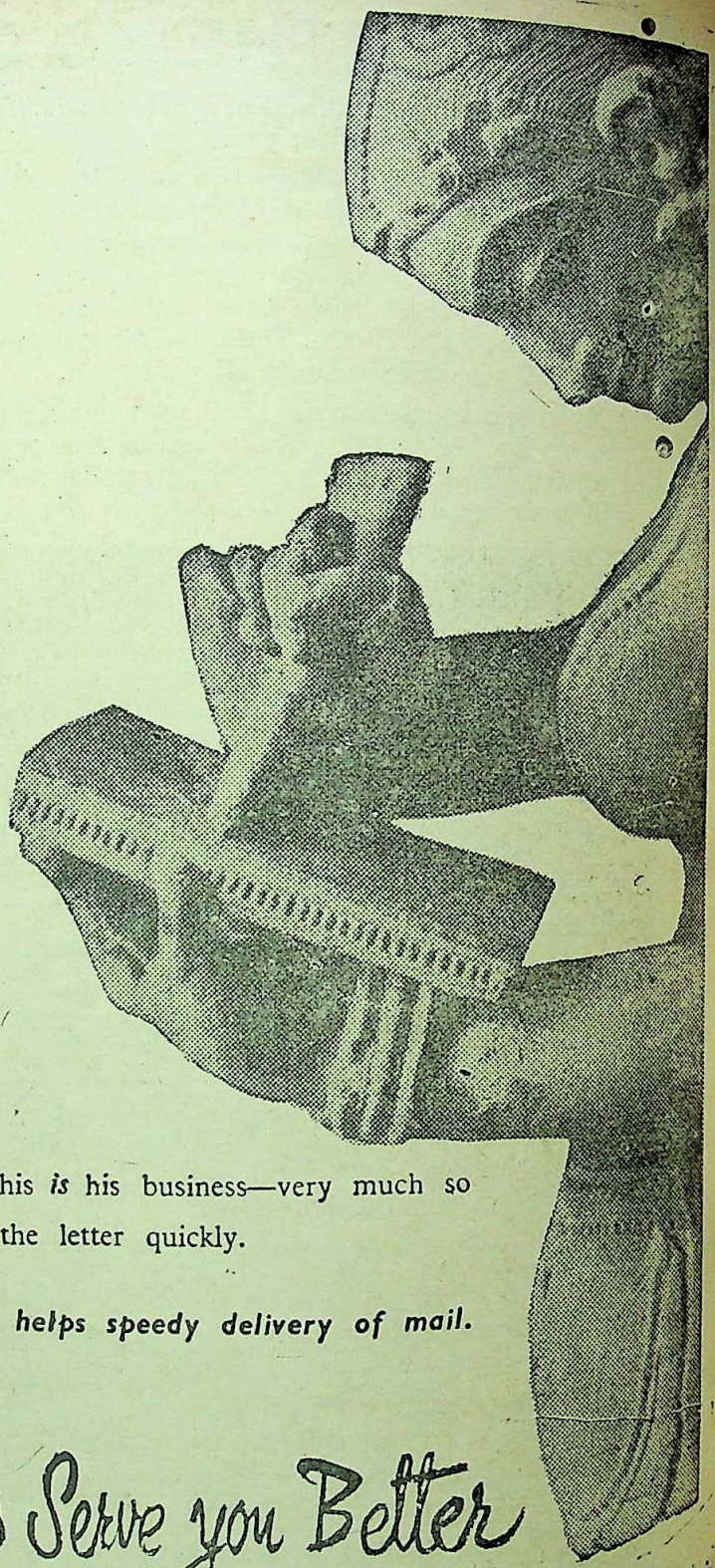

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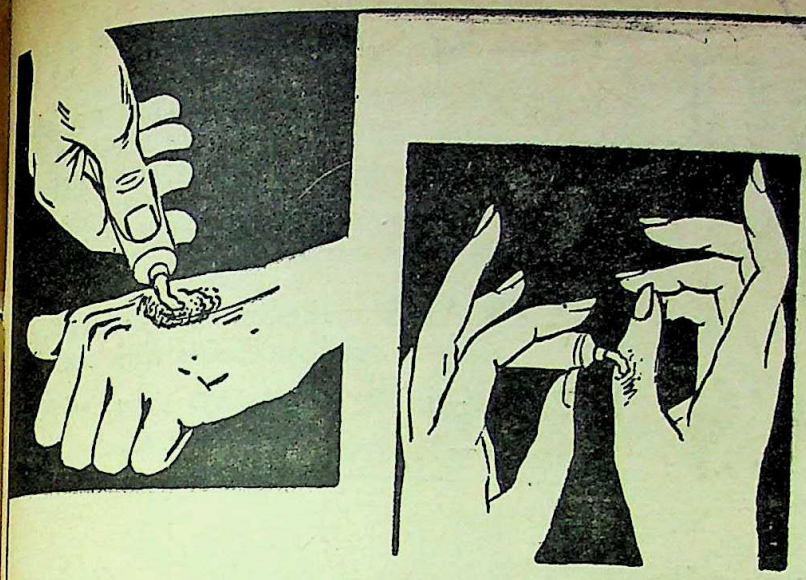

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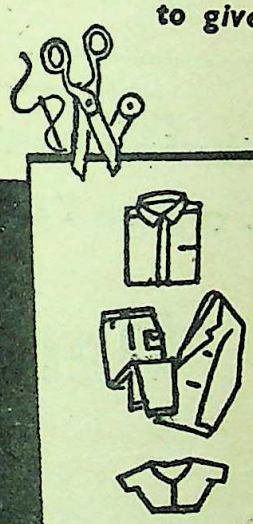

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SIVA'S DANCE OF DESTRUCTION
By courtesy of the artist, Mr. Nandalal Bose

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Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1962

VOL. CXII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 671

NOTES

The World

Two sectors of the Cold War zones of the World contain just now the focal points of world tension. In one zone on the Himalayan frontiers of the Indian North-West and North-East, the Red Chinese have started a shooting war with the latest modern weapons and with masses of armed forces fully equipped with motor transport in large numbers and with mechanized arms and tanks at some points in Ladakh. In the other, the U.S. Government has imposed a naval blockade in force around Cuba, bringing to a head the rising tension caused by the arming of Cuba with missile bases and with jet aircraft inclusive of the latest Soviet jet bombers. This blockade move has received full support from Britain and a fair amount of approval from the O.A.S. (Organization of American States), though not all of the members have signified their full support. Elsewhere in the World the position remained very much the same at the end of October as it was a month back.

The only notable event, in the way of a change from the old order, was the revolt and uprising in Yemen against the new Imam, Seif-el-Islam el Badr. The actual revolt took place at the end of September and was led by Brigadier-General Abdullah Sallal, who is a Nasser sympathizer according to the Americans. It was first reported that the new Imam had died in his palace in San'a the Capital of Yemen, during the bombardment by the rebel forces at the outbreak of the revolt. But later it was found that he had managed to escape into Saudi Arabia, and was trying to stage a come-back with the aid of men, money and weapons provided by King Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Hussein of Jordan.

This aid, in the shape of two small armies of about 1000 men each, raised and equipped by Saud and Hussein materialized about the middle of October. The Imam invaded Yemen with these but was beaten back by Saud's Yemenite army of tribes-men and regulars equipped with Soviet arms and aided by Egyptian planes. Badr's forces were driven out of Yemen territory and the remnants fled into Saudi Arabia and the British protectorate of Aden. It was reported about the end of October that Badr died in Saudi Arabia shortly after this second and major set-back to his fortunes. The rest of the Arab World has now only two things left, King Saud and King Hussein. The revolt in Yemen seems to be simmering down into tranquillity, but one cannot be certain about these last strongholds of mediaevalism and tribal feuds.

After the settlement in Algeria of the joust for power in favour of Ben Bella, that sorely tried country and its people has now a chance to restore normalcy to their way of life. In the rest of Africa no major incident of World significance took place in October although the Congo problem is still far from being settled—and will be so, so long as British, French and Belgian financiers keep on fishing in troubled waters with the

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active aid of Roy Welenski the Rhodesian champion of British colonialism.

The Cuban affair was brewing for a long time. It started coming to a head last September as the tone of the following extracts from the **New York Times** of September 30 would show :

Russia's fleet of open-sea trawlers has sharply expanded in recent years. The trawlers helped the Soviet Union two years ago to surpass the U. S. in total marine catch and to move into fourth place among world fisheries, with an annual haul of more than 3,000,000 tons.

The Soviet fishing fleet has also been suspected of spying. Trawlers flying the Russian flag—and reported to be equipped with radar and other electronic gear—have repeatedly shown up at U.S. naval manouvers, at nuclear testing areas in the Pacific and in U. S. offshore waters which local fishermen have reported to be notably lacking in fish.

Last week the U. S. had new cause for concern over the Soviet fishermen. Fidel Castro announced that Russia would help his regime build a $12-million port in the Bay of Havana and Moscow announced that its Atlantic fishing fleet would harbor there. The U. S. Defense Department was worried that the new port not only would provide a Western Hemisphere base for spy missions by Russian trawlers but could also be easily adapted for use by submarines and other military vessels.

The announcement of the harbor project, part of the Russian economic and military build-up of the Castro regime, intensified debate in Washington over U. S. policy toward Cuba.

Thus far the Kennedy Administration has followed a three-part strategy : (1) close surveillance, with preparations to use force as necessary if the build-up appeared to give Castro capabilities for aggression or subversion anywhere in the Western Hemisphere ; (2) pressure on NATO allies and other non-Communist nations to withdraw their ships from the Soviet supply line to Cuba ; (3) increased efforts to persuade Latin-American nations to tighten hemispheric "isolation" of Cuba through economic and political sanctions.

The debate ranged over a wide range but the most crucial questions were those of the increase in the vulnerability of the American Continents if the Soviets could establish advanced bases for the aerial, naval and missile bases in Cuba, which is within a few minutes' flying distance from Florida. The implications of the Monroe Doctrine were discussed thread-bare as well. Indeed these questions swayed the public mind to a very great extent in the U.S.A., where the mid-term elections are in the offing.

Then came identification of several large-scale missile bases under construction and in various stages of nearing completion on the island of Cuba together with the confirmation of the news of the presence in increasing numbers of technicians etc., from the Soviet armed forces. The continuous supply of jet aircraft and other weapons of war were also confirmed. And the reaction of the U. S. Government finally culminated in this naval blockade.

The Secretary-General of the U.N.O., Mr. U Thant has asked both sides to call a halt for a fortnight while negotiations might be put into progress to find ways and means to release the tension which has mounted almost to the explosion point. Talks are proceeding through the agency of Mr. U Thant with both the Soviet's Premier Khruschev and President Kennedy of the U.S.A., but as yet there is no indication of any lowering of the tension. There is a newspaper report of an offer by the Soviets to dismantle all warlike arrangements like missile bases etc., in Cuba if the U.S.A. would receiprocate by abandoning the advance bases in Turkey. This offer has been virtually rejected.

Incidentally it may be said that the Semi-official approval given by the Soviets —as signified in an editorial of the Pravda— of the Chinese proposals for cease-fire and peace on our Himalayan frontiers is undoubtedly a resultant reaction of this naval blockade of Cuba by the U.S.A. It is evident that the Soviets would like a negotiated peace between China and India at this stage, so that she does not have to strain relations with China, nor alienate India by withholding help. The question of the insatiable greed of Expansionist China and the shifty

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d treacherous nature of her constantly anging demands and assumptions has not een taken into consideration by the Soviets r obvious reasons.

This brings us to the consideration of hat is an undeclared War consequent on e invasion of the territories of India by ed China. It is a very difficult subject to mment upon, editorially, at this stage. On e one hand there is the question of tional solidarity, that is, united and unalified support for those in whose hands e have trusted the defence and preservaon of the sacred soil of our motherland and e liberty and prestige of the nationals of dia and, on the other, is the question as to w far the ignorant and inefficients of New elhi have jeopardised the defence organiation through the putting of incompetents and may be corrupt ones—in charge of ssential posts. We are well aware of the ct that it is dangerous to level slashing and maging criticisms at this crucial juncture, those who have grossly bungled and undered in the direction and administraon of the Defence department, but nonelless we have to ascertain beyond all ubt that the self-complacent wiseacres ho are at the helm of our affairs have at ast realized the limits of their knowledge d competence. Parliament has been lled into session a week before the previsly announced date and we hope this atter will be plainly determined through e united efforts of all members who have e freedom of India at their heart.

There is no doubt that the northern fences of India have been neglected badly ere communications are concerned and e Defence Forces have been badly let wn with regard to modern weapons and fensive equipment. It is useless to say at Foreign Exchange stood in the way be-se cascades of Foreign Exchange have en spent since 1958, in the execution of e precious Plans and in various other ys. And it was apparent to the whole rld since 1958, that Red China was preing for an invasion of India, though the e men of New Delhi might have been sfully—and wishfully—unaware of the ending massive assault that would follow en their preparations were over.

We had received an assurance, some time back, from Pandit Nehru that our defences in the NEFA area were **"adequate."** They have proved not only inadequate but also incapable of being reinfoced when the time came due to total lack of communications. Then again we find that the official spokesmen at New Delhi laying great emphasis on the employment by the Chinese of "mountain guns, heavy mortars and automatic weapons" in their assault on one of our positions. One wonders what New Delhi had thought the Chinese would use when they attacked. Half-bricks and match-locks perhaps! The names of these weapons sound impressive to totally ignorant people but as a matter of fact they are standard weapons which all armies of to-day are equipped with for use in difficult terrain. Our troops and our defences were most certainly not adequately equipped to beat back an assault with modern weapons. This was criminal negligence on the part of those who were responsible—but the reckoning can and should wait.

But despite woefully poor equipment and exceedingly poor arrangements for supply and relief, our **Jawans** have fought the enemy with their traditional valour and staunchness. The fighting quality of our troops was never in doubt and as the call comes there would be sufficiency in numbers too. But modern warfare is not merely a question of numbers and figting quality alone—though in the long run that tells as the Germans found out in Russia and the Japanese in China. The need of the moment is for fighting equipment that would match the invaders' armament. And that has to be obtained at any cost.

As regards the course of the actual war, the invaders are now moving away from their communication lines and the question of supplies is likely to become more difficult for them as the Himalayan Winter with its heavy snowfall sets in. This may give our defenders a breathing space—but nothing more.

At the time of writing these notes, there is fierce fighting going on, both in Ladakh and in the NEFA and our defences, on the lines taken up now, have held as yet. If only adequate arms and supplies could be rushed

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up in time then there would be a chance for stabilization in the near future, where our defence positions are concerned.

The President has proclaimed a State of Emergency on the 26th of October and the provisions of the Defence of India Act have also been resurrected through an ordinance issued on the same date. Mr. Desai has broadcast an appeal to the nation to mobilize financial resources. A Cabinet Committee has also been formed, consisting of Pandit Nehru, Mr. Desai, Mr. Nanda, Mr. Menon, Mr. Shastri and another, to deal with the emergency. We hope, they will discard their pet fads and shiboleths and wake-up to the fact that they have to match their wits against an enemy who is treacherous and ruthless in the extreme and who takes an intensely realistic view of World Affairs in which World opinion and World sympathy has no place.

The news has come through that Mr. Khruschev has accepted President Kenedy's assurance that U. S. will not invade Cuba and has therefore ordered all missile bases in Cuba to be dismantled and the arms and equipment to be returned to Russia. The World will breathe a sigh of relief.

Our Friends and Neighbours

Who is a friend ? Old Chanakya in his wisdom laid down a definition which still holds good after the lapse of over twenty-three centuries. He said "he is (indeed) a friend who stands fast alike in festivities or dissipation, famine or State-turmoil during trial at the King's tribunal and at the end near the funeral pyre."

India is passing through a period of intense trial and it is, therefore, the time for the testing of friendships. It should be remembered, however, during the accounting, that our relations with our friends have been conditioned to a large extent by the over-emphasis laid by those who are in charge of our foreign affairs, on the matter of non-alignment and friendliness to all—an attitude which may be construed as being lukewarm all round. Further, the inept and over-adroit talk indulged in by some of the great men of New Delhi has given offence to many who resent the "holier than thou" pose assumed by these ultra-clever men. The most prominent of the latter has been criticized in the following terms by the **Nation** of Rangoon, as reported by the **Statesman :**

Rangoon, October 30.—"India's Defence Minister has been deceived by his own cleverness," says the **Nation,** one of Burma's leading English dailies, in an editorial captioned : Mr. Menon and the War that has come to India.

Mr. Menon has long attempted to convince his colleagues, the paper adds, that he enjoys a special relationship with the Communist bloc and this is perhaps why Mr. Nehru gambled so heavily when giving him the Defence portfolio. The "special position" was proved to be illusory by the **Pravda** statement of October 25 when Moscow called the McMahon Line "notorious" and "a product of British imperialism" and said the Chinese terms for negotiations were acceptable and reasonable.

"But Mr. Menon's political astigmatism is not his only fault. His concepts of defence policies and military preparedness are even more shocking. Indian troops have fought valiantly but their fight against the well-equipped Chinese has been one-sided because they cannot match their enemy's modern weapons and support facilities. Lee Enfield rifles are no match for automatic Soviet weapons that are standard equipment for Chinese infantrymen."

The paper says : "If India is to come out of the proposed talks with honour she must abide by her resolve to arm and to render a good account of herself militarily. Mr. Menon's campaign for collection of gold to enable the country to buy arms cannot cover his sins of omission in the past in regard to India's defence. It is extremely doubtful if this defence can be effective under a Minister who by his unpreparedness and reliance on Communist promises has jeopardized it to a great extent."

It must be said, however, in taking into account the Rangoon daily's comments on the Russian attitude that Cold-War alignments and considerations have undoubtedly influenced the Soviet's reactions in the present crisis, which certainly has claustrophobic potentialities regarding the world situa-

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n. Otherwise the summing up by the tion is substantially correct.

On the other hand, the response of the estern Powers, particularly that of the S. and Britain has been extremely good. e only hope that Pandit Nehru would put st things first and not allow any of his pet shibboleths and prejudices to muddle the offers of assistance in arms and uipment, even if that involves the calling of technicians and specialists. The lapses our defence arrangements have been too eat—thanks to the admitted mental errations of Pandit Nehru and his coun-llors—and the crisis too acute to allow of y time for abstract considerations.

The most friendly response at this itical juncture has been from the Malayan ime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, w on a visit to this country. We append low part of the report of his speech deli-ered at the Red Fort in Delhi on the 28th ctober, during the course of a civic recep-n given him. The extract is from the atesman:

The Prime Minister of Malaya, Tengku bdul Rahman, today warned all free tions, particularly those in Asia, against e evil intentions of China. "There is no ed to mince words. The Chinese aggres-n is a red signal of danger to the whole Asia. The crisis in India is a challenge to e entire free world," he said.

He called upon all free nations to nsider carefully the motives behind the inese aggression on Indian territory and t just sit and wait for the outcome. An en aggression on a great country like dia could not be without strong motives.

There could be a difference of opinion, t, according to him, the Chinese act was demonstration of strength so that the ole of Asia should look to her.

They wanted to capture the mind, heart d imagination of all Asian countries and put an end to all democratic set-ups in a and turn them into their slaves.

The Malayan Prime Minister, who was eaking at a civic reception given him at d Fort, said that Malaya was engaged an armed conflict with the Communists r 12 long years and the Malayans "know at they are like". The Chinese would make trouble anywhere, in any manner, in Asian countries to fulfil their evil motives. Malaya experienced it, Vietnam had suffered for a long time and now India was suffering at their hands, he said.

China, the Prime Minister said, could not tolerate the existence of India—a successful democracy which was a challenge to her bid for leadership of Asia. What was happening in India—a nation stripped to its depths by the open and hostile act on her borders by China—was of great importance to other countries.

In such a grave situation, he said, Malaya had full sympathy and support for India. "In your fight," he added, "you will have many friends and Malaya will be one of the strongest among them."

Amongst the Commonwealth countries, the response from Canada has been very friendly and the offer of arms and equipment that can be supplied by her has been categoric and clear.

There have been messages of sympathy and concern from a large number of friendly countries from all over the world and others are also pouring in, but we have to mention the above as being very remarkable amongst all received up to date.

Regarding our neighbours, Nepal and Pakistan, the position is different. We are told by our Prime Minister that our relations with Nepal are quite friendly and we would, indeed, like to believe it. But there are men close to the King of Nepal who are continuously poisoning his mind against India and some Nepalese papers are virulently anti-Indian. These are factors that are not conducive to mutual trust and friendship, taking into consideration that the King of Nepal is an absolute monarch. It is to be hoped, however, that the temporary misunderstanding caused by the alleged raids into Nepal across the Indian boundary by Nepalese rebels will be cleared up satisfactorily.

As for Pakistan the relation has been the reverse of fiendly. to put it mildly. Indeed the only concern so far expressed by President Ayub has been at the supply of arms to hard-pressed India. The concern has been expressed in blatantly un-friendly language. However, that was only to be

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expected from a country where all the elements of democracy have been ruthlesssly suppressed by a succession of dictators. Further the present attitude of Pakistan has placed considerable handicaps on our war effort because a very considerable portion of our army have to be maintained, at the Indo-Pakistan border.

We are told that "quiet diplomatic moves have been initiated to smoothen relations between Pakistan and India. There are news agency reports of personal messages sent by President Kennedy to President Ayub Khan and Pandit Nehru inviting them to "bury the hatchet" in Kashmir at a time when China has launched war of aggression against India. It has been also reported from the Commonwealth Relations office at London that Mr. Macmillan has written to President Ayub Khan on the present situation. Nothing is known about the responses of President Ayub Khan to these moves.

India and China's Entry into U.N.

The following press despatch appeared the dailies on October 27.

U.N . H.Q., Oct. 26.—India accused China today of "premediated aggression" against Indian territory but supported a Soviet proposal for the seating of the Peking regime in the U.N.

Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, Chief Indian delegate, told the 110-nation General Assembly that his Government believed in the principle of universality for U.N. membership and would not make an exception in the case of the Chinese Communists.

"We also think," he said, "that the only efective way to check Chinese military adventurism is to make her accept her responsibilities as a member of the world organization and thereby be subjected to the views and discipline of this august body."

Mr. Chakravarty prefaced this statement with a declaration that "China has committed flagrant, massive and premeditated aggression on the eastern and western sectors of our territory while glibly talking of peaceful negotiations."

"China pursued its aggressive actions on Indian soil despite the fact that India, year after year, has championed the cause of China's admission to the U.N.

"Over the last few years the Chinese have forcibly occupied more than 12,000 miles of Indian territory. Despite repeated Chinese attacks and despite the fact that the Government of China has no evidence to back up its claims to 50,000 sq. miles of Indian territory, he said, the Indian Government still clings to its firm belief in the value of peaceful negotiations."

The words were spoken by Mr. B. N. Chakravarty without doubt, but the authorship of this exquisite piece of Quixotism was undoubtedly that of Pandit Nehru. No one else in this wide world is capable of mixing the hard realities of the present-day world with the half-digested metaphysics of the academic cloisters of a forgotten era in this fashion. It must have taken all the stern discipline acquired by Mr. Chakravarty during decades spent in the cadres of the Indian Civil Service, to utter them.

One of the most admirable practices that Mahatma Gandhi diplayed was the rigid, though self-imposed, restraint on his faculties of speech. And his greatest failure in the training and teaching of those of his disciples to whom he bestowed his leadership of men, was in the very same disciplining of this gift of expression.

It would have sufficed if the Indian delegate had dissocited homself from the move. But no, he must put forward before the assemblage of nations the illogical workings of the mind of a visionary.

We wonder if there be another person, with the same responsibilities as Pandit Nehru, or for that matter any person with a knowlege of the present day world with and a logical mind, who thinks that entry in the U.N.O. would in any way curb—let alone check—Chinese military adventurism.

Punishment for Spurious Drugs

The following press report that emanated from Mahabaleshwar on the 20th of October last contains an interesting pointer towards the shape of really deterrant punishments.

The Central Council of Health has recommended that confiscation of property of dealers and manufacturers dealing in spurious drugs should be provided in the Drugs

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t. The Council also suggested that the nimum punishment should not be subject the discretion of the trial magistrate and o the relevant provision of the law uld be applicable to Government facto- s as well. These recommendations were luded in a resolution passed by the Coun- at its tenth meeting which concluded sterday at Mahabaleshwar.

The resolution also recommended that urvedic and Unani medicines should be ught within the purview of the Drugs t.

The Council called upon the State Gov- ments to develop drug control machin- y on the pattern of Maharashtra and jarat drug control administrations

Without entering in the legal implica- ns of the above recommendation we uld like to say that it measures up to the mon citizens' idea of meteing out condign nishment to those who want to loot inno- nt and helpless persons by-unscrupulous asures. The remark that "the minimum nishment should not be subject to the cretion of the trial magistrate" also re- cts correctly the laxity of our adminis- tors and executives who deal out justice their pleasure and on their whims.

But this is only one section—and not a ry big one either—of the fraudulent and minal practices of hoardes of swindlers and fiteers who are battening on the suffer- s of the helpless people. We do not know en the Government is really going to ve against the dishonest scoundrels who amassing crores through the agony of people.

e Government and the Profiteers

Of all the evils that have persisted since days of World War II, artificial scarcities d profiteering are the two that seem to y public opinion and affect the social and nomic welfare of the people most griev- sly. Indeed it has sapped public morale such an extent that even sane and intel- ctual people, who are conversant with blic affairs and have an effective faculty reasoning on intricate social and econo- problems, find it difficult to challenge conviction that has prevailed with the mon Citizen to the effect that **all the ministries and the executives** are working under the domination and direction of these filthy blood-suckers.

We ourselves have been forced to the conclusion that not only is corruption rampant in the highest places but that every one concerned with the administration and control of the Union and States is fully aware of the ways and and means through which corrupt practices—the inevitable corollary of large-scale profiteering—work with impunity. The extracts from a news-letter from Madras given below would indicate our meaning. The news-letter appeared in **the Hinusthan Standard,** dak edition, for October 4 :

MADRAS, SEPT. 28.—Women from all walks of life recently described at a public meeting their hardships due to the continuing rise in the cost of living. The Union Minister without portfolio, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, was present.

One working class woman said she and her husband had to go without food for several days because of high prices. A middle-class housewife complained that she had to send her very young son, still worthy of education, for a job just to meet the family expenditure.

An honorary woman magistrate apprehended that the rising cost of living would affect the moral capacity of Indian women ; how could they withstand privations for so long a period ?

Another woman referred to the dishonesty of food traders.

Mr. Krishnamachari said all these years he had been studying the trend of rising prices. He knew that the poor remained poor and the rich were becoming richer. The Government had no method to check the price trend.

Those who took part in the meeting included wives of Ministers, well-known social workers and Congress members.

The State Chief Minister, Mr. Kamaraj himself feels that something has to be done to hold the price line. Sometime ago the Tamil Nad Congress Committee appointed a committee to report on the increase in the prices of essential commodities. Mr. Krishnamachari was the chairman of that Committee. That report was not made public,

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but Mr. Krishnamachari referred to it at the women's meeting. It was held that this report contained radical recommendations including the operation of the foodgrains trade by quasi-government organisations including co-operatives.

At the meeting the accent was on co-operatives. Many speakers wanted the grains trade to be taken away from the private sector and Mr. Krishnamachari agreed with the view.

Is this a prelude to the opening of such co-operatives in this State by women ? It seems that large-scale trade through women's co-operatives throughout the State, is in the offing.

What puzzled economists in this State was the bland avowal by Mr. Krishnamachari about inflationary tendencies and why the Government had not acted and still hesitated to act. Any way he had plunged himself into a controversy likely to disturb the Delhi Secretariat walls.

The hopeful note at the end of the above extract regarding the Delhi Secretariat walls, seems to have been over-optimistic. As yet we do not see any signs of an awakening of our tinsel gods to the dire plight they have placed the trusting peoples of India through the torrents of money—largely wasted—they have poured into their precious Plans which so far has only further impoverished the poor and super-fatted the bloated profiteers and corruption mongers.

There is a tacit assumption in the letter that the steep rise in the cost of essential commodities and protective food-stuffs is due to inflation alone. There is no doubt that the inflation consequent on the feckless spending on the Five-Year Plans is the main cause of the all-round rise in prices, but that rise does not by any means include the exactions of profiteers. Does inflation explain the rise of price of fish in Calcutta from six annas a seer in 1940 to four-and-half rupees in 1961-62, or does it indicate how the market (black of worse) price of a controlled drug fluctuates between Rs. 11.50 and Rs. 22 ?

The only explanation is the rapacity of the profiteers who are bleeding the helpless public with the knowledge of the officials and with the implied consent of the highest authorities who have not stirred a finger—though some of them have wagged their tongues vigorously—either to help the people or to restrain the profiteers, who are the greatest enemies of the common citizen, sapping as they do his **morale** and morals.

Lately the Planning Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, has awoken to the fact that the Plans have played havoc with the well-being and staunchness of the people. He has been thinking furiously—so we are told—and talking loudly in a high way. We append below some extracts from the news-report of a Press Conference held by him in New Delhi on October 24.

The Planning Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, declared that the profiteering mentality in times of national emergencies was going to be "ruthlessly smashed."

He announced at a Press Conference that the Government was not going to tolerate any rise in prices because of the national crisis created by the border situation.

"There will be no relaxation in the measures aimed at controlling the rise in prices and no mercy will be shown', he declared.

Mr. Nanda said the Planning Commission has worked out a scheme of action to control prices which was now being considered by the Government. A decision was expected to be announced shortly.

Mr. Nanda said that he was going to personally supervise the implementation of measures aimed at controlling the rise in prices.

Asked whether the Third Plan was likely to be revised to divert greater resources to defence purposes, the Planning Minister replied, there was bound to be some adjustments in the Plan programmes. He declared, the defence needs would have 'overriding priority over everything else ?'

Mr. Nanda, however, hastened to point out that the border situation has only strengthened the Government's determination to implement the Plan as fully as possible so as to increase production and strengthen the national economy.

Mr. Nanda also announced at the Press Conference that the Bharat Sevak Samaj, a voluntary organisation with over one million members, has drawn up a seven-point

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emergency programme to render services of arious kinds in the national crisis created y the border situation.

Proceeding further regarding the programme drawn up by the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Shri Nanda said it will primarily concentrate on constructional work in the border areas of the country and that "the organisation has also decided to set up a chain of consumer stores as a means of checking a rise in prices."

"The seven-point programme of the organisation consists of : 1. Rendering assistance to the families of military personnel ; 2. maintenance of the morale and solidarity of the community ; 3. to provide trained construction workers to meet the needs of defence ; 4. opening of consumer stores to check rise in prices ; 5. render emergency service in border areas ; 6. enlist people's co-operation in mobilizings, etc."

We confess that we are not impressed, either by Shri Nanda's "pep-talk" or by the prospects of the profiteers being controlled, without a drive being set into motion against corruption.

We are told at every step that the constitution stands in the way of the punishment of the guilty. Indeed, even our President has said that our laws and our administration takes equal care for the safety of the guilty ones and the innocent ones alike. He has put it in his accustomed mild and philosophical manner. But in reality the law-abiding and the innocent must suffer and perish if the law-breakers and the corrupt ones are allowed to work their will on the people with impunity, as they are doing today.

Unless corruption is eradicated with a strong and ruthless hand from the highest places and unless legislation against the corrupt and the lawless is effectively brought in, there is no way out. If the Constitution stands in the way it must be modified **or else it will soon be paving the way for a dictatorship.**

There must be redress for the hundreds of millions that are suffering the consequences of lax controls, ineffective laws and half-hearted measures for the checking of calamitous deterioration in the economic life of the people. Teeth and clamps must be put in the laws and lax administrators must be **punished and sacked.** Otherwise all this big talk about **morale** by Pandit Nehru or that on the checking of profiteering by Shri Nanda seem to be a futile waste of breath to us.

THE EDITOR

Inciting Marauders

Weakness in the body politic incites marauders to break in and to make the most of their victims' helplessness. Indian history since 1947 is a shameful chapter of glorified weakness. Before that the formation of the Indian National Army by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, which was the natural and logical development of the fight against the British carried on sporadically in Bengal, Madras, Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere, made the British understand that India could not be kept down by them for much longer. They, therefore, gave up their imperial domination over this nation as befitted a wise and practical nation. But the Indian side was neither wise nor practical. While a World War and great sacrifices made by our millions brought us nearer freedom, our leaders began to act in a manner which made them the laughing stock of the world. They spoke of love and human brotherhood while demanding freedom. Large numbers of political workers moved about with them, went to jail for peaceful defiance of the ruling power and there was a general belief that freedom would be won by peaceful means. Fundamentally one had nothing to say against brotherhood or human love. But a large number of persons who did not believe in love or peace took all this as a confession and proof of weakness. They demanded a partition of India on the false ground that there were two nations in India, Hindu and Muslim and there should, therefore, be two States instead of one. Our leaders, who were eager for freedom and had not mustered the strength to take it by force, passed long years fraught with rioting and mass murders committed by the "other nation" and eventually agreed to this partition in a weak-kneed fashion. The marauding "other nation" which was born in treachery and falsehood, continued its activities against India and are even to this day grabbing portions of India by treacher-

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ous attacks. The greatest example of marauding and treachery was in Kashmir, where our leaders began singing love and peace, while our soldiers were dying for the country's freedom; and thus brought about a virtual partition of Kashmir, instead of throwing the marauders out entirely.

When China began to annex, by force large chunks of India, after having invaded Tibet and "liberated" it to form an integral part of China, our leaders sat and watched things peacefully while they extorted from our countrymen a **double-chouth** of their hard earned income in taxes, in order to spend the money in peaceful economic ventures most of which did not work out according to plan. As a result of this adventurous folly our army, navy and air force did not develop fully and well and we could neither throw out infiltrators from hostile neighbouring countries nor prevent invasion of our own land by China. We went on delivering speeches, making announcements, sending messages of protest and generally speaking acting in a very peaceful manner, which, our enemies rightly interpreted as a sign of national decadence, folly and cowardice. The land of a mighty race of fighters was slowly becoming a land of weak-kneed money grabbers who thought only of getting rich. The Chinese watched this development and soon made up their mind to invade India and to grab the entire Himalayan region. They had come into possession of about 20000 sq., miles of our territory by peaceful means, due to the negligence our Government, and they thought a little skirmishing will soon give them the rest of the Himalayas. Of the Himalayan States they thought nothing. They could pich them up later as and when they so desired. So began the Chinese invasion of India in October 1962 on a lar-scale and a full military basis. This caught our leaders, not only on the wrong foot, but in a prone and somnolent position.

A.C.

The Congress and the Crisis

The Congress never delays nor procrastinates when it comes to holding meetings and making speeches. Whether or not *nada* is *Brahma*, *nada*, that is, vocally made noise, is surely the very essence of *Rashtra niti*. If politicians talked less and worked more for the people's safety and benefit there would be fewer crises on the national fronts. Our majority political party has been propounding the religion of *Ahimsa* since a long time. It is even now not quite clear whether in their list of spiritual—moral priorities anything at all can gain precedence over *Ahimsa*. We can not say that it is an act of delinquency to be peace-loving and to be saturated with the milk of human kindness. But one may be permitted to say that love cannot replace gasolene, when it comes to driving motor cars. Nor can love be a substitute for food in times of famine or for arms in war. Those who are wedded to the ideal of *Ahimsa* are by nature unfit for defending the nation against ferocious enemies. They can give their lives for their ideal and become martyrs; but their martyrdom can hardly compensate those who will lose their lives, property and freedom as a result of the superior moral reactions of the non-violent defenders of the nation. So that the Indian National Congress should not at this crisis jeopardise their immortal soul by giving up their ideals. They should hand over the work of national defence to persons who are at a lower moral level and who will have no compunction about killing and crushing out enemies. Lovers of humanity have a habit of wishfully creating friends out of enemies and living in a fools' paradise. The Congress had been *bhai-bhai-ing* with the Chinese till day before yesterday, so to speak, and today we find the Chinese have killed thousands of our beloved brothers and sons in a treacherous manner. Once in 1946-47, the Congress put the Goddess of Peace and love on a high pedestal and worshipped her by sacrificing a third of our ancient land. And after that India went through a period of mass murders, rapine and desolation, the like of which never happened in India before. In India the most popular goddesses are *Durga* and *Kali* and both represent *Shakti* that is divine strength which destroys evil with ruthless courage. The most popular religious text, the *Bhagavad Geeta*, teaches us to be dispassionately courageous and to do our duty fully and well without any thoughts of brotherly love and unhampered by any scruples which may obstruct us in the path of duty. Our enemies may be our brothers, and they very often are so; but we must not forget that in the face of our supreme duty to defend the

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motherland, that Congressmen must forget *Ahimsa*, the Communists must forget their international brotherhood of communists, capitalists must forget their wealth and workers must forget their economic rights; and drive him out of our territory. Our fight is threefold. The Chinese are threatening us from the North. Enemies are also sitting on our other frontiers whom we must watch with sleepless eyes. And we have many kinds of "fifth column" within our country. The Communist fifth column, the cowards' fifth column, the fifth column of ignorance and so on and so forth. The idea that fresh blood must come into the government is sound. But the fresh blood will be really healthy and good if it is taken from the people instead of the dead and dying political parties.

We must remember that the Congress way of looking at things is useless in times of war. War effort is not flood relief nor development of cottage industries. Nor even moral regeneration in the sense of establishing a Band of Hope world of non-smokers, teetotallers, vegetarians, *Kirtan* singers and what not. All our leaders who believe in love and peace at all costs must resign and go yielding place to fiercely arrogant non-believers in the defunct ideologies of the last fifty years. Many of these leaders totally lack the ability to think realistically. They are satisfied that they are pragmatic when they are only dogmatic. Unless these people can change and shed their complexes, they will have to go sooner or later. The sooner the better. All politics as found in India have a flavour of disloyalty to the Nation. The party first, the Nation next is the motto of politicians. Some even ignore the nation and swim in extra-territorial waters. When the Congress talks about a Total Effort they of course, expect people to follow the Congress. The Communists still whine about negotiations when their spiritual overlords have already violated our frontiers. In these circumstances the people of India must reorientate their minds about politics and their political obligations. An all party Government of India will not be representatiive of the peoples of India. For all the members of all the political parties would not form even 5 per cent of our population. The vast masses must be awakened to the needs of the hour. And this can only be done by men and women who have not sullied their reputation in the eye of the greater public by belonging to political parties.

Russia, America and Others

The latest news from Russia are quite unequivocal and clear. Russia has a moral sympathy for the Chinese. Which means Russia is not supporting the Chinese physically; but is morally prepared to do so in case they feel the Chinese require such support. Russia has also said in clear terms that she is not going to deliver any weapons to India. We are thankful to Russia for her honest and truthful assertions regarding her moral position. We may expect to see full scale Russian aid being given to China, if the latter country ever has to go on the defensive. Russia would not have declared her policy if she had been sure of China's success against India. She now feels that India will fight back and may even invade the alleged Tibetan territory of China. India will now find it difficult to reliberate Tibet; for the Russians, and the Indians too, have admitted, however perjuriously, that Tibet is an integral part of China. Another reason for Russia's declaration of policy is that India is trying to obtain arms from the U.S.A. This action puts India, perhaps tacitly into the American bloc. India may say she is seeking aid from a member of the United Nations Organisation; but that will not put her back into favour with Russia. India should not depend on the U.S.A. and Great Britain for her supplies of arms. She should buy and secure arms from West Germany, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries too in order to keep clear of the Anglo-American bloc. There is a question of safety too which India must always remember. After China's treachery, India has no reasons for trusting Pakistan any more than she can be trusted on grounds of facts. Her armies are poised for action on the borders of India at all times and India should never belittle her as a potential enemy nor believe her one bit. During this time of a grave national emergency India can be stabbed in the back and should be careful that this does not happen. Our war effort therefore should include all that extra effort required to guard the Indo-Pakistan border fully and well. A part of our over all strategy *vis-a-vis* the Pakistani menace is our preparedness to do without American or British arms; for we may

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obtain arms from these countries for use against China; but we may not get those supplies in case we have to fight Pakistan. This angle of vision should be developed and used in full detail, *before* anything happened. For the Chinese incident has proved to the people of India how negligent and careless a government managed by idealists can be. For all practical purposes idealists, fools and crooks provide the greatest breaches in our national bastions. We must not put our faith in any of such persons.

A. C.

The Evils That Must Be Resisted

Jesus Christ told his followers to avoid violent retaliation and to turn the other cheek in answer to a slap on one. Chaitanya Mahaprabhu said that even if he had been bruised by assault he would still give only love in return. Count Leo Tolstoy advised all not to resist evil. But all the above prophets and saints must have been expounding the basic principles of individual morality when they pronounced their words on the force that love had to win over personal enemies. Individuals have a habit of retaliating on the slightests provocation and this usually leads to no gain and to great loss and injury at times It is therefore of real advantage to individuals to control their passions and to maintain peace even when provoked. Many of the fights between persons in ancient and medieaval times were the outcome of individual intolerance and angry retaliation; and these fights caused loss of life quite frequently. Sometimes simple accidents progressively involved many persons and led to family feuds and even to wars. Human passions were the greatest obstacles to social progress in those days and many were the fights that devastated all lands for no particular reason, except just quarrels. Brotherhood and love therefore were greatly needed to keep the social atmosphere sweet and to prevent murders, fights and unnecessary destruction of property. In modern times people have learned to ignore others and to control their passions. They do not draw swords at the slightest provocation nor come to blows whenever there is any difference of opinion. So the ancient "shalt nots" are not so necessary nor socially useful as they had been in the past. It is therefore quite a mistaken approach to social problems to try to apply the rules of individual conduct to collective behaviour.. Entire nations neither collectively slap the cheeks of their millions; nor can the millions uphold any rational ideal by not retaliating to violations of collective national rights. The evil of a blow given to an individual is not comparable to the evil of killing a group of 10000 men, women and children. So that, while by not resisting a blow or a kick a person may help maintain social peace; the same method cannot be adopted to any advantage when a nation sends its armies into another land to burn and devastate a million homes. One man can sit down and meditate for days, weeks or years; but a nation cannot do so without starving and dying out. In short personal moral laws cannot be adopted by large groups without modifications. So that when India tried to be saintly in a collective manner, the absurdity of the moral effort caused her discomfiture at every step. And it did not inspire any saintly reactions in her enemies' hearts; at least not collectively. India lost a third of her territory to begin with and then half of Kashmir as a reward of her sainfliness. In between more than a million men, women and children died and several millions had to flee their homes. The Chinese incident is just about beginning and no one can correctly foresee how it will end. One thing, is however quite clear. It is that India has received such a rude shock at this **denouncement** of all her **bhai-bhai** foreign policy that she may even abandon the path of love and peace which she had been treading alone, with her eyes shut to counteract that loneliness. If the China incident worked out in our favour, we would have escaped the natural consequences of our folly by the barest margin. Our leaders went deliberately into the quagmire of cheap sentimentalism and nearly handed over our motherland to our enemies. We can not come out of our trouble unscathed. But we are now prepared to be wiser and practical and that will be our ticket to success.

A. C.

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ar Effort

The first principle guiding and condition- a total war effort is bringing all persons into e scheme of that effort. By all persons are eant those who are true to their motherland d are prepared to forget all other considera- ns which may keep them apart from one ther in the face of this great danger to the tion's freedom. The Congress must first of forget that they are a political party as sepa- e from the people of India most of whom are members of the Congress nor adherents of Congress faith and creed. The other parties must forget their creeds and secret desires d lend whole-hearted support to the war effort. e government should publish a full list of ods and articles required for war purposes d the people of India must produce those ngs in adequate quantities, as well as conserve e supplies of the same by restricted civilian con- mption. There must be no hoarding of these ods either for profit or for private use. The en and women of India must volunteer to live d work on a war basis. Unnecessary moving out, travel and wasting time and money should cut down to the minimum. Civil defence arrange- nts should be made immediately by the people thout encumbering government with the work d local policing, fire fighting, nursing and dical treatment, etc., etc., should be arranged popular effort. Government should be proached for guidance and essential supplies ly. All persons of military age should be imme- ately mobilised and put in training for fitness d basic skill in handling instruments, imple- nts and in developing general ability, Cycling, imming, rowing, riding, carrying equipment, st aid, motor driving, cart driving, etc., etc., n be undertakekn by vast numbers of persons thout requiring any assistance from govern- nt. There are signs that the political parties e trying to take advantage of the grave emer- ncy that has arisen and to control the war ort as a whole. If this is permitted to be done, e war effort will be hampered. Non-partymen d women must be asked to form local com- ittees and volunteer bands for work of all kinds. therwise the vast majority of the masses of dia will merely, sit back and watch the politi l parties going into action, and the war effort will neither be intensive nor extensive. The leaders of India should control their party feelings and work for India.

A. C.

Defence Public Relations in India

We were a little heartened by what the Prime Minister of India had to say on the inadequacies of India's public relations which is universally asknowledged to be today a most vital arm of modern offensive or defensive weapon, in course of an address to Delhi's students a few days ago, and underlined the need to gear up the Governments' propaganda and public relations machinery to meet the current emergency without delay. The Prime Minister, obviously, was in quite a frank mood when he said this, for generally it has never been the policy or practice of himself and his Government to acknowledge their failures or to admit incompetence even where it has been the most gloringly obvious.

The machinery of propaganda and public relations is a most vital item of defence equipment not merely in their efficacy in promoting public awareness of and participation in meeting national emergencies, especially so in the event of war, but also promoting sympathy and assistance of friendly peoples abroad. This last is no less vital in the context of present day world situations and can never be overlooked or ignored without jeopardy.

And the Prime Minister is very right when he admits that our propaganda or public relations organs are not merely inadequate, they are even hopelessly incompetent. Why this should be so in the face of the very well paid organization that is being maintained at immense expenditure to the public exchequer is a pertinent question. But any one with an iota of intelligence and imagination who may have been listening in to our public relations broadcasts during the last week or ten days, must realise the depths of inanity that could at all be possible. There is no dearth of trained talent in the country which can and should be *immediately* drafted into the service and our defence public relations developed into something sensible and stimulating.

K. N.

The Defence of India Ordinance

While we heartily endorse the Government of India's decision to issue an Emergency Pro-

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clamation by the President of India and, thereunder, to promulgate a Defence of India Ordinance endowing the Government with wide and extraordinary powers of legislation and executive action to enable them to effectively deal with the emergency situation that has arisen within the country as a result of Chinese warlike aggression, we hav been looking with keen interest into the clauses of the new Ordinance with a view to discovering what provisions, if any, have been included therein to effectively deal with a possible price-spurt that such a situation, we apprehend, would be normally bound to occassion and the consequent dislocation of civil supplies, unless effectively deterrant measures were taken to prevent such an eventuality. We have, unfortunately, been unable to procure a copy of the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, as we go to press, in which the Ordinance is stated to have been published and have to rely mainly on summaries and news reports appearing in the deily press. In one such report before us we find that the Ordinance is said to have been promulgated to "deal effectively with three problems in the context of the situation created by Chinese aggression,—Law and Order, Defence needs and Civil Supplies."

The matter of civil supplies, we presume, includes an appropriate apprehension of the vital need, as a *necessary defence measure*, to hold the price line at an even keel and to take effective measures to deal with the matter in the requisite manner. We have not the least doubt, having regard to our past experiences of the breed, that black-marketeers, profiteers and those hoarders of anti-social racketeers in this country, who have been used, on every conceivable occasion and opportunity, to battening upon human misery and distress, must have been looking forward to the emergency situation as has now arisen within the country, as a golden opportunity for reaping a further rich harvest and must have been sharpening their claws with unholy anticipatory glee to once again tear into the entrails of the social order and thus contribute their quota of evil to chaos and disorder at a juncture when order and discipline are vital to our very national existence. This is a possible eventuality which, in our opinion; is to be dreaded with the gravest apprehension and we would like, therefore, to emphasise with all the force that we may command, the vital need to deal with this aspect of emergency social control with unswervable determination and steadfastness.

Our expreience, so far, of Government's ability to deal with this very necessary social need, even under ordinary conditions of existence, has never been happy or encouraging. Our apprehensions, therefore, as to what extent the present Government of the country may be relied upon to devise *really effective* measures to deal with the evil, should not seem to be either unreasonable or even exaggerated. In a situation like the present one it is far safer, it seems to us, to start with a reasonable measure of caution, apprehension and doubts, rather than be complacent or over-optimistic. And precedents, so far, have not done anything, we must reiterate, to remove these reasonable doubts and apprehensions from the public mind. Even before the present emergency had arisen, prices have been continually sky-rocketting. The Government, while being unable or unwilling to do aything about it, have apparently been speaking with two conflicting nuances simultaneously on the subject. While some eminent Union and State Government Ministers, including the Finance Minister himself, have been endeavouring to conjure away public apprehension in the matter by trotting forth varous excuses and extenuating explanations, not the least of which seemed to us to be the absurd claim that the price rise was an inevitable symptom of a growing economy and indicated the necessary build-up of strength for the future orderly progress of the economy, there have been others not the least among whom has been the Union Planning Minister, who read in these continually rising price-spirals affecting not merely industrial raw materials but also essential primary commodities, protents of disaster. The Union Minister for Planning has recently been most vociferous about the matter and has been promising to effectively hold the price line at any cost, even to the extent, if necessary, of reimposing price-controls. He has apparently been frank enough or honest enough, however, to have more or less publicy asknowledged that price control without control over the sources of supply or the machinery of distribution, could not be expected to be very effective. All that the mountainous labour of the Planning Minister seems to have yielded so far in this regard is the squeaking mouse of a few so-called "fair price shops," and a fiat compel-

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g every retailer in the country to display a list "permitted" prices of the commodities he may l in which, however, does not appear to have en enforced so far.

The Government of India, we have already en told a little while ago, have not yet been inking in terms of a reintroduction of ration- of essential supplies as an expedient towards ective price control. In the present state of the ulation of supplies to the actual consumer, spite of the intervening activities of the Union d States' 'State Trading Corporations,' we can- t conceive of any means of effective check on prices, atleast so far as essential primary modities are concerned, without corres- ingly effective control over the machineries retail distribution. For the seat of the disease s not so much in the machanics of supply, mand and distribution, as in the wholly in- man character of the trading community in e country and the authorities of the various cial organs entrusted and empowered to deal th it on behalf of Government. It is this crisis character that has to be dealt with effectively, ver an easy matter even under ordinary cir- mstances, but which would be bound to assume ghtening proportions at a time of emergency e the present one. What is worse, the aware- ss itself seems to be wholly absent in both cial circles as among even the victims of these nstrous racketeers, of the treasonable contents such behaviour at a time of national emer- cy like the present one when the very soverien stence of our State is being seriously allenged and threatened by an outside enemy. e are fully and even painfully conscious of the iousness and gravity of our contention in this half, but the least needs of the situation es not, we feel, admit of any mincing of words this connection. The Ordinance under erence, we find, has empowered the Govern- nt to list certain offences, during the con- nce of the present emergency, as capital es meriting capital punishment or a life tence. We have looked and looked in vain the terms of the Ordinance as published in e daily press for something that would indicate t the Government are equally determined to eat attempts to dislocate civil supplies or geleries with the price lines as treasonable ences of a like gravity and meriting similar atment at the hands of the newly promulgated emergency laws of the country. For, to us, nothing could be more destructive of public morale and confidence, which would seem to be most vital ingredients of total national effort in the present emergency, than black-marketing in the peoples' food or racketeering in other things which enter into the needs of the peoples' very physical existence. And, anything calculated to destroy public morale at a time like this, must be regarded as a most highly treasonable offence against the country and the nation and should merit the extreme penalty of the law. In any case, we are satisfied that nothing short of such extreme measures would be able to induce the community of the country's detestable racketeers and their even more detestable official friends, supportes and protectors,—we have not the least doubt that among these last could be counted even some ministers of Government—to draw in their claws. Unless this is and can be effectively done, the entire structure of our civil defence—and it is necessary to realise that this has to provide the very first base for our forward and the necessary support to our valiant fighting forces in the front line—would be bound to remain shaky and ineffective if not actually prone to crumble down into dust.

It should not have been necessary to say all this on this very simple question. The structure of national defence, it must be obvious, has to be built upon the morale and the confidence of the masses of our people, boosted and strengthened by the community of our intelligentsia who constitute our lower middle classes. But if these very people are made the victims of the situation by enabling the wholly amoral and monstrously anti-social community of racketeers in the country to carry on their nefarious activities in even larger measures than in normal times—and this would be bound to happen otherwise—without effective checks and hindrances, how could any one expect their morale and their spirit of national patriotism to survive in the circumstances? That such activities should, therefore, be frankly regarded as highly treasonable ones and dealt with as such both determinedly and without any kind of discrimination, is obvious enough. Unfortunately our Government, by their past behaviour, where they have been supposed to have failed or deliberately omitted to bring to justice persons guilty of punishable offences even under the comparatively less rigor-

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ous penal laws of peace time, is not generally regarded to be strong enough to be able to effectively deal with the far more rigorous requirements of the present situation. Offences relating to black-marketing or other similar anti social racketeering have seldom been brought as far up as the courts of justice, but a large proportion of even the very few that have even been sent up for trial could not be dealt with effectively because of some lacunae or other in the wording of the law or on some similar ground or other. The Government have never been known to undertake legislation to remove the shortcomings or defects in the laws for dealing with crimes against society. It is this apparently callous attitude of indifference of the Government who seem to conjure away all unpleasant facts relating to their responsibilities of administration by simply ignoring them, that today makes them suspect. Besides, the unholy fact of the Government speaking with a divided voice cannot be ignored or overlooked in this connection.

We may not be in quite desparate straits yet, but that we are facing a situation of the gravest national danger, is entirely without question. We must have unity backed by determination and the strength to effectively and expeditiously liquidate this threat to our national existence and all support and resources must be brought to the constituted Government of the country for the purpose. Government must also be strong enough to shoulder the burdens of their present emergency responsibilities and must deal with any or all symptoms of anti-social, anti-national and treasonable activities with firmness and determination and, irrespective of the person or persons involued, mete out the extreme penalties of the law without the least fear or favour. The country will support and bless the Government for such demonstrations of strength in the national welfare. It is also necessary that the Government must speak with only 'one voice,' preferably for as long as they may remain in office, but at least, for the duration of the emergency. It would be better if no one, not even a Minister of Government except the Prime Minister alone, should utter a single word in public during the continuance of the emergency, except merely on a subject on which he may have been previously and specifically briefed. This would help to allay the sense of bewilderment that is being often caused by all kinds of loose and, sometimes, even contradictory statements from supposedly responsible officials and ministers of government that have been finding their way into the public press.

K. N.

Sanskrit Dramas

Dramas provide convenient means of propagating high thoughts and ideas in an easily intelligible and pleasant manner. In our country, specially, Nataka, Yatra, Kathakata, etc., have always been recognized as very useful means of mass education.

The Prachya Vani Sanskrit-Pali Dramatic Troupe of Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri has in recent years, engaged itself in the laudable task of popularising Sanskrit and spreading India's cultural and religious ideals amongst the masses, through staging easily intelligible Sanskrit Dramas in different parts of India and outside. All these dramas have been composed in very simple Sanskrit by Dr. Chadhuri. They contain thoughts and ideals befitting the culture and civilization of India.

During this Puja vacation, the Prachya Vani Troupe was invited by the celebrated Navaratra Diamond Jubilee Celebrations Committee of Dwaraka. The drama staged there was appropriately Ananda-Radham on Radha-Krishna-Lila. The performance lasting till very late at night was highly appreciated by all, specially, the Sanskrit Bhajanas and Kirtans sung in the traditional tunes. The citizens of Dwaraka were so pleased with the performance that they sent the Anga-patta-Vastra of Sri Dwarakadhish by special representatives from Dwaraka to Jamnagar to be presented to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri and Dr. Roma Chaudhuri at Jamnagar by the Jam Saheb, the Rajpramukh of Saurashtra.

Later the Prachya Vani Troupe staged the Shakti-Saradam and Mahaprabhu-Haridasam at the beautiful and spacious Hall of Ramkrishna Mission, New Delhi.

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A DECADE OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING IN INDIA

By G. N. GANDHI

story bears evidence that men from time memorial have been trying to improve ir lot with one or the other means. Adam ith and his followers suggested almost plete freedom for individuals to improve ir economic lot because they believed t the natural balance of human motives l most effectively work in economic airs. This firm belief had led Adam ith to make the celebrated statement t each individual was "led by an invisible d to promote an end which is no part his intentions." Marx, on the other hand, gested least freedom to individuals ause to him such freedom will lead to loitation and not to the well being of e people. He, therefore, suggested greater greater state control over the economy the improvement of the living conditions the people.

In India much could not be done in the st because of foreign rule and with its uidation in 1947, Indian statesmen gave ious thinking to improve the depressed ng standards of the people. Democratic nning was the result of that deliberate nking and it came into force in 1951. The ocratic planning gave the country a xed type of economy which neither con- med rigidly to the principles of Capital- of the Adam Smith type nor to the cialism of the Marxian type and thus was new experiment not only for India but the world at large. The mixed type of nomy was considered the best to safe- rd our democracy and at the same time take the economy to the take off stage.

Now when a decade of this unique periment is over, let us evaluate if the tem of mixed economy has really deli- ed the goods as efficiently as desirable d if not, whether the defect lies with the tem as such or with the working of this tem, so that necessary changes may be nsidered for the smooth and speedy owth of the economy in future.

The best way of evaluating the plans uld be to examine how far some of the common objectives of the plans have been fulfilled. Some of the most common objectives were :

i. Progressive self-sufficiency in food.
ii. Progressive reduction of unemployment.
iii. Progressive reduction of inequalities in income, etc.

Let us examine how far the plans have succeeded in achieving the above objectives.

i. **The Food Situation** : India is primarily an agricultural country with 70% of the population directly engaged on nearly 350 million acres of land. During the decade the plans are estimated to have spent nearly Rs. 1,551 crores directly on agricultural and allied developmental programmes (apart from the indirect expenditure, such as, on transport and industry, etc.). In the third plan, the estimated outlay on Agriculture, Community Development and Irrigation comes to Rs. 1,718 crores thus making the total of Rs. 3,269 crores over the 15-year period (1951-1966). But withal the tremendous input by way of manpower and material resources, the situation continues to be almost serious. This can be seen from the fact that we paid on imports of foodgrains about Rs. 660 crores in foreign exchange uptill 1957. Further the rising prices indicate that a near scarcity situation exists. Further, while we raised about 25 million tons of foodgrains over the decade, the per capita consumption almost remained stagnant as seen from the figures given below :

	1953-54	1956-57	1958-59	1960-61
1. Adult equivalent population (in millions)	330.9	350.5	363.7	376.7
2. Foodgrains available for consumption (in 'm. tons)	59.35	59.29	65.10	68.28
3. Per capita per diem (in oz.)	17.4	16.4	17.3	17.3

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Thus the production has not outpaced the population and the Ford Foundation Team was probably not wrong in estimating 110 million tons as the probable requirement for India's 480 million people by the end of 1966. The target for the Third Plan, however, is the production of 100 million tons and even the achievement of this low target is subject to so many qualifications. Considering the lower target, continued food imports under PL 480 and other programmes, growing demand due to growing population and growing income, one can be convinced that the situation may remain at the margin even after 15 years of planning and 20 years of independence. With the tremendous input of manpower and material resources if the plans fail to provide sufficient quantity at a reasonable price, people may get disappointed with the plans.

ii. **Employment:** Its very existence is considered an evidence of an economy being poor and underdeveloped. In India, the gravity of the problem can be seen from the fact that almost every year the figures of the unemployed exceed that of preceding years and today after a decade of planning the problem continues to be very serious. While the Third Plan envisages creation of more employment opportunities, it admits that the problem may remain severe even after the Third Plan. Thus we find that even this second most important objective has not been fulfilled as efficiently as it should have been.

iii. **Inequalities in Income:** Coming to the third common objective of progressive reduction in the inequalities of income so that a sound socialist pattern of society can be established replacing the old pyramidal structure of incomes where at the cost of the masses few are rich, we find that much has not been done. According to one estimate the disparities have increased in the recent past and even Nehruji admits that the growing income has not been equitably distributed. The tendency of the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer still continues as evident from the fact that wherein income ratio was 1 : 150 few years back, it is nearly 1 : 300, today according to Shri Ashoka Mehta.

Thus, by and large, we can say that though the national income has gone up from Rs. 10,240 crores in 1951 to Rs. 14,500 crores and is likely to go up to Rs. 19,000 (approximately) crores in 1966, raising thereby the per capita income which is today Rs. 330 in comparison with Rs. 255 in 1951, but considering the over all situation with regard to foodgrain shortage, unemployment, inequalities, rising prices, etc., we may easily conclude that the situation is not very hopeful and deserves serious thinking to analyse what has been wrong and what, in view of that, should be done in the future.

But before we think of any improvement, we have to see first of all whether the system of economy as such is most suitable for the economic growth and, if not, if it may be possible to change over to any other system the worth of which might already have been tested by one or the other country. Secondly, in case our conclusions are for the acceptance of the present system but cause dissatisfaction with its achievements, we shall have to modify or remove the obstacles so that future growth is smooth and speedy.

System of Economy

History yields evidence of the fact that various countries adopted, at least in the beginning or during transitional periods Capitalism of the Adam Smith type or Socialism of the Marxian type. The tremendous achievements under these systems in England, America, France, Germany, etc., among Capitalist countries; and Russia, China and Poland, among of Socialist countries are before us and, therefore, while India could have adjusted to either of the above systems for the development of the economy, she decided to adopt a midway pattern of mixed economy because probably both the systems were considered anti-democratic and since we decided to value our democracy more, the choice of mixed economy was considered the best. The second reason for choosing such a type of economy might be that by choosing outright none but partially both we might extract the advantages of both but the disadvantages of none. But the system as such is not very important. It is

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discipline, the way of life that that tem ensures, which should be important. all know that in the transitional stage ple must work hard, consume least, save re and invest more so that growth can e place as rapidly as possible. The above systems—Capitalism and Socialism, le poles apart from each other in ap- ach, both ensured that a disciplined life hard work, least consumption, maximum ing and investment with the result that pace of their development was far more d than we are experiencing here today.

The experiences of the Soviet economy cate that due to rigid state control, ple were forced to work upto their maxi- m capacity, were paid least for consump- with the result that production not only reased very rapidly but the cost of pro- tion also was very low due to low wages. e result of low wages was that people least purchasing power and the State g the sole producer could easily mobil- the savings and accordingly the invest- t rate was accelerated. This constant cipline, hard work and austere living ured, in short, a very high rate of capital mation and the result was that within a rt period of 2 to 3 decades, the Soviet nomy reached a very advanced stage of elopment.

While the Socialist economies through d control over consumption, over work- hours, over people and their rights, etc., ured such a progress in a short span of 3 decades, the Capitalist economies, with non-intervention of the State, allowed capitalists to exploit the situation who d the least amount for the highest amount work with almost the same results. Under s system too people not only worked y hard (16 hours a day for adult and 9 rs for a child of 9 is not unknown of the glish factories at the beginning of Indus- lisation) but were also forced to sacrifice sumption because of the low wages with result that the economy being organised few, the accumulated savings by a few pitalists) could easily be invested and circle of forced saving and investment the Socialist economies by the State and the Capitalist economies by the rich few ensured that due to the hardest possible work, not only production increased but its cost also decreased and it gave a very good effect on domestic but more so on foreign trade. (This need of maximising production and minimising cost, particularly in the marketable surplus of foreign trade has assumed all the greater importance specially in the case of India where due to the growing population, income and sluggish growth neither the surplus for foreign market is increasing nor the cost of that little surplus for foreign market is decreasing with the result that we are lossing most of our markets and in the context of the Third Plan when India needs more of Foreign Exchange, it is extremely necessary that not only production should increase but its cost should also decrease.)

Thus while both the systems ensured the hardest possible labour resulting in more production and low cost (extremely necessary for a developing economy) and the least amount of purchasing power with the result that the investment grew tremendously. But the difficulty with India is, that the present system, unlike the two quoted above, cannot ensure very hard work on the part of the people due to one or the other reason including the democratic rights to choose the Government; right to strike and organise Trade Unions; the right to enjoy his way of life in a way he likes, etc. All this have led to a situation which is absolutely contrary to the situation which we examined in the above two systems. The over all result of this system of democratic mixed economic planning are:

1. That the right to organise trade unions and to strike, etc., has enabled the workers to get their working hours reduced; to get wages increased (These two situations are mutually contradictory because increased wage is the function of an increased production); to ask for other facilities which, however progressive, may not be very necessary at this crucial stage of economic transformation. The result of all this has been that reduced working hours has reduced production which indirectly has effected rise in prices. Increased wages have directly affected increase in prices with the

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result that not only within the country there is a general confusion but even in the foreign markets our competitive position is not very strong as is evident from the loss of many traditional markets like jute, tea, textiles, etc.

2. With the further right to consume their income in whatever manner and in whatever quantity they may like, the result of this unchecked freedom is that they (the citizens) can enforce the desire for higher consumption which directly retards the rate of saving and consequently investment. This difficulty of higher rate of consumption could not arise in both the above systems because of direct checks which certainly are necessary at least during the transitional period.

3. That the growing income with unchecked consumption is also making the people luxury minded, with higher marriage and consequently reproduction rates. The situation in the other two extremes, particularly under capitalism, was that the minimum wages not only directly checked higher marriage rates but also indirectly checked the population growth due to early deaths because of insufficient conditions of living. While this argument in the enlightened 20th century would be absurd, nevertheless, the fact remains that with the ability to restrict consumption, we might have induced the people to postpone marriages and this would have yield corresponding effects at least on savings.

4. Fourthly, the higher prices, which are claimed to be a phenomenon of a developing economy, also are due to higher wages. These higher prices directly affect our saving capacity and to that extent also investment. The higher prices also have a psychological effect upon the people, more so in an illiterate country where they will question the benefits of planning when, on the one hand, the claim is preferred that production is increasing or, in other words, the supply, and the paradox that prices also are simultaneously increasing. This would appear to be an unconvincing situation to the masses and the lack of enthusiasm on their part would not be unjustified.

From the above, unmistakably, we are led to the conclusion that apart from other factors necessary for economic growth, some of which of course, are not examined, it is extremely necessary for an under-developed country striving for development to observe very strict discipline at least during the transitional period because thereafter the economy may be expected to be taking care of itself. We also note that discipline expects the people to work in the hardest possible manner, consume the least, so that more savings can be generated for investment. This type of discipline becomes all the more obligatory on the part of a country like India where the population both in the absolute term and in relative reproduction rates is extremely high.

While hard labour is extremely necessary, it can be extracted either by force or by incentives. In the above two systems, forced labour was at the cost of democracy and India has decided to value democracy more than the higher standard of living by enforced labour. The only way out is, therefore, of incentives and persuations. Persuations presuppose incentives either immedite or in the long run and are to be based on material benefits. But immediate material benefits will mean consumption of entire or may be a substantial part of the increment of income that increased investment may bring them. Therefore, all that the economy can provide, as incentives, would be in the long run by way of good food, good clothing, good housing, sufficient employment and other amenities constituting the higher and a more decent standard of living. Therefore, the economy has to persuade the people, during the transitional period to work hard, maintain consistant discipline and a measure of austere living. In other words, the dividend will come only in the future and if people can do this, knowing well that their efforts will lead to a permanent improvement of status, there is no reason why they would not find it possible for a period of 2 to 3 decades to observe that rigid discipline which will lead to tremendous construction and prosperity.

Having said that a democratic economy can afford only an indirect incentive of better living in the futrure, let us examine if Indian Planners could create those incen-

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ves; and urge people to be more abstemious. When people find even today after 10 years of planning that still food imports are necessary, that greater unemployment, greater inequalities and greater difficulties persist they would pertinently question that even these indirect incentives are missing today and people have begun to have doubts about planning in view of all the above circumstances. In short, Democratic-Socialism has failed to inspire the people to work hard because the indirect incentives which are generally less effective becomes still more so with the failure of the plans to achieve some of the basic objectives of the economy.

Similar is the effect upon saving—the most important factor for development. While the above two systems could conserve saving, democratic socialism has failed to invest the maximum possible saving. The fact that people have the liberty to consume in whatever manner they like, indicates that the trend is towards more and more consumption (and this is natural also in an economy with a depressed living standard for a very long time) and higher the rate of consumption lesser will be the rate of savings which certainly is an anti-planning trend. We should be able to persuade the people to accept the motto:

"to eat for living and not to live for eating"

Our hurdles to work hard, to save more, to adhere to a strict discipline worthy of living in a poor developing country, etc., are to a great extent the result of democracy which though credited with many blessings, nevertheless sometime hinders our progress at a speed most desirable. The right to vote, the right to organise trade unions, the main function of which, in India at least, has been to get the maximum wages with minimum labour, etc., have not been unmixed good. The result of this has been that with pressures upon the Government, workers get promises and support from the top for all their acts of achieving the objectives of minimum cost by way of labour, the maximum benefits through the agency of trade unions and with weapons like strike, etc. The continued strike at Bhopal Heavy Electricals for nearly 28 days is a luxury of extreme type which even the advanced nations would not indulge in and all this is because trade unions have the democratic right to fire such an explosive weapon like a strike and that also against an Institution (Government Sector), which being of the people having pledged to do its utmost for the welfare of the people, can certainly never think of doing anything detrimental to the workers.

The type of Democratic Government, however necessary from various angles, at times is a hindrence to economic growth which, again, is very necessary for the smooth and orderly growth of democracy itself. But in this enlightened 20th Century, the talk of abandoning democracy would be absurd and equally absurd might be the introduction of early 19th century Capitalism or Socialism of the Russian type. Therefore, within the framework of democracy and within the framework of the present economic order, we shall have to adopt such devices that the two Institutions, viz., Democracy and economic growth through democratic planning, instead of clashing, shall complement the efforts of each other.

Following are a few suggestions towards this end:

1. We have to bring about some adjustment between the growth of democracy and economic planning. Men in this materialistic world do not live just for values alone but for material benefits also. Democracy has to make room for material growth even at her own cost because for her very existence and preservation, it is necessary that the economy should develop at a very speedy rate. The recent history of some of the Asian countries should be a lesson for us as to how democracy died its unnatural death due to sluggish growth and, therefore, democracy instead of coming in the way of economic progress should become so adjustable that through its institution, economic growth is accelerated.

2. Strikes in democracy carry no significance in general and particularly in the public sector. We must take it for granted that the Government of the people shall never do anything against the people. Further, when the declared aim of the Government

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is the promotion of people's welfare and all its energy is directed towards the achievement of that end, there seems little justification for unions to organise strikes, particularly in the vital industries. The recent stike at Heavy Electricals in Bhopal for 28 days must have led to tremendous loss and certainly could have been checked had not the Unions been equipped with such an explosive weapon. This requires serious consideration and if during war emergency such strikes can be forbidden, it is equally legitimate to amend trade union legislation and see that strikes shall not be resorted to at least during the transitional period.

3. Since forced labour must be rejected, sufficient incentives must be forthcoming. But a poor economy can't afford nor should afford direct and immediate incentives and, therefore, all that it can ensure is long-term incentives. But since long-term and indirect incentives are not very effective, the economy must see and infuse the people with the faith that the progress is rapid. People must not feel either the shortage of foodgrains or employment or such other deficiencies, feeling thereby that progress is uneven, because in that case people will loose faith in planning and with half-hearted efforts it shall not be possible to reach the take-off stage at an early time. The Planners may review changes in emphasis in "Choice of technique" could not be an effective means of achieving the purpose. By changing emphasis on small and medium irrigation projects, we may get immediate benefits and this may physically deliver more agricultural goods and thereby benefit prices and cost and above all faith in the process of planning. Similarly a little more emphasis on small and medium industries would ensure that people shall get more employment, more income and consequently greater capacity to save. Once they get the capacity, they can be made to save more particularly when they would have physically experienced the benefits of planning. This initial encouragement can push their spirit up to work hard, save more and invest more. Further the expansion of the small industries sector would also deliver consumer goods at a rapid rate and may cause reduction in price. This general reduction in prices due to abundance of goods will not only improve saving capacity but physically also they may feel that the plans have done something and in future planning they may more actively participate, which is extremely necessary. Today higher prices have led the people to conclude that there is a general shortage of goods and when huge amounts are being spent on plans, they fail to understand this erroneous situation of general shortage of goods. The abundance of goods at reasonable price will simultaneously create a very good psycological atmosphere which will in its turn, induce that faith that may induce the people to work more, save more, etc. This is an indirect incentive and in the absence of forced and direct incentives, that planners must provide such incentives at least.

4. Population control is extremely necessary. While it is universally accepted that growing population is a headache for capital formation, the situation continues to be serious and the nearly 2% annual addition is very much undesirable in the transitional period of economic growth. Family planning in the decade under review has done something but not enough.

To conclude, we have to adjust to a type of discipline adhered to in the above two systems, viz., Capitalism and Socialism, though through democratic means because ultimately it is the hard work, constant discipline and austere living which shall enable the economy to reach its take-off stage at an early date.

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T. H. GREEN AND THE IDEA OF STATE DEFIANCE

By SISIR KANTI BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.,
Dept. of Political Science, Calcutta University.

The problem of the proper relation between the authority of the State and the liberty of the individual is as old as the time when man first began to realise that he could not live without some sort of political institution. He is by nature a political animal. For the fuller and all round development of his personaity the State is indispensible for him. Therefore, we can hardly find any example in the whole history of human civilisation where people led a life without or out side the authority of the State however rudimentary or imperfect that State might be. Someone may cite the example of the Cyclopes who had no State and who always lived in family units where, as described by Homer, each male member of the family "gives law to his children and to his wives.[1] This has been described by Arnold Toynbee as "the classic picture of an imaginary atomic individual", (*i.e.*, a self-sufficient unit), "who have (the Cyclopes) no government, nor council, nor courts of justice."[2] Even if we accept it for the sake of argument that such a people did exist we clearly notice one thing that even the Cyclopes were not isolated individuals. They had a close knit family organisation without which they could not live. Therefore, it is established that man living in isolation or unrelated (as conceived by Rousseau) is altogether impossible. We may be right in supporting the conception of Plato that man is bound to live in groups because of "the fact that no one of us is sufficient for himself, but each is in need of many things."[3] This point of view was also supported by Aristotle when he wrote that there was the necessity of the State for "bare needs of life" and that it should continue to exist "for the sake of a good life."[4] It is very difficult to imagine that human beings can live for ever like a Robinson Crusoe. That is why the State, we may conclude, is quite a natural institution for the complete development of man's personality. Though it is generally held by almost all schools of political thought, with the exception of the anarchist and to some extent the communist, that the State is essential for man there is a wide divergence among them regarding the scope of actions by the state and the nature of the State.

Some thinkers like Hobbes and Bluntschli considered the State as an organism and in their opinion the individual can have no right against the State, for he enjoys all the rights by virtue of his existence as a cell in the mighty Leviathan. Just as it is quite ridiculous and unthinkable for any part of the plant or animal body having a right against or outside the body, it is equally so in case of individuals who are composing the body politic. Because of firm belief in this theory and its analogies Herbert Spencer's arguments supporting individualism are considered illogical and inconsistent by some political scientists. Any way, this much we can say that if the State is conceived as an organism, the individual's right of State defiance would lead him to self-annihilation or, in other words, to defy the State is to commit suicide The State then if considered as an organism shall always remain undefied.

Another school of philosophers known as the idealists has got a theory of the nature of the State having strong resemblance with that of the school just described, *viz.*, the organic school. In the opinion of the idealist philosophers the State is the highest manifestation of everything good and great. By obeying it and by being its member man can realise his best moral self. For the "State", said Hegel, "is the actuality of the ethical Idea" . . . . it is absolutely rational in as much as it is the actuality of the substantial will which it possesses in the particular self-consciousness once that consciousness has been raised to consciousness of its universality. This substantial unity is an absolute unmoved end in itself in which freedom comes into its supreme right. On the other hand this final end has supreme rights against the individual, whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State."[5] Hegel further said that the State is the "actualisation of freedom" and it is "the march of God in the

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world."[6] The idealist, like Kant and Hegel have glorified the State to the point of deification.

The State as described by Kant is also infallible, omni-competent and divine in its essence and it is the sacred duty of the individuals to obey its authority without any question. If we accept the Hegelian concept that the State is the objectification of reason then naturally the question of defiance of its authority does not arise at all. For defiance against a State conceived in such a way would mean reasoning against reason and hence such individuals who do not know their own mind, who are guided by self-interest may rightly be "forced to be free' to quote Rousseau, for their own good. Since the individuals can enjoy freedom by completely submerging their will in the will of the State which is nothing but the real will of all, the individuals cannot base their claim of rights on any ground apart from or against the State. For the "State", said Hegel, "is the one and only prerequisite of the attainment of particular ends and welfare."[7]

But, in my opinion, Hegel has not been properly and faithfully interpreted always. It is true that the nature of the State and its relation with the individuals as described above is largely the view of Hegel. It is not however, right to contend that "my station and its duties," to quote neo-Hegelian Bradley of England, shall be decided by the State alone as advocated by Plato and Aristotle. The individuals have in their opinion, no right to contest the claim of the State to assign the posts and duties for them. It is further argued that the idealists including Hegel contend that the individual by accepting the verdict of the State should perform faithfully whatever is given to him without any grumble, for they argue the "actual is rational" and that is the way to enjoy freedom. This, it may be submitted, is not the view of Hegel because in his book Philosophy of Right he clearly said, "In Plato's State, subjective freedom does not count, because people have their occupations assigned to them by the guardians. In many oriental States, this assignment is determined by birth. But, subjective freedom, which must be respected, demands that individuasl should have free choice in this matter."[8]

T. H. Green, the most famous of the Oxford idealists, had a concept of the State different from that of the German Idealist, except Kant. Green was an idealist, therefore, it is natural that he would glorify the State, but it should be remembered that his glorification had none of the zeal or dogmatism postulated by most of the Germans or even some of the other English idealists, *e.g.*, Bradley and Bosanquet. There is no doubt that the State is very much essential and without it the individuals can never hope to reach the perfection of their moral self. But Green was not willing to sacrifice the individual at the alter of the almighty state. He, like Kant, believed that the individual and not the State is the end. The State should create the conditions which will help man to be great. He was a Hegelian, no doubt, in the sense that he recognised and emphasised the moral value and the majesty of the State, but he did not forget to shackle the Leviathan with chains and, therefore, stipulated that the State is limited within and without. That he could not forget the individuals in spite of being an idealist can be understood from his conviction that "the life of the nation has no real existence except as the life of the individuals composing the nation." He wanted to make the human character a perfect one and to use the State for that purpose only. He, therefore, conceived the functions of the State to be essentially negative in character. The State in his opinion should act only as "hindrance of hindrances" as Dr. Bosanquet called it, to remove those barriers confronting man's moral life. The conception of social good and social consciousness is also another important point in Green's philosophy of the State.

"But it must be remembered," said Barker, "that behind his conception of the State lies the idea of an eternal self consciousness, which communicates to human consciousness the idea of the social good, and whose perfection, in turn, human consiousness is ever seeking to attain."[9] The State, therefore, is the result of this consciousness. And because of this whatever right a vitizen can enjoy shall come to him only through the recognition of the State. To Gren rights are never possible except in the State or society which aims at the establishment of the highest good. And hence the idea that if there is no law and State, people could enjoy absolute liberty, as argued by Rousseau in the Social Contract and more thoroughly in his Discourse on Inequality, is nothing but an unpractical romantic dream. For Green believed that "without a society consious of interest there can be only powers, no rights."[10] It is superfluous then to dilate on the point that

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aw is the condition of liberty." Green for these sons never supported the philosophy of ural right as described by contract writers ably Locke and Rousseau. A State, it is true, supposes various social groups where men had ts but when the State came into existence all se rights getting State recognition became l. This has been put nicely by Barker. man consciousness postulates liberty, liberty lves rights; rights demand the State."[11] When s the State is established man cannot think of ght that may shake the State to its foundations. "real rights may be conceived" to quote ker again," which are not in the State : only n they are in it do they become real rights."[12]

If the philosophy of State is based on these ciples, it is very difficult on the part of the viduals to get the right of State defiance. en has not said that the State is reason ctified and therefore, to resist the action of State is to reason against reason. Neverthe- he based the foundation of the State on the ception of common good and hence to defy State may mean logically doing something ish which is against common good. In such ase the citizens cannot be given the right to st or defy the State's commands. It may not out of place to compare here a similarity of theory of Soviet Communist State of Russia h the aspect to Green's philosophy. If we accept proposition that the U.S.S.R. is a "Socialist te of workers and peasants"[13] and that the mmunist Party of the Soviet Union "is the guard of the working people in their struggle build Communist Society"[14] it is simply ossible to propagate any philosophy however estly or sincerely a man may believe it or to blish a party apart from the Communist ty. Because anyone doing or preaching some- g against that party will be logically guilty committing acts against the workers and sants. Communist Party, it is explicitly written n, is always furthering the interest of the kers and peasants, so to defy that Party would at least logically a bourgeosie crime. The ation between the individual and Green's State ch is based on common good is also similar. It would not be doing proper justic to Green e include him in the same category as the man idealists. For "he" said Barker, "has ed the philosophy of Greece and Germany and interpreated it for Englishmen with a full measure of English caution, and with full references to that deep sense of the 'liberty of the subjects', and thir deep distrust of 'reason of State,' which marks all Englishmen."[15] Green's conception was that the force of the State is justified so long and so far as it does service to the citizens but if the State fails to perform the service than the ground of political obligation disappars. "It is one of the merits of Green," argued Dr. A. D. Lindsay, "that he both recognised that the State should and might render immense services to morality, and was also perfectly clear that it did not always render that service,—might indeed sometime do the opposite; that the citizen had, therefore, rigths against the State. If the State morally merits the citizens' obedience there are times when it is the citizens' duty to disobey the State."[16] Though it is true that Green had the freedom and strength of mind to accept the right of State defiance in clear contravention of the idealist tradition for which he deserves our praise, yet it will be seen in the following paragraphs that he made the exericise of this right almost impossible by circumscibing its operation severely. The most important problem that has got to be faced is who is to decide whether a State is or is not rendering the proper service for which it has been established?

In the opinion of Green the individuals are to decide themselves by their own moral standard whether a law is for the common good. Every individual is born with some intelligence and moral virtue and hence he for himself should judge the virtue or vice of a law by using his reason and conscience. Up to this point both Green and Laski have got similar views. But they differ sharply regarding the right of defiance. Green's idea is that in an advanced democratic State like England the problem of defiance is not a major one and he advised that a citizen "should do all he can by legal methods to get the command cancelled."[17] That means the individual shall not be justified if he disobeys a law whenever he may consider it bad before he has exhausted all the constitutional means for rendering it inoperative. But "till it is cancelled he should conform to it." For the "common good," contended Green, "'must suffer more from resistance to a law or to the ordinance of a legal authority, than from the individual's conformity

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to a particular law or ordinance that is bad, until its repeal can be obtained." But here in all fairness we should point out that Green also at some places recognised that the sovereign power is very often used against the will of the individual. He also contested the idealist notion of right that as all rights are derived from a sovereign and that the individuals have no right on any ground or occasion against the sovereign, for he believed that this idea "conflicts with the primary demands of human consciousness."[18] If this is done by the state the right of the sovereign will be reduced to naked power and hence on moral grounds allegiance to it may be withdrawn.

Before we claim our right or liberty against the State, we should properly understand the nature of liberty. Liberty, according to both Green and Hobhouse, is a social concept. Therefore it may be attached to the individual so far as he is recognised by other free agents in a society as doing something worthdoing for society. "A right," Green believed, "then, to act unsocially—to act otherwise than as belonging to a society" on the ground that he has himself not consented to any limitation imposed by society, would be impossible; and Green empowered the sovereign to make an extinction of all rights of such individuals. He further held that a right to be legal must have two qualifications. It shall be demanded by the individuals keeping in mind the idea of common good and secondly it must get social recognition. Some rights may be called natural in the sense that they are not found in a particular State though they are needed to make a man's moral personality a fuller one, "but they are not independent of social relation." It is on this ground that Green criticised the system of slavery. The slave because of his membership of a society has a claim to real right though a particular State may refuse to recognise it. To deny this right is to isolate that common human consciousness on which the entire social structure is based. On the other hand Green argued that whatever right a man may demand as a member of human society can be legal or fruitful only when recognised and supported by the State. Thus when the State recognises man's rights that existed prior to the State the State accepts these rights "under conditions and limitations which the membership of the fuller whole (State)—the reconciliation of rights arising out of one sort of social capabilities with those arising out of another—renders necessary."[19] The citizens, as we have already seen, have no right to act unsocialy and as the State is according to Green "the society of societies" they cannot demand right against the State. The State is the "reconciler and sustainer" of the rights and hence so long the State performs this duty faithfully there can be no right to disobey the laws of the State. Whenever a citizen disobeys a State he has no right to do it except in the interest of the State. But Green conceded also that the "general principle that the citizen must never act otherwise than as a citizen, does not carry with it an obligation under all conditions to conform to the law of his State, since those laws may be inconsistent with the true end of the State as the "sustainer and harmoniser of social relations."[20] What Green actually meant by all these apparently inconsistent statements is that the defiance of law defeats its purpose because it leads to anarchy and chaos. But the right of defiance may be granted to the citizens in exceptional circumstances on a "reference to an acknowledged social good." Thus he argued, "whatever counter-rights he (a citizen) has must be founded on a relation to the social well-being and that a relation of which his fellow citizens are aware."[21] That means he must be able to point to some public interest which has not been recognised by the sovereign and which impels him to defy the State with a view to redressing it. So this "common consciousness of utility shared by the person making the claim (of disobedience) and those on whom it is made" shall, in his opinion, be the acid test of defiance. Defiance may be motivated by two interests: a smuggler defies the law and secondly, Mahatma Gandhi defied the British law. In the first case behind defiance there is no consciousnes of common good, it is self-interest pure and simple. Whereas in the second case the idea of common good was more important. So Green might accept defiance of the second type but that too on rare occasions. Because defiance is always a painful duty. "If we challenge the State," said Barker, "we must challenge it in fear and trembling. The presumption is always against us."[22] Thus coming to discuss the concrete case of slavery Green believed that the system of slavery is bad no doubt but if the majority of the citizens support it and

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is recognised by the State, the individual not be justified in defying it. Before defying law the citizen must first of all exhaust all sible constitutional means of redress. He will ter see the reaction of the people to his ns or ideas and if the majority feels strongly him, he will study whether they are emo- al or reasonable and he must also be pure his conscience. Green asked the citizens not ceive their conscience and he cautioned that law-breaking process once begun has no end. it is unleashed it is very difficult to check general anarchy may ensue.[23] Therefore, it dangerous weapon, to be used rarely. It may mentioned here that Green's fear was not stified in the light of the happenings in the -independence period of almost all the politi- emancipated countries of Asia. The leaders these countries used this weapon of State de- ce too often against the alien rulers and n they themselves became the rulers the ple had not been able to get out of that habit defiance though a tremendous change took e in the political set up of their country.

Green's horror of anarchy was so great that said, "As a general rule, no doubt, even bad laws representing the interests of indivi- s and classes as opposed to those of the com- ity, should be obeyed" . . . . because public rest, on which all rights are founded, is more erned in the general obedience to law than he exercise of those powers by idividuals and es which the objectionable laws unfairly hold."[24]

It is interesting to note that Socrates held st similar views regarding the right of de- e of State authority. Socrates was sentenced death by the Athenian Government. One day o, one of his disciples, came to the prison re Socrates was staying and told him to away, all the arrangements for which had ady been made by him. Though Socrates was enced to death by a corrupt government and laws, nevertheless he believed that if laws, ever, bad they might be, were not obeyed by zens the State would be destroyed for the law y say, "Tell me, Socrates, ... do you think t a city may exist and not be overturned, re sentence given has no force but is made l by private persons and destroyed ?"[25] crates in his conversation with Crito further elaborated this point and denied all rights to defy the law of the State. He argued, "you must honour and obey and conciliate your country when angry, more than a father; you must either persuade her or do whatever she commands; you must bear in quiet anything she bids you bear, be it stripes or prisons or if she leads you to war to be wounded or to die, this you must do, and this is your right . . . . in war, in court and everywhere you must do whatever city and country command."[26] Finally Socrates refused to comply with the request of his devoted pupils and the world lost the wisest man prematurely. From the arguments of Socrates it is clear that he upheld the right of criticism or the right of freedom of expression but he denied the right to revolt almost in the same way as Green did. This also reminds us of Kant's famous advice to citizens, "Grumble, but obey."

As against this idea Prof. Laski has expressed himself strongly. When Green conceded that if the majority of a State are supporting a law however bad (*e.g.*, system of slavery) the dissenter should obey it till public opinion changes; he placed duty to State on a higher plane than duty to humanity. Laski's opinion is that if even a single man thinks that a system supported by the law of the State is detrimental to the moral well-being of even a section of the people, he must protest and raise the banner of defiance against it despite the fact that the majority of the citizens support this bad law. Truth can never be sacrificed to authority. History tells of countless examples where a good government degenerated into an arbitrary one once the people had lost their habit of resistance. So Laski believed that "liberty is an inescapable doctrine of contingent anarchy."[27] Laski was more radical than Green. He believed that loyalty to an ideal is more important than loyalty to a law of the State. "Prescriptions of the State," he argued, "are never . . . . final prescriptions"' Because in his opinion "State action is action by government," that "means a body of men and women in possession of actual power."[27a] Therefore, it is foolish to argue that those people who happen to be at the helm of affairs of the State at a particular time know the absolute truth and are infallible. A true citizen must always discharge his duty by not simply following the dictates of the State like an automaton but by revolting when-

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ever or wherever he finds denial of rights needed for ocmmon good. It does not matter whether he is a lone fighter. "I may", said Laski, "provoke hopeless defeat, or a victory which is purchased only at a terrible price. I must yet make the choice, in and of myself, of the conduct that citizenship implies".[28] Therefore, a true citizen need not be defeatist in his fight for true liberty because as Aristotle said a good man may not always be a good citizen.[29] If the laws are bad a good man's duty should above all be not allegiance to an imperfect State or unjust laws, but to truth and conscience. "There are, then, circumstances," said Laski," in which resistance to the State becomes an obligation if claims to right are to be given validity".[30] Up to this point, perhaps, more people will accept Laski's philosophy of State defiance. But he was too much of a radical to be satisfied with this only. For he went to the extreme point of this right when he demanded that the citizens "may demand its (State's) overthrow by armed revolution" and what may appear quite fantastic to a student of political science is that in so overthrowing the State by armed revolution Laski claimed the protection of the State. For he argued, "to be able to do any or all of these things, with the full protection of the State in so doing, is a right that lies at the basis of freedom".[31]

Prof. Ernest Barker held more or less the same opinion as expressed by Laski, though he did not support the extremes of Laski. If a writer's works are condemned by the State as anti-State the writer may plead that there may be something higher than mere political obligation to a law, *viz.*, truth, beauty, etc., and when the claims of political obligation conflicts with them, the obligation may cease. Barker made a distinction between the ordinary law and the laws of Constitution and in his opinion the citizens may defy a law which is against the Constitution and justice but they must obey "unconditionally" the law of the Constitution.

There are various grounds on which right to defy the State has been supported by different schools of thought. As we have already seen it has been supported on the ground of natural law. The point they put forward in defying the law of the sovereign in the name of natural right is that, "law may be disobeyed firstly, and that it is possible in the name of justice, to disobey a chief of resistance law which does not express, as all law should, the idea of justice".[32] This was the point of view of those Americans and specially Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence of the American Federation. Thus, the Declaration which bears great influence of Locke's philosophy states that God has given men "Certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the people to alter and to abolish it, and to institute a new Government."[33] The Declaration further stipulates that when a particular government tries to abuse powers given them "it is the right, it is their (citizens) duty to throw off such Government." This point of view was also supported by Blackstone when he wrote that the main aim of society is to protect the individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights which were vested in them by the immutable law of nature."[33a]

It should be mentioned that in the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 in France four rights were enumerated, liberty, property, security, resistance to oppression. But the French did not include the last right, *viz.*, resistance to oppression in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1795. They had enough of this right during all the six years, *i.e.*, from 1789 to 1794-5. Their enthusiasm cooled and ultimately subsided seeing their own creation. The vicious civil war, reign of terror and others achieved nothing but jealousy, hatred and lack of confidence and respect for law and organised government. It gives very nearly a picture of Hobbes' state of nature and in such conditions the other three rights could not be enjoyed. The French being wise by their experience of the civil war and bloodshed dropped this dangerous right in the Declaration of 1795.

The second theory by which defiance has been supported is the theory of utilitarianism. It is argued by them that government or law are there to increase the happiness of the citizens and hence when a government has failed to provide this to the people the latter have a right to defy the laws of such a government. Thus, Bentham argued it was "allowable to, if not incumbent on every man . . . to enter into measures of resistance . . . when the probable miseries appear less to him than the

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probable mischief of obedience.[36] Laski also believed that utility should be the test of right. He however was no hedonist like Bentham.

A third ground has been provided by the anarchist thinkers like Tolstoy, Gandhi and Thoreau. In their opinion the conscience of individuals should be the supreme guide in any action. So when the conscience asks a man to defy a law of the State the man should act accordingly without considering this or that. Thoreau asks the question, "why has every man a conscience ? . . . The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right." He also believed that all "men recognise the right of revolution, that is the right to refuse allegiance to and to resist a government when its tyranny or inefficiency becomes unendurable. This view is similar to the view of Laski as expressed earlier but it is different from that of Green. It was also supported by St. Thomas Aquinas when he asserted that in the court of conscience there is no obligation to obey an unjust law".[37]

It is then very difficult to give a clear and positive answer to the question, "Has the individual right of defiance of the State?" In general we may say that the people should obey the laws of the sovereign in his daily life. If we accept the contention of those thinkers who believe that man's obedience to a particular law shall depend on the dictate of his conscience alone, we are not sure whether every man will be able to hear the voice of conscience properly. Men as they are and in a majority of cases are generally guided by immediate personal interests and it is not possible for most of them to rise above this selfishness and think about the laws of the State completely disinterestedly. Nevertheless, we believe, at least in the final analysis, not only philosophically but politically men should be given the right to defy the State. From our experience of human nature and their psychological behaviour as is found in politics we can say that most of the people are not very much interested in their rights and, what is more important, they prefer peaceful and orderly life to a life of revolt and anarchy. In a majority of the cases needful changes can be brought about by a vigillant and an organised public opinion by properly using the right of criticism which is conceded by all civilised democratic governments to the citizens of the country. But there may be cases when the government of the country has become so rotten that there is no possibility of its betterment in a legal way (which is very unlikely because in an advanced State an organised and alert pubilc opinion is presumed to exist), the citizens should be given the right to defy the law of the Sovereign. The State then should accept that it is generally right but not always right. It should accept its fallibility in the final analysis. But whatever resistance a citizen or a group of them may give must always be peaceful. Otherwise the moral ground of resistance will be lost. For as MacIver pointed out, force invokes force and it can alienate itself with truth as easily as it aligns with falsehood.[37] To us the view of Socrates regarding disobedience of State laws appears a bit conservatives. For he one no condition could allow dfiance. We may say that "citizenship is not the only duty of man" (MacIver). The call of social justice and international morality may demand from a man an obligation which is not merely political. It is *supra* political and in its name and for its sake the individual should have the right, as a last resort (and this is very important), to defy the laws of the State if these are against social justice and international morality. In these cases defiance may be condemned politically but not morally because man's supreme aim and purpose should be to be a perfect being morally. It will be unjust if we fail to recognise that Green also accepted the right of defiance on the part of the common man when the common man according to his limited intelligence understands that some wrong is being done by the State. "There may be cases," he argued", in which the public interest—not merely according to some philosopher's view of it, but according to conceptions which the people are able to assimilate—is best served by a violation of some actual law".[38]

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1. Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 27.
2. L. Lipson, *Great Issues of Politics*, p. 16.
3. Plato, *The Republic*, p. 24.
4. Aristotle, *Ibid.*, p. 28.
5. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, translated by T. M. Knox. pp. 155-56.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
9. Barker, *Political Thought in England 1848 to 1914*, p. 23.

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10. Green, *Principles of Political obligation*, p. XXIV.
11. Barker, *Ibid.*, p. 23.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
13. Constitution of U.S.S.R., Art. I.
14. *Ibid.*, Art. 126.
15. Barker, *Ibid.*, p. 46.
16. Dr. A. D. Lindsay, *Introduction to Green's Principles of Pol, obligation*, p. XVII.
17. Green, *Ibid.*, para 100.
18. *Ibid.*, para 137.
19. *Ibid.*, para 141.
20. *Ibid.*, para 143.
21. *Ibid.*, para 144.
22. Barker, *Ibid.*, p. 48.
23. Cf. Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, p. 224.
24. Green, *Ibid.*, para 144.
25. Plato, *Crito in Great Dialogues of Plato* translated by W. H. D. Rouse, p. 455.
26. Plato, *Ibid.*, p. 456.
27. Laski, *Liberty in Modern State*, p. 211.
27A. Laski, *A Grammer of Politics*, pp. 96, 99, 145.
28. Laski, *Ibid.*, p. 96.
29. Aristotle, *Ibid.*, p. 105.
30. Laski, *Ibid.*, p. 96.
31. Laski, *Ibid.*, p. 120.
32. Barker, *Principles of Social & Political Theory*, p. 220.
33. H. S. Commager, *Living Ideas in Amrica*, p. 125.
33A. Bentham J., *A Fragment on Government* Chapt. I. para 43.
34. C. E. M. Joad, *Guide to the Philosophy of morals and politics*.
34A. Laski, *Introduction to politics*, p. 32.
35. Commager, *Ibid.*, p. 380.
36. Joad, *Ibid.*, p. 455.
37. R. M. MacIver, *The Modern State*, etc., "Things that are not Caesar's".
38. Green, *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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THE FARAKKA BARRAGE: INTERNATIONAL LAW ASPECTS

J. S. BAINS
Reader in Political Science, University of Delhi.

Hardly has the Indo-Pakistan dispute over the Indus waters been settled than another one between the same neighbours seems to be in the making. This may concern India's largest river, the Ganges. In early 1961 on the prodding of the Pakistan Government, a large number of Pakistani newspapers whipped up public frenzy and resentment against India's plan to build a barrage across the Ganges.[1] The construction of this barrage has been necessitated so that with the help of additional water the Calcutta port may be kept free from silt and commerce through this port may not come to a standstill. The Government of Pakisan, however, has characterized this act as a threat to her security and has argued that such an action would jeopardize the irrigation projects of East Pakistan and that under international law India is not entitled to proceed with its construction unilaterally. It is proposed here to examine the Pakistan objections in the light of the rules of international law.[2]

Historical & Geographical Considerations

The river Ganges, besides its significance in Indian mythology, is the largest river in India and has served as a boon to agriculture in the Gangetic plains. Its importance, however, has assumed tremendous proportions because in the last two hundred years or so, Calcutta, where it empties into the Bay of Bengal, has become the commercial centre of India and of the whole of Asia. The city also owes its prosperity to its being the natural port of north-east India. Its importance may be realised from the fact that more than 50 per cent of the total export of India are shipped from this port.[3] But as the Ganges empties out into the Bay of Bengal through innumerable streams, the Calcutta Port has for a long time faced the problem of silting. The Bhagirathi, which lower down is known as the Hooghly has in the past flushed out the silt and kept the Calcutta port in good order. In the past

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many years, however, the Hooghly has received less water, that is only for about three months and that too during the flood season which is not enough to flush out to sea the hundred million cubic feet of mud and sand that flows past Calcutta annually. Moreover as the tides from the sea push this silt upstream, it is firmly deposited in the bed of the river. This has made the Hooghly shallow.[4] The silt makes it impossible for the ships to come upto Calcutta throughout the year. That is why there has been fast deterioration of drafts as well as sailing opportunities. In January 1957 the maximum drafts were 27 feet and in January 1959 he maximum drafts fell to 24 feet. The number of sailing opportunities has also been seriously affected. For instance, in November, 1957 there were 15 days when deep laden vessels of 12 knots or over could sail but during November, 1959, there were only two such days. Moreover silting has affected the drinking water supply of the city and the tap water in Calcutta has an unmistakable brackish taste.

In order to do away with this danger to the Calcutta port and hence to India's commerce and economy, the Indian government on expert advice has decided to build a barrage across the Ganges at Farakka a few miles above where the Ganga branches into Bhagirathi. A canal 26 miles long will take off from the barrage in order to supplement the waters of the Bhagirathi at a lower point. This will make the current of water strong enough to flush off the dirt and keep the port clear. It will also reduce the frequency and intensity of great tidal waves which move up the Hooghly and affect ships going up to and down from Calcutta, reduce the content of salt in the water at Calcutta and thus improve it for drinking and use in factories and it will improve navigation up the Ganga and reduce flood hazards in the catchment areas of the river.[5]

The Pakistan government has taken exception to this scheme. She has argued that the barrage will seriously affect the supply of water to East Pakistan through Padma which branches off the Ganga at a lower point and that it will seriously upset East Pakistan's economy by causing water shortage in the lower Ganges delta covering six million acres of land served by the Ganges; it will jeopardize the irrigational projects of East Pakistan which have alredy been taken in hand and those to be taken in hand in future like the huge Ganges-Kobadak and Teesta multipurpose project which is designed to provide irrigational facilities to more than two million acres of land. Pakistan has argued that the Indian action would be a violation of the rules of international law especially of the Barcelona Convention according to which an upper riparian state is not entitled to take action which would be detrimental to the lower riparian; that the sovereign rights of the upper riparian are not absolute and that its exercise is permissible only if the "legitimate" and "ressonable" rights of the lower riparian do not thereby suffer.[6]

International Law Practice

In international law, an upper riparian state is eittled to divert the flow of an international river at its own discretion. A clear statement of this principle which has been accepted by the various states had been made by Attorney General Harmon justifying the right of the United States to divert the waters of the Rio Grande which flowed into Mexico. Arguing on the basis of the territorial jurisdiction which a sovereign state enjoys, he reached the conclusion that the "rules, principles and precedents of international law impose no liability or obligation on the United States" to conform to Mexico's wishes. The Harmon doctrine is still considered as a part of international jurisprudence in spite of the fact that a number of interested states have concluded treaties on the matter.[7]

It is instructive to note that we have now a very clear and categorical judgement of an international tribunal which supports India's position. In a case very similar to the present controversy between France and Spain involving the waters of the Lake Lanoux, the Arbitral Tribunal did not agree with the demands of Spain

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as the lower riparian state that France as an upper riparian state had no right to divert water without the former's concurrence. After discussing the arguments of Spain that the execution of this project would be injurious to her interests and rights and alter the natural conditions of the lake basin, the Tribunal said :[8]

> We do not find either in the Treaty and the Additional Act of 26th May, 1866, **or in customary international law,** any rule that prohibits one State, acting to safeguard its legitimate interests, to put itself in a situation that would permit it in effect, in violation of its international pledges, to injure a neighbouring State even seriously.

It also indirectly accepted the validity of the Harmon doctrine when after referring to the relevant Treaty and Additional Act it said :[9]

> Territorial sovereignty plays the part of a presumption. It must bend before all international obligations, whatever their origin, but only before such obligations.

Eminent international lawyers like Briggs, Bousek, Berber, Heffter, Kluber, Simsarian and many others who have made a special study of the problem agree with Professor Fenwick who says :[10]

> It is doubtful whether international law can be said to have recognized any servitude corresponding to that existing in civil and common law in the form of a right to the uninterrupted flow of streams and rivers. Conscious of the possessions of the traditional rights of sovereignty, states in possession of the upper waters of a river have not recognized any general obligation to refrain from diverting its waters and thereby denying to the States in possession of the lower waters the benefit of the full flow. Such restrictions as have been recognized have been in every case the result of treaty stipulation.

It is clear, therefore, that the decision of the Indian government in building the Farakka barrage is not contrary to the rules of international law. The saving of the Calcutta port is a matter of vital urgency for India and the diversion of water in order to flush the silt off from the port is the only way to achieve that legitimate objective.

The argument of Pakistan that India is not entitled to proceed with the project without any prior agreement with the former is, therefore, not acceptable. It is based on a misunderstanding of the law of treaties. If the Indian government is entitled under international law to use its discretion in the matter, it is up to her whether she should conclude a treaty on the matter or not. The Tribunal in the Lake Lanoux case had a similar point in mind when it said : "To admit that jurisdiction in a certain field can no longer be exercised except on the condition of or by an agreement between two States is to place an essential restriction on the sovereignty of a State, and such restriction could only be admitted in the presence of clear and convincing evidence."[11] Pointing out that such obligation will impair the territorial sovereignty of the state concerned, the Tribunal added :[12]

> In effect, in order to appreciate in its essence the necessity for prior agreement, one must envisage the hypothesis in which the interested States cannot reach agreement. In this case, it must be admitted that the State which is normally competent has lost its right to act singly as a result of the unconditional and arbitrary opposition of another State. This is the same as admitting a "right of assent," a "right of veto," that paralyzes the exercise of territorial competence of one State at the discretion of another State.

The Tribunal did not agree with the argument of Spain that there is a rule of international custom or a principle of international law that states must negotiate before undertaking projects on waters wholly within their territorial limits when such waters flow into the territory of a neighbouring State. It is pointed out that while such negotiations may be desirable "Customary international law, like the Pyrenean traditions, does not supply evidence of a kind to orient the interpretation of the Treaty and of the Additional Act of

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66 in the direction of favouring the cessity of prior agreement, and even less permit us to conclude that there exists general principle of law or a custom to is effect."[13] This establishes beyond any ubt that the argument of Pakistan is tenable in international law.

Pakistan has also proposed that both dia and Pakistan should study the pro- em jointly; that India should keep in ew the legitimate needs of Pakistan and at the matter in case of a disagreement ould be submitted to arbitration.[14] It ust be pointed out that India's approach l along has been based on negotiation in der that as far as possible the needs of kistan may be kept in view. The Indian rime Minister said in the Lok Sabha that e are keeping in view, as naturally as e should, the essential needs of Pakistan. e do not wish to deprive them of any- ing. It is only what we have to do for e preservation of the Calcutta port that e must do."[15] According to Indian esti- ates even after the use of water from e Farakka barrage, about 40,000 to 50,000 secs will be available to Pakistan which ould be adequate for any reasonable and acticable irrigation projects contem- lated by Pakistan.[16] But this water cannot e procured by Pakistan under any seem- g right. It is upto the upper riparian ate to decide finally as to the **needs** and terests of the lower state. In the Lake anoux case, the Tribunal mentioned very early.[17]

> It is up to each State to appreciate in a reasonable manner and in good faith the situations and the rules which will involve it in controversies; the evaluation may be in contradiction with that of another State; in this case, a dispute arises which the Parties normally seek to resolve by negotiation or in the alternative by submitting to the authority of a third party; **but one of them is never obliged to suspend the exercise of its jurisdiction because of the dispute except when it assumes an obligation to do so.**

Referring to the Spanish claim which was very similar to that made by Pakistan, the Tribunal said:[18]

> Pushed to the extreme, the Spanish thesis would imply either the general paralysis of the exercise of State jurisdiction in the presence of a dispute, or the submission of all disputes, of whatever nature, to the authority of a third party; international practice does not support either the one or the other of these consequences.

Pointing to the initiative which would be that of the upper riparian state, it said:[19]

> As a matter of form, the upstream State has, procedurally a right of initiative; it is not obliged to associate the downstream State in the elaboration of its projects. If in the course of discussions, the downstream State submits projects to it, the upstream State must examine them, but it has the right to give preference to the solution contained in its own project, provided it takes into consideration in a reasonable manner the interests of the downstream State.

It is clear, therefore, that all the waters, stagnant or running, whether they belong to the public or private domain are subjected to the sovereignty of the state where they are found and consequently to its laws, except for the changes agreed upon by the governments concerned. On this basis it is proved that India is entitled under international law to proceed with the building of the Farakka barrage. But in conformity with her policy of good neighbourliness and prompted by moral and humane considerations she has been ever ready to negotiate on the matter in order that at least the existing use in Pakistan may not be substantially affected.[20] That is why she has directed her engineers to exchange "salient basic data" with her counterparts on the Pakistan side with a view to study it on a co-operative basis.[21]

This must be made clear to Pakistan, however, that India being an upper riparian state is in a favourable position to bargain on the matter. As pointed out by Professor Berber "a treaty like every other legislative act is always a compromise

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between different interests and diplomacy is the art whereby this compromise is achieved. He who has little to offer will receive little in return. That is the truth of every international treaty and the case of water treaties is in principle no different."[22] It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that while, India should, if possible, meet the minimal needs of East Pakistan, the latter must also concede something to India in return. The present writer is of the firm opinion that India should have done the same in the case of the Indus waters. For example, he should have insisted that India would be willing to consider Pakistan's water needs favourably only on condition that the latter would agree to the simultaneous settlement of the Kashmir issue also. It seems we were taken away by moral considerations and to that extent the Indian government betrayed an understanding of realism in international diplomacy.[23] The result has been that far from being grateful to India for her generosity, Pakistan cleared the decks for a show-down on Kashmir and has made declarations that the water given to her under the Indus Treaty of 1960 was always hers under international law.[24] Let us hope that in the case of the Farakka barrage the Indian government will press this point and be vigilant in handling this affair. She should also serve notice on Pakistan that her willingness to negotiate is not the product of the weakness of her case but is the offspring of altrusitic motives.

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1. The statement of Mr. Shoab, Pakistan's Finance Minister inaugurating the 11th session of the All Pakistan Economic Conference in Mydrabad on 14th April 1961. *The Dawn*, 15 April, 1961.

2. *The Dawn*, 25 March, 1961; *Ibid.*, 4 April, 1961; *Ibid.*, 15 April, 1961; *Ibid.*, 18 April, 1961; *Ibid.*, 24 April, 1961; *The Pakistan Times*, 16 March, 1961; *Ibid.*, 17 March, 1961; *Ibid.*, 2 April, 1961.

Also a despatch by Mr. Girilal Jain from Karachi: *The Times of India*, 20 April, 1961: Referring to the editorial appearing in the Dawn he wrote: "This is one of the scores of editorials that have appeared in Pakistani newspapers in recent weeks. The campaign has apparently been intensified following President Ayub Khan's meeting with editors in Decca on March 22."

3. *A Project to Save Calcutta Port* (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1961), pp. 2-3.

4. *The Times of India*, 20 June, 1961. Moreover the Possibilities of dredging have been completely exhausted and the only means of saving the port lies in augumenting the head-water supplies to flush out the river. *Ibid.*, 8 April, 1961.

5. *A Project to Save Calcutta*, pp. 4-8.

6. The statement of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Minister for Fuel, Power and National Resources, *The Dawn*, 26 March, 1961; also the editorial on the Farakka Barrage in *Ibid.*, 18 April, 1961, and that of Mr. Makbool Alam, Dacca correspondent of the Dawn, *Ibid.*, 24 April, 1961.

7. For a more detailed study of this principle from many angles, see J. S. Bains, "The Diversion of International Rivers," *The Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. I (July 1960), pp. 38-52. The following conclusions are listed: (1) It is a customary rule of international law that a State has the exclusive jurisdiction and control over waters of international rivers which pass through its territory; (2) Due to political, economic, strategic and humanitarian considerations the upper riparian States have not rigidly adhered to this rule. Keeping in view their own national self-interests, they have voluntarily conferred some benefits on the lower riparian states; (3) This has been done by the conclusion of treaties on a bilateral or multilatrral basis. The existing rights and duties regarding the waters of a particular river must, therefore, be determined on the basis of existing treaties; (4) The practice of the U.S. Supreme Court and national tribunals in other countries is an insufficient warrant to doubt the efficacy of rule number 1. General principles of law and analogies of private law do not form a part of international jurisprudence and hence must not be considered in the determination of such principles. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

8. Lake Lanoux Case in *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 53 (January 1959), p. 163.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

10. Charles Fenwick, *International Law* (New York, 1948), p. 391; also for the views of many of these writers, see F. J. Berbar, *Rivers in International Law* (London, 1960), pp. 14-19.

11. Lake Lanoux Case, *Op. cit.*, p. 163

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

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14. The statement of Mr. Bhutto in reply to Address at Sukhur. *The Statesman*, 27 April, 1961; also Khan Mohd Azam, Chairman of East Pakistan WAPDA. *The Pakistan Times*, 2 April, 1961.
15. As reported in *The Times of India*, 20 August, 1961.
16. Ibid., 8 April, 1961; also *A Project to save Calcutta*, pp. 9-10.
17. Lake Lanoux Case, *Op. cit.*, p. 166.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
20. J. S. Bains, *India's International Disputes: A Legal Study* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), pp. 60-61.
21. As reported in *The Hindusthan Times*, 13 July, 1961.
22. Berber, *Op. cit.*, p. 271.
23. Bains, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
24. *The Dawn*, 18 April, 1961, p. 7.

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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

IV

It is not usually to be expected that an artist who is versed in one branch of art, should be equally dexterous in the other branches as well. A master painter need not necessarily have a taste for music or sculpture and vice versa. But there are a few exceptional cases where this sort of versatality is noticed in profusion. I do not suppose there could be any dispute if Sri Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury, the artist of our discussion, is put under the latter category. In painting, he is considered to be as deft in one medium as in the others. He has been called the wizard of water colour by some well-known art-critics. I do not wish to trespass on a subject where my knowledge is very limited and, therefore, deem it best to depend on the opinion of experts. I have heard people with considerable experience in art say that the touch of Devi Prasad's brush work is felt in no less a degree in oils and tempara than in water colours. Like his medium, his mode of painting also varies according to the choice of his subjects. One finds it difficult to believe that the dainty pictures done in the decorative style with its minutest details came from the brushes of the same artist who has given the boldest touches to produce mass effect in some of the works done in pure western style.

Devi Prasad's search in this line did not terminate with the graphic art alone. His thirst for knowledge was not satisfied till he could assimilate the science of plastic art as well. If he has achieved what he desired, it is after years of relentless practice. The works of this Sculptor are now hailed with admination in all parts of the world. These are produced and reproduced in many of the journals in India and abroad.

However uncommon it may seem to find so many different talents in one artist, we cannot deny the fact that the graphic and plastic arts are allied and Devi Prasad had systamatic training in them both. His natural aptitude, added to his assiduous application, enabled him to reach his goal. But there is one branch of the fine arts in which he had no scientific training and which has nothing in common with those that he had already learnt. He is born with a ear for music which developed with the aid of the environment in the midst of which he was brought up.

Consciously or unconsciously the art of music received appreciation and encouragement from his family. At every function at Tajhat as well as in his paternal home at Bhawanipore the best classical Hindustani musicians were invited to demonstrate their talents. Consequently the love of music became ingrained in the heart of Devi Prasad from a very tender age. In later years, I have often heard him say that he was not sure which of those were more dear to him —the art of his choice or music.

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Devi Prasad's love of classical music is as intense as his dislike for music of the lighter strain. He unmercifully criticises what is known as the Tagore music. In his opinion it is dragging down art from its high pedestal to the mire. In spite of the great esteem with which he regards the works of the Poet, he could never forgive the great Bard for lowering the standards of our music just for the satisfaction of hearing his own inimitable verses in musical tune. This he considered an unpardonable offence in one who had reached such a height and understood the value of music.

When the artist is tired and seeks diversion he loves to hear good music of the North Indian style for which he has a strong partiality. But our present home in the distant South seldom gives us this opportunity. Under the circumstances Sri Devi Prasad has no other alternative but to acquire what joy he could either by throwing his own voluminous voice in the air or taking up his flute to bring out the tune that struggles for an expression in the depth of his heart. This instrument which he learnt to manipulate without outside aid, played an important role in the romance of his younger days.

Before I narrate a few of the incidents which came to my knowledge it would not be out of place perhaps if I give an idea of the unique relationship that existed between the artist and his father and what reactions it had on the former as an artist and as a man. It was a case of filial affection combined with a deep friendship. There was no secret which they could not confide in each other.

The artist's father belonged to the old school of thought among whom smoking before superiors was not only not practised, but was considered an offence. If any young man made smoking a habit in those days, he had to do so surreptitiously. According to this theory, Devi Prasad's father should have been very angry when he came to learn that his young son had acquired that bad habit. He, of course, did nothing of the sort. He realized that his son had attained an age when assertion of that type of superiority would not have helped. On the contrary it might have produced an evil effect instead of improving the situation. He, therefore, finished by giving the soundest advice that he could under the circumstances and said to his son: "If you have to smoke at all, smoke the best cigarettes available."

It seems curious, however, that this same man failed to comprehend that a youth who could take up the responsibility of a married life, was competent enough to take care of himself. I remember one occasion when after our marriage we were invited to a dinner party. As soon as the clock struck a certain hour, I found my husband getting restless and absent-minded. Then all of a sudden he said he must phone to his father and at once, otherwise there was every possibility of his going out in search of his lost son! Nobody took the artist seriously. My husband was pacified with the assurance that his father would be informed of the delay. Evidently this had not been done for as we reached our house, we found the old gentleman ready to start on his quest!

Having been treated in this manner, even at that advanced age, this artist could never quite outgrow his childhood. I hold the father responsible for this, but alas! it is of no avail. He had by then gone to a sphere where our complaint could not trouble him. Whatever charge I may bring against the artist's father, I feel it would not be quite fair to the dear old gentleman, if I did not cite some instances to justify his nervousness regarding his adventurous son.

Devi Prasad had an inveterate dislike for the Tommies on account of their uncivil behaviour. One day, while returning from his uncle's place at Chowringhee (Calcutta), he came across a party of about a dozen white-skinned soldiers who expected him to make way for them. This was during the British regime, of course. Devi Prasad did nothing of the kind. He went straight ahead and thus came in touch with one of them who was pushed aside by sheer strength. The protest came in the form of some discourteous remarks which our young gentleman was not prepared to bear meekly. He retraced a few steps and gave the man a kick from the back. The Tommies were not used to such treatment from a "native." When they got over their surprise, one among them hit the artist on the forehead with his ammunition boot. This caused a deep cut, the mark of which he still bears. Devi Prasad discerned he was no match for so many. His presence of mind prompted him to make one of the Tommies the

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of his defence. He caught him by his legs and whirled him over his head. The soldiers had no other alternative than to accept defeat and disperse from the scene, leaving their comrade who was still in the clutches of the native, to his fate. When the young artist found his line was clear, he tossed in the air, the person whom he had held in his strong grip, and then took to his heels without waiting to see the result of his action.

Shortly after his arrival in Madras as an official once more, he had the misfortune of encountering two such hot-headed persons at a picture house. The only difference was that in this case his opponents, were sailors. More or less, the same story was repeated. The artist did not waste time in exchanging words. He overpowered them by using one of his wrestling holds and rubbed the nose of one against the other till they started bleeding. Before the spectators, who were enjoying the fun without taking part in the conflict or coming to his aid, could realise what had happened, he left the scene of this unpleasant occurrence.

Later, when he very proudly repeated this story to one of his superior officers, who had taken a fancy to him, the gentleman advised the artist to act less rashly in future since his position did not allow him to take the law into his own hands. In his efforts to follow this advice and behave like a gentleman he has strangled the adventurous spirit of his youth.

Before this change came into him, Devi Prasad knew not what fear was. Once while he was standing near the race course in Calcutta, he saw a horse coming towards him at a terrible speed. He knew at once that the animal had bolted. As soon as the horse reached the place where our artist was standing, without thinking of the consequences the daring youth jumped, caught hold of the reins, brough the beast under control and saved the rider—a European lady—from a terrific crash. She got down to thank the gallant youth and gave him her address with a request to see her at her residence. Perhaps she wished to reward him for his brave deed. But he was not interested in this sort of recompense and did not comply with her request. The pleasure that he derived from the act was the only reward that he cared for.

One more concerete example I shall give here to justify the constant anxiety of the father for the son. A demonstration of acrobatic feats was arranged at the residence of Devi Prasad's uncle at Rungpur. A heavy club, more than one maund in weight and not less than six feet in length with sharp blades attached all round it, was lying in the centre of the arena. The champion acrobat challenged any one to come forward, lift the club with one hand and swing it round. For a few minutes there was absolute silence. Then up rose our artist. The father was present at the function. He knew the impossibility of the feat and his face became ashen pale. Yet he dared not stop his son after he had accepted the challenge. All he could do was to keep his eyes averted expecting every moment to hear the worst. His joy and relief can hardly be imagined when the place resounded with the claps of applause of the aspectators.

Devi Prasad's grandfather was fond of homemade sweets which were specially prepared for him every day. No one had the privilege of sharing those with him. Unfortunately, the grandson, who was then ten or twelve years of age, inherited the grandfather's taste regarding the particular sweets, but they were so well-protected from his attacks that he had no access to them. One day the keepers were careless. Freshly-made sweets were left unguarded for a while. They were still very hot and that ensured their safety. But they were too enticing for Devi Prasad to resist the temptation. He soaked them in water to remove the heat and then swallowed as many of the forbidden sweets as time and chance allowed him to do. Very soon, however, the thief was caught in action and his punishment was severe. He was imprisoned in a room which had only one window at a considerable height and barricaded by iron rods. His hands were tied with a piece of cloth to the leg of a heavy table. Devi Prasad smarted under the injustice of this punishment, rubbed his hands on the floor tilll the cloth gave way. Once his hands were free, he scaled the wall till he reached the window. Then by strength added to determination he managed to bend one of the rods sufficiently to enable him to glide through it. In the heat of his anger he went straight to the place where sweets were concealed and without a moment's hesitation took them and threw them into a drain. But before he could reach a place of refuge after doing the mischief his action was detected and the servants were ordered to catch

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him for further punishment. Devi Prasad was not unprepared for such an eventuality. He had a long wooden rod in his hand which he whirled over his head. In the scuffle that ensued, one of the servants was badly injured. Everyone's attention was turned towards him. Devi Prasad made the best use of this opportunity by making good his escape.

All this happened during the absence of the father. When he arrived, a complaint was lodged against his son. Devi Prasad had to appear before him to explain his conduct. He confessed everything and then added he did not mean to hurt anybody. What he did was entirely for self-defence. He could not allow himself to be insulted by servants. The artist's father remained silent and pensive for a while in his characteristic pose, portrayed later by the son in his head-study of the father and then let the boy go with a warning to be careful in future.

But this attitude on the part of the father does not mean that he could not be severe when severity was essential. Once while still in this boyhood, Devi Prasad was playing with his air-gun and pretending to shoot tigers. When he was in this mood he saw a man passing at a short distance from him with a small tear in his garment through which his dark skin was visible. The boy acted on impulse by treating this black spot as his target and pulled the trigger of his gun. The result was as could be expected. The man fell down with the shock and was so dazed that he was unable to stand up for some time. Devi Prasad's father was furious. He spoke not a word but broke a horse wip on the back of his son. Instances of this sort are, of course, rare in his life.

Despite the bond of love that existed between the two, the artist had a great grievance against his parent and that was he neither understood nor appreciated the cultural side of his son.

Whatever success the artist might have attained in the cultural sphere it was entirely by his own efforts. For the development of his physique his thanks are due to his good father. He was very particular that his son should grow up to be a strong man and gave him all the facilities necessary for the purpose. Expert wrestlers were engaged to teach him the science of wrestling. Ji-jutsu he learnt under the guidance of a Japanese master. Besides, he had to keep regular hours for physical exercise. The result was that he developed a body which was unlike the ordinary conception of an artist.

Deriving inspiration from a few more persons like our artist, other young men came forward with a desire to build a body beautiful and several Akharas (wrestling grounds) were made. Devi Prasad used to visit these with the intention of training others as well as to have the pleasure of a wrestling bout for himself. After the bout the artist would throw a thin cloth over his mud-stained body, his flowing wavy hair brushed back, take his flute in his hand and then march home-ward playing a tune befitting the time.

Even at that early hour the call of the flute was heard by many an expectant ear. Some admiring youthful faces of the fairer sex were seen to adorn the balconies of the houses on streets through which our artist happened to pass.

On one occasion he was called in by the owner of a big house and asked to play on his flute. He must have taken him for a vagabond who earned his livelihood by this method. They were so pleased that at the end of the performance they handed him a five rupee note. The artist hesitated for a moment and then accepted it with a sardonic smile. The generous giver must have had a shock when he observed the flute-player go over to the shop opposite and buy an expensive tin of cigarettes with the money that he had earned!

The flute is still there but it does not play the same tune. Age and experience have changed the romantic artist into a dreamy philosopher with a little touch of the cynic.

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CONSTITUENT POWER IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AN APPRAISAL

By MAHMMAD GHOUSE, B.A., LL.M.

troduction :

A Federal Constitution, observed Mr. stice Douglas in New York Vs. U. S.[1] is ompact between sovereigns. It contains ariety of terms which have been agreed after prolonged discussions and mature iberations. It establishes the general d regional governments and distributes wers between them. So, the terms of the mpact dividing the powers between the neral Government and the regional overnments, must not be changed lightly wantonly. They must be sacrosanct. They ust not be altered arbitrarily either by e general Government or by the regional overnments. If the power to alter the nstitution is confided exclusively to the neral Government there is then the nger of that Government acting like a gantic sponge sucking the freedom and tiative possessed by the regional Governents. It may, by altering the Constitution ecome a leviathan and swallow provincial ivileges, emasculate provincial freedom d reduce all the units to the deadly and earisome level of the county councils. e regional Governments would then generate into humble suppliants before e centre. Conversely, if that power were be vested in the units exclusively, the neral Government would be reduced to e level of "a half-starved limping Govnment always upon crutches, and totter- at every step."[2]

Does it, therefore, mean that the comct should be frozen in the terms of a rigid onstitution so that the balance of power etween the general Government and the aming of the Constitution, may be preerved? But, unfortunately this is not ossible, because, as Lord Brougham said :

"Constitutions must grow if they are to be of any value, they have roots, they ripen they endure.* Those that are fashioned resemble painted sticks planted in the ground....they strike no root they bear no fruit, swiftly decay and ere long perish."[3]

This is because Constitutions, when they are framed and adopted, tend to reflect and protect the dominant beliefs and interests, or some compromise between conflicting beliefs and interests, which are characteristic of the society at that time. A Constitution is, therefore, the resultant of a parallelogram of forces—political, economic and social—which operate at the time of its adoption.[4] It is, in fact, the product of its times, but it is also a fact that times change, and that a Constitution, as pointed out by Jennings,[5] has to work not only in the environment in which it was adopted, but it continues later. It must therefore, be capable of adaptation to new conditions as they arise. A constitution, though an heir of the past, is also a testator of the future.[6] It must, therefore, be susceptible of change, since the ideas upon which a Constitution is based in one generation may be spurned as old-fashioned in the next. So, flexibility is regarded as a merit and rigidity as a defect because it is impossible for the framers of a Constitution to foresee the conditions in which it would apply and the problems that will arise.

Recognising the supreme need to amend the Constitution to adapt it to the changing times, Jefferson said :

"Some men look at Constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like an arc of the covenant too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment."[7]

And he went on the extreme length of advocating the periodical revision of the whole Constitution itself, as, according to him, each generation had the right to

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'choose for itself the form of Government it believes most promotive of its happiness."[8]

Mr. Justice Benjamin Cordozo also stressed the need for the revision of the Constitution when he said that if the Constitution, true to its character, gives "not rules for the passing hour, but principles for an expanding future," it maintains, "its power of adaptation, its suppleness, its play."[9]

The framers of our Constitution were fully alive to the fact that a Constitution, being the vehicle of a nation's life, should not be a rigid and frozen document, as it was beyond the power of human mind to visualize the myriad problems that will airse in future. Pandit Nehru, in his concluding speech on the celebrated Objectives Resolution, deprecated the superstitious reverence that Constitutions have come to command and stressed the necessity and desirability of making the Constitution not unduly rigid, but flexible:

> "Does any one in this House imagine that when a free India emerges it will be bound down by anything that this House might lay down for it? A Free India will see the bursting forth of the energy of a mighty nation..... Some people imagine that what we do now may not be touched for another ten or twenty years. If we do not do it today we wont be able to do it tomorrow. That seems to me a complete misapprehension.—We are on the eve of revolutionary changes. The Constitution that this Assembly may frame may not satisfy free India."

Analysis of the Amending Process in the Indian Constitution

Unlike many written Constitutions which have one uniform procedure for effecting "any change of any kind in any part of the Constitution,"[10] the Constitution of India provides for a variety in the amending process—a feature which has been commended by Professor Wheare, who says: "In this respect the Constitution of India strikes a good balance," and that "this variety in the amending process is wise but rarely found,"[11] for the reason that uniformity in the amending process imposes "quite unnecessary restrictions" upon the amendment of parts of the Constitution. Explaining and commending the scheme of the amending provisions, Dr. Ambedkar observed in the Constituent Assembly:[12]

> "It is only for amendments of specific matters—and they are only few—that ratification of the State Legislatures is required. All other articles are left to be amended by Parliament. The only limitation is that it shall be done by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of each House present and voting and the majority of the total membership of each House. It is difficult to conceive a simple method of amending process."

The Constitution provides for three categories of amending process: First, those that can be effected by Parliament by a simple majority such as that required for the enactment of any ordinary law—the amendments contemplated in Articles 4, 169, para 7 (2) of Schedule V and 21 (2) of Schedule VI come within this category, and are specially excluded from the purview of Art. 368, the specific provision in the Constitution laying down the procedure for the amendment of the Constitution, secondly those that can be effected by a prescribed special majority in the Parliament, thirdly those that require ratification by one half of the State Legislatures, besides the special majority. The matters falling under the third category, which have a bearing upon the Federal structure of the Constitution, are:

(i) The manner of election of the President (Arts. 54-5).
(ii) Extent of the Executive Power of the Union and the States (Arts. 73-162).
(iii) The Supdeme Courts and the High Courts (Art. 241, Ch. IV of Part V, Ch. V of Part VI).
(iv) Representation of States in Parliament (Ch. I of Part XI, 7th Sch).

In this connection it may be pointed out here that, as observed by Dr. Ambedkar,[13] there are "innumerable articles in the Constitution," which leave the matter subject to law made by Parliament. By

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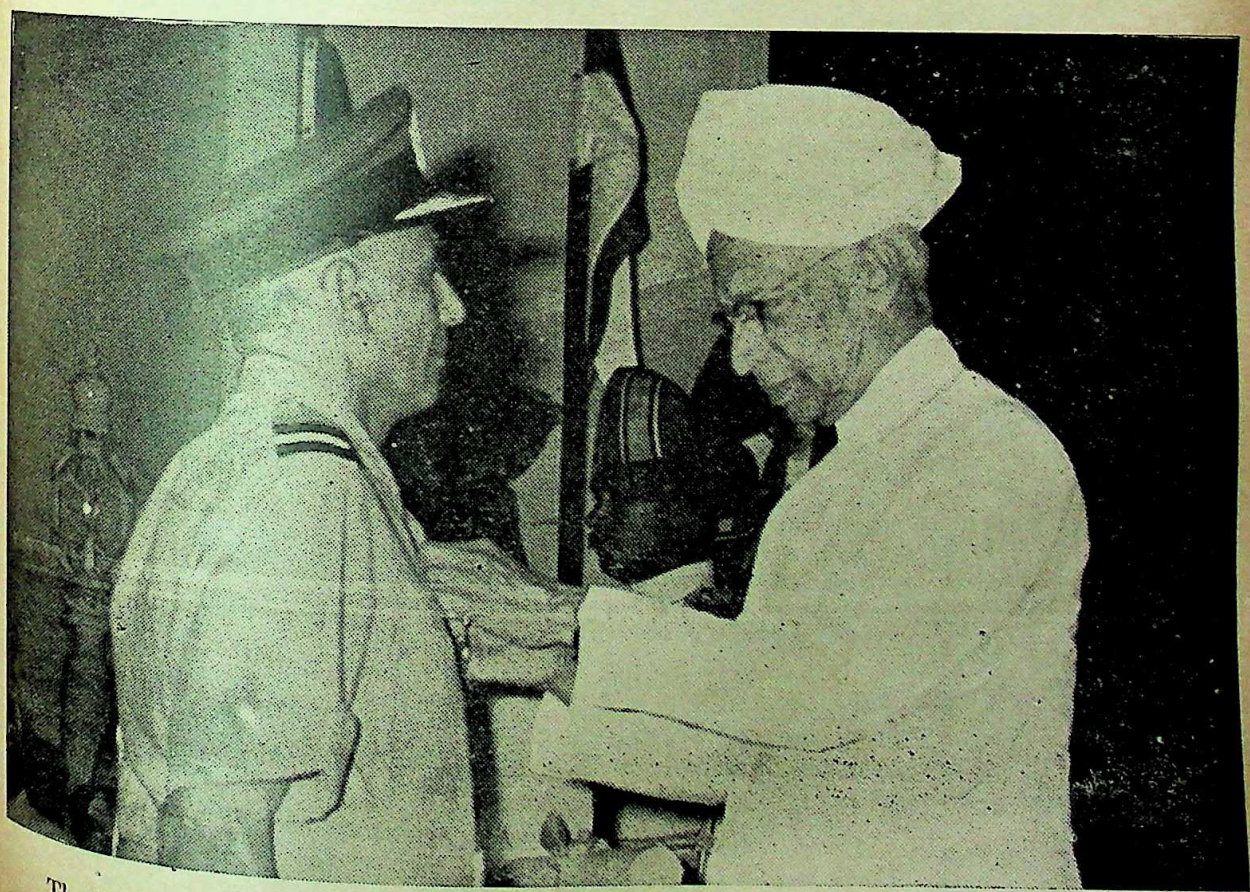
The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, awarding Nao Sena Medal to Commander Patric Ivor Teues at the Rashtrapati Bhavan.



The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, awarding Vishisht Seva Medal Class I to Air Vice Marshal Harjinder Singh at the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

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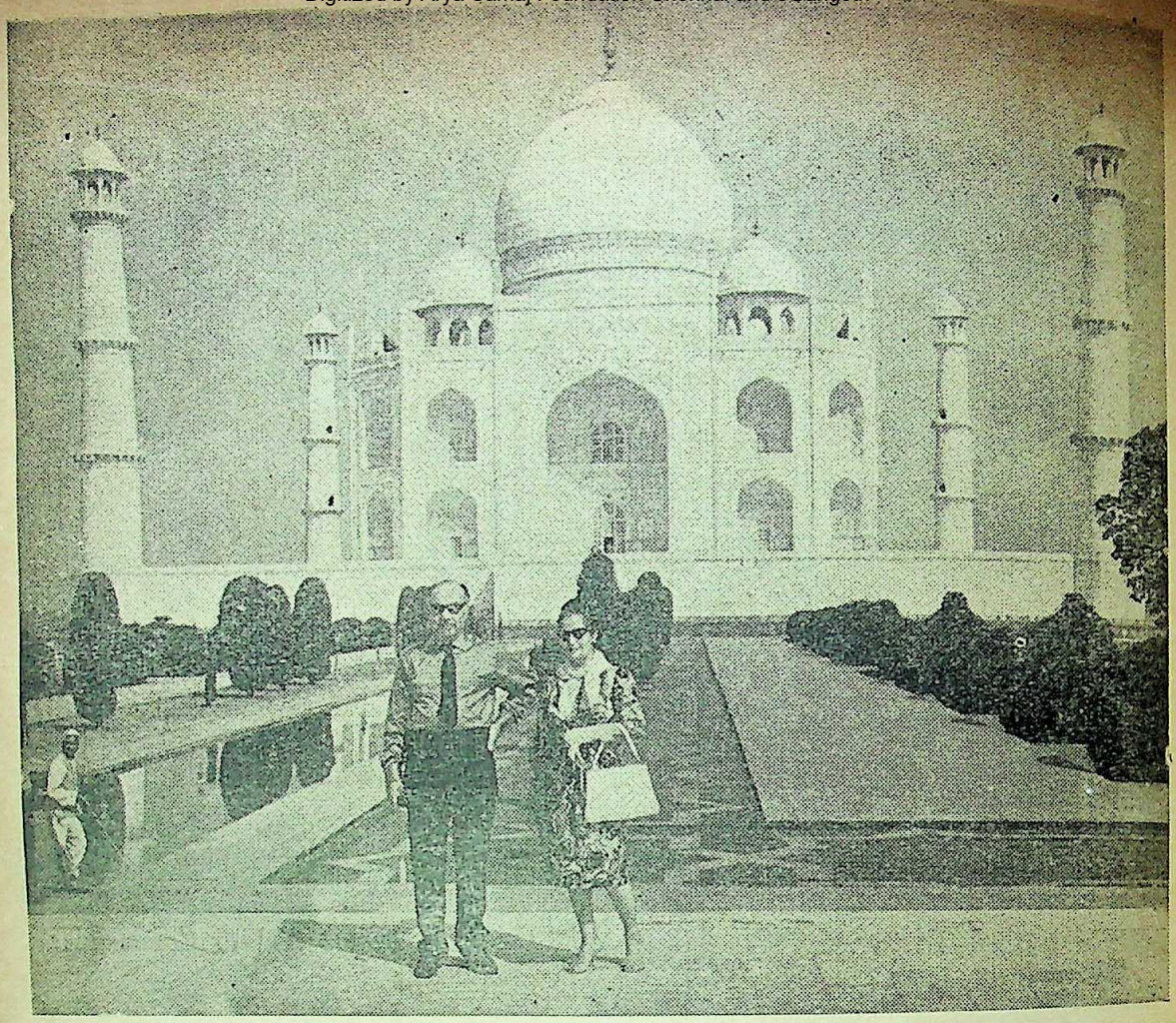
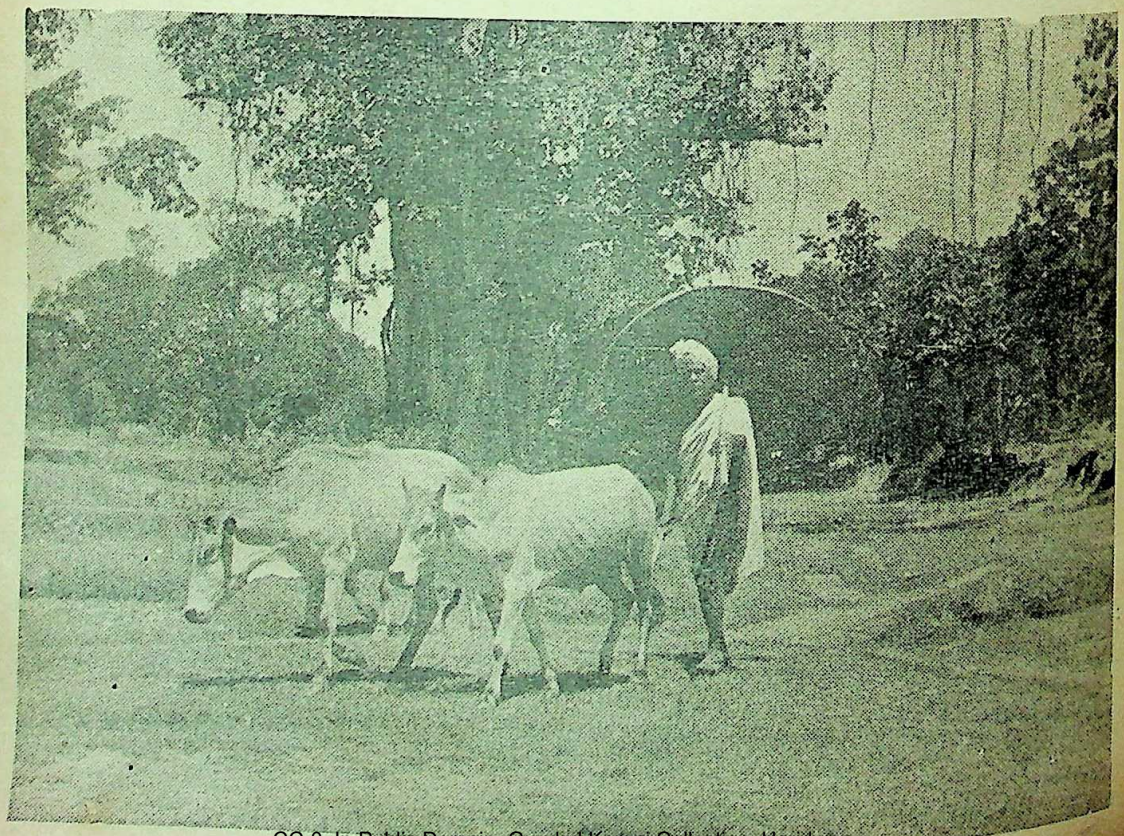


His Excellency Mr. Salman, Minister for Oil, Government of Iraq visited Taj Mahal with his wife.



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Oraon cowherd of the tribal village of Belangi near Ranchi is leading cows to

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merely enacting ordinary laws, Parliament may, in effect, modify or annul the operation of certain provisions of the Constitution. But, as such laws do not make any change in the letter of the Constitution, they can not be regarded as amendments of the Constitution.

This amending process has however, been criticised by that renowned English jurist, Sir Ivor Jennings. He says :[14]

"What makes the Indian Constitution so rigid is that, in addition to a somewhat complicated process of amendment, it is so detailed and covers so vast a field of law that the problem of Constitutional validity must often arise."

These remarks, it is needless to say, are, at best, uncharitable in view of the fact that the Constitution has been amended ten times within ten years. This process has however been commended by Professor Gledhill :[15]

"The Indian Constitution assigns different degrees of rigidity to its different parts, but any part of it can be more easily amended than the American Constitution....The Indian founding fathers were less determined than were their American predecessors to impose rigidity on their Constitution."

Supreme Court's Elucidation of the Amending Process :

The nature of the amending process came up for consideration before the Supreme Court in Shankari Prasad's case.[16] In this case the Constitutional validity of the First Amendement passed by the Provisional Parliament was challenged.

It was contended by the counsel for the petitioner that Parliament was not competent to amend the Constitution by exercising its power under Article 379 as the power of amending the Constitution was conferred not on Parliament but on the two Houses of Parliament as a body designated. The Supreme Court rejected this contention and held that under Art. 379 the Provisional Parliament could amend the Constitution.

For a Bill of Amendment to be psased, as envisaged in Art. 368, it should be passed in each House of Parliament with the prescribed majority. The Provisional Parliament consisted of only one House. The Supreme Court, therefore, held that the President, under Art. 392, could make adaptations in Art. 368 and enable the Provisional Parliament to amend the Constitution. If it were not so, the Supreme Court observed, there would be no machinery to amend the Constitution during the period the Provisional Parliament functions. In the opinion of the court such a situation was inconceivable and could not exist.

It is difficult to agree with this opinion of the Court. The contention of the petitioner, in effect, was that the President could adapt any provision of the Constitution to the existing circumstances except Art. 368. The Australian, American and the South African Constitutions forbid amendments to certain articles for a perscribed period. Indeed, as observed by a learned writer,[17] why should the history of the Decimvirs remaining in power after their work was done be repeated ?

Amending Process Part of Legislative Process.

Secondly, it was argued by the Counsel for the petitioner that the process of amending the Constitution was not a legislative process. But the Supreme Court did not accept this argument and held that it was part of the legislative process.

Before proceeding to examine the implications of this opinion it may be noted here that the Supreme Court of America held in Hawke Vs. Smith[18] that ratification by the States of an amendment proposed by Congress was not a legislative act. In Hollingsworth Vs. Virginia[19] the same Court held that as proposal of an amendment by Congress was not an ordinary legislative act, the assent of the President was not necessary.

As the ruling given by our Supreme Court departs from the decisions of the American Supreme Court and as its consequences are far-reaching, it may be examined in detail.

Inaugurating the All India Bar Conference on April 2, 1960, Dr. Rajendra Prasad observed that our Parliament is not sovere-

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ign in the sense in which the British Parliament is sovereign and that the power of Parliament to amend the Constitution can not be taken as the power vested in it qua Parliament, but it is the power of the Constituent Assembly for the time being exercised by the Parliament in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the Constitution. In amending the Constitution, he went on to say, Parliament becomes the Constituent Assembly and having discharged that function, again resumes its normal power of law-making.

This is undoubtedly an eminently reasonable approach. In a Federation, if the Federation set up is to be protected and preserved, the law-making and the Constitution-making functions should be distinct and different. If it is otherwise, the Federal structure may, in all probability, be disrupted.

So, it would have been better if the Supreme Court, following the American precedents had accepted the contention of the petitioner, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional validity of the First Amendment Act. The implications of the ruling that the amending process is part of the legislative process are far-reaching. In Hollingsworth Vs. Virginia it was held that as proposal of an amendment by Congress was not an ordinary legislative Act, the assent of the President was not necessary. As the amending process in India is alleged to be part of the legislative process, a Bill of Amendment must necessarily be sent to the President for his assent. And the President may, if he so desires, send the Bill of Amendment back to the House for considering the amendments suggested by him. Again, this ruling of the Supreme Court enlarges, in effect, the Ordinance-making powers of the President. As the power of the President to promulgate an Ordinance is co-extensive with the legislative power of the Parliament, can he then, amend the Constitution by promulgating an Ordinance ? If this is so, can the President, asks a learned professor,[20] amend Art. 123 (2) and make the Ordinance perpetual by duration ?

As the consequences of this decision of the Supreme Court are far-reaching and frightening, it is diffifult to agree to this proposition.

Amendment of Fundamental Rights.

Thirdly, the First Amendment was attacked as unconstitutional, having regard to Art. 132 (2) which states thaat the "State may not make any law taking away or abridging Fundamental Rights," and that any law in violation of this is void. This Amendment, it may be stated here, inserted Articles 31-A and 31-B in the Constitution to withdraw Estates from the purview of the fundamental right of property guaranteed by Art. 31.

Rejecting this argument the Supreme Court held that Art. 368 does not exclude Part III of the Constitution from the scope of amending power. In the opinion of the Court there was a conflict between Art. 13 and Art. 368. To avoid the conflict the rule of harmonious construction was adopted and the word 'law' in Art. 13 was given a restricted meaning.

Professor Subba Rao has very ingeniously criticized this decision. He says :[21]

> ".....the superstructure of the argument thus constructed (by the Court) rests on a pin point of fallacy. The conflict between Art. 368 and Art. 13 (2) rendering it imperative to construe 'law' as excluding Constitutional Law is more imaginary than real. It is not necessary to hold that Part III is immune from Constitutional Amendment, even if law is given its ordinary meaning. What Art. 13 inhibits is only a law, "taking away or abridging" fundamental rights. If Fundamental Rights of Part III are added to or widened by amendment of the provisions of Part III, amendment would be perfectly valid."

This decision has stultified the very nature of the Fundamental Rights, as it is now open to Parliament by the prescribed majority to expunge Part III from the Constitution. This is indeed a complete contradiction of the principle that Fundamental Rights are meant to protect individuals and minorities against the tyranny of majority power.

In the paper he read at the symposium

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ld during the Ninth Madras State Law-ers' Conference on 29th December, 1954, r. Justice Jagan Mohan Reddy observe :[22]

"The framers of the Constitution, as a matter of compromise of conflicting ideas and ideals and by way of assurance to all, who may be apprehensive of their rights being trampled by transient majorities, have in solemn concord decided to guarantee those Fundamental Rights and wrote them into the Constitution..... A guarantee is generally an assurance to a person who fears the taking away of his right. In Constitutional and legal parlance such guarantees are given to every individual who has those birth-rights, and any device in a Constitution which can easily facilitate the taking away of those rights or of nulifying the rights whether of individuals or of class, which can not have its voice felt in the Legislature, would not be based on sound Constitutional morality."

He also said that it was not the question preferring the judiciary or of not trusting e legislature, "but that the legislature h a transient majority elected on various mentary issues should not take advan-e of that majority in altering easily the damental Law."

The ex-Chief Justice Patanjali Sastry, ivering the Convocation Address of the hi University in 1954, deprecated the quent amendments to the Constitution suggested that "amendments of great ortance to the community should not passed without placing the matter before people and obtaining their verdict. s is so prticularly in a young Federal ocracy where politicians, the peopl's re-entatives, have yet to be seasoned into rvour of sustaining and sober views."

It is, therefore, highly desirable to alter amending process in our Constitution in such a way as to make it essential to seek and secure the mandate of the people before deflating and denigrating the Fundamental Rights by amendment. If this is not done the rights enshrined in Part III of the Constitution will be neither fundamental nor rights since they exist at the courtesy of Parliament, or, in other words, at the mercy of the political party in power.

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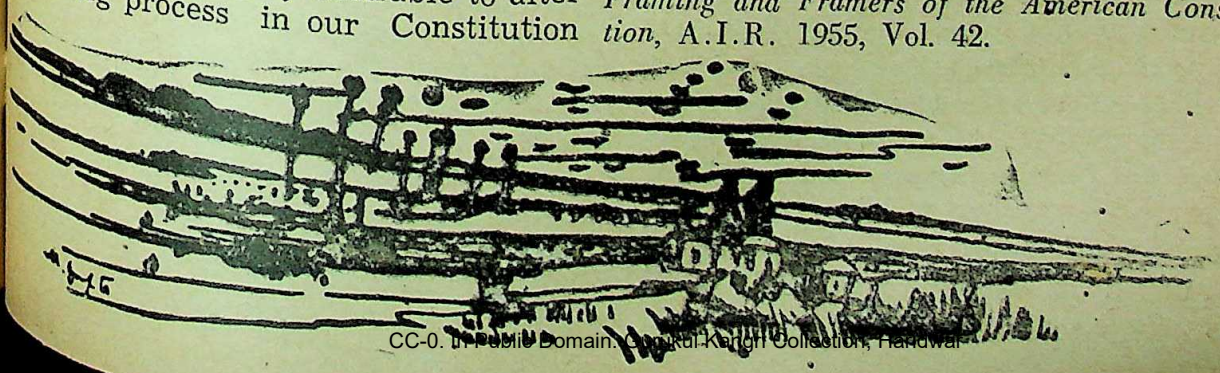
1. 326 U.S. 572, 595 (1946).
2. George Washington as quoted in *"Modern Constitutions"* by John A. Hawgood.
3. Quoted in Dawson : *Government of* Canada.
4. Wheare ' *Modern Constitution* (1958), p. 98.
5. Jennings : *Some Characteristics of Indian Constitution.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. The Writings of Thomas Jafferson XV 41-42, cited by H. S. Commager in *"Majority Rule and Minority Rights,"* pp. 21-22.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Benjamin Cordozo : *Nature of the Judicial Process*, pp. 84-85.
10. Wheare : *Op. cit.*, p. 142.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
12. C. A. Deb. Vol. VII, November 4, 1948, pp. 43-44—*The Manner of Election of the President* (Arts. 54-55).
13. C. A. Deb. Vol. IX Sept. 17, 1949.
14. *Op. cit.* pp. 9-10.
15. Allen Gledhill : *Republic of India.*
16. Shankari Prassad Vs. Union of India, ,1952) SC 89.
17. Prof. Gopala Krishna Sastry: *President's and Supreme Court's views on Constitution-amending process*, S.C.J. May, 1960.
18. 253 U.S. 221 (1920).
19. Dall, 328,—IL—Ed. 644.
20. Prof. Gopala Krishna Sastry, *Op. cit.*
21. Prof. G. C. V. Rao : *Missed Constitutional Opportunities.*
22. Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jagan Mohan Reddy : *Framing and Framers of the American Constitution*, A.I.R. 1955, Vol. 42.



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INDIAN HOCKEY—PAST AND PRESENT

P. S. SHARMA

Indian hockey is today in the doldrums. The magic halo that was the hallmark of Indian hockey was obliterated by Pakistan at Rome and we had to be content with but 2nd honours. The International Hockey Festival concluded at Ahmedabad has spotlighted the great decline in our scoring ability. Nor have the National Hockey Championships thrown out a sharp-shooter of the class of Dhyan Chand or even Balbir Singh. Darshan Singh who held out great promise has done precious little to enhance his reputation.

The progress of Indian hockey ever since the first Indian hockey team, led by Jaipal Singh, went in quest of Olympic honours in 1928, would make fascinating reading. It is said that when this team left the Bombay Docks, there were just 3 men to see them off. The players did not specialise in positions and could play in any position required of them. As against nearly 45 goals they slammed against foreign teams in 6 encounters, they did not allow even a single goal to be scored against them. A magnificent performance by all standards—Two of the players comprising this team—Dhyan Chand and Allen—represented the country at the 1932 and 1936 Olympics as well.

In assessing the true wizardry of Dhyan Chand, we must give full credit to the contributory role played by other stalwarts, especially Penniger. Penniger was always right behind Dhyan Chand continuously feeding him with the ball. They had together evolved a magnificent pattern of play and their forward and back passes were a nerve-shattering experience for the opponents. Keshev Dutt also played this role in later years with distinction but we do not have a player of their calibre in the ranks of modern Indian hockey.

The 1932 Olympic side is regarded as the best of all times. Not only did it have a goal average of 17.5 goals per match in the Olympic series, but the players were all past masters and combined perfectly well. The standard of hockey played in States was quite high and some of the State teams had the distinction of lowering the colours of the Olympic teams. India could those days field at least half a dozen sides of world beaters. This glorious reputation was splendidly maintained when we gave Germany an 8-1 drubbing in the finals of the Berlin Olympics in 1936.

What was the secret of this all-round superiority? The Indians had perfected the short passing game and their pattern of play utterly confused the defence, because two players were always there to beat one at any one time. Each of these two was capable of beating a host of defenders. It was an elusive combination of dribble and pass, with the defenders left guessing. Theirs was an artistic display, a neat placement of the ball being preferred to a rasping drive. They delighted in having fun with the goalkeeper before outwitting him completely. They played with complete understanding and were too nimble for the burly flat-footed foreigners. That was hockey, par excellence!

There has since been vast improvement in the standard of hockey the world over. Many countries have studied and improved upon our technique. The 12-year period from 1936 to 1948 was a period of lethergy for Indian hockey. The old stalwarts had laid aside the stick and the new ones lacked sufficient match practice of a high order. The partition of India in 1947, with some of the more reputed players in Pakistan, caused a grievous blow to Indian hockey. To make matters worse, the hockey authorities introduced physical exercises for the players so that they might develop brawn and urged the adoption of robust Continental standards in preference to the traditional mode of artistic display.

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These so-called reforms took the edge out of Indian hockey and our superiority started being rightfully questioned. We have scraped through 3 subsequent Olympics mainly because of the individual brilliance of stick experts like Kishenlal, Babu, Balbir, Udham and Bhola.

When Kishenlal and his man sailed for Wembley in 1948, it was widely doubted whether we would be able to hold his own in International hockey. After two easy encounters, India were hard pressed to beat Spain by 2-0. Pakistan surprisingly lost to Britain in the semi-final. With Kishenlal excelling in stickwork and earning bouquets for his leadership, India crashed through to the final by beating Holland 2-1. In the final, despite wretched playing conditions, Balbir seared in the 3rd minute followed by Jantsen. Balbir and Trilochan added 2 more goals after the breather. But for a lion-hearted display by the British goalkeeper Brodie, the tally of goals would have been much higher. The "Times" paid a glowing tribute to Indian hockey and remarked that India's passing and interpassing quite bewildered the British players.

K. D. Singh 'Babu' was a most worried man when he had to skipper the Indian side at the Olympic hockey tournament at Helsinki in 1952. Selection of players was not unanimous and the exhibition matches were most uninspiring. In the first match, the Onlympic team went down to a Madras eleven by a solitary goal. Wily Susainathen created history when—beating a crowded defence with beautiful stickwork, braving a hit on the face and unmindful of the loss of 2 front teeth, he was there at the right spot to receive a reverse pass and slam the all-imporrtant goal.

Once, however, the team left the Indian shores, they became an inspired lot. They beat Austria 4-0 and Britain 3-1. In the final against Holland, who had earlier knocked Pakistan, the Indian team functioned like a well-oiled machine and trounced their opponents by 6-0, 5 of the goals coming off Balbir's stick. The 6th goal was scored by Babu.

The final between India and Pakistan at Melbourne in 1956 was a war of attrition and nerves and India romped home to victory by the narrowest of margins. Balbir's magic was shorn of its glorious resplendence and India did not have any other player of class to become the spearhead of the attack. The title was saved but the rumblings of Tokyo and Rome were already heard. The days of India's unquestioned supremacy were now over. Balbir, the captain, was a veritable Hamlet before the final. To play or not to play was the question for him. He had an injured finger and the doctors had advised rest. Ultimately, he decided to play. It was a stroke of sheer wisdom. Psychologically, Balbir's presence inspired the Indian players and struck fear into the Pakistani ranks.

At Tokyo, in the Asian games, although we did not lose a game, yet Pakistan edged us out on the basis of a better goal average. At Rome they toppled India from off the hockey throne.

Today we sigh for Dhyan Chand, Roop Singh, Penniger, Dara and other stalwarts of the game. Elusive running with the ball blueing to the stick, boomerang passes, right-handed left side play, sure marksmanship, gathering of ball coming from any direction and in the most awkward manner, are now a thing of the past. The finer points of the game have been forgotten in the welter of robust tactics. It is high time these tactics are changed and players allowed to play their natural game. Only then can Indian hockey once again reach the pinnacle of glory. Indians have a genius for hockey and if their potentialities are exploited in the right manner they can again dazzle the world with their artistic and superb display which in the past earned for them the title of hockey wizards.

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THE CASE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Can They Deliver the Goods ?

By R. K. BARI,

(*Research Officer, Experimental Workshop cum Research Institute for Cottage Industries, Baruipur*)

IRVING's immortal hero, Rip Van Winkle slept for twenty years and found on waking that the world had changed beyond his recognition. So is perhaps the case of our cottage industries and handicrafts, with the only difference that the decades are to be counted by centuries in their case. For generations past everyone, excepting a few crazy idealists here and there, had tried their best to forget their existence; and now after centuries of neglect and isolation, these industries have been called upon to shoulder burdens, the magnitude of which would have caused even a Hercules to miss a few beats of his heart. The Planning Commission has been insistently advocating the development of this 'vital sector of our economy'; and the three successive Five Year Plans bears the imprint of the principle that the task of finding out alternative employment for the vast mass of unemployed and under-employed rural population be left to the care of this 'decentralised sector' —the cottage and village industries and handicrafts.

PUBLIC OPINION—FOR AND AGAINST

But the issues at stake or the implications involved, seldom receive the attention they deserve. Amongst the members of the public in general, two distinct shades of opinion are commonly met with. There is a school of thinkers who treat the matter with a derisive causualness verging upon apathy. They ascribe the origin of the scheme to the utopian fancy of some crazy faddists. The idea itself is to them nothing less than trying to put the wheels on the reverse gear and would ultimately prove suicidal in its consequences.

A comparatively small, but no less vociferous, section of the people views it from an altogether different angle. To them everything that smacks of sylvan antiquity is secred and should be preserved at all costs. The primitive character of these industries and their glorious records of the past have thrown a spell of romantic enchantment upon their vision and their fastidious sense of propriety would not allow even the forces of economics to have any say in the matter.

These two are the extremes, no doubt; but they fairly represent the most active and vocal section of public opinion. It goes without saying that both these dogmatic assertions are more visionary than what stands to reason. The former ignores the difficulties inherent in planning for industrialisation of an underd-developed economy —that of chronic dearth of capital and huge unemployed man-power; while the latter fails to realise that spoon-feeding might initially help their porteges to stand on their own, but its continuance beyond reasonable limit would only impair their health irrevocably. While the former wants to give a big leap forward and thus catch up with the West, without caring to attain their maturity in strength and skill or their abundance; the latter is loath to come down to brass tracks and let in rational judgement in their romantic sphere of enchantment.

The cause of cottage idustries has been advocated not only for its capital-sparing mode of production or its promise of greater employment facilities created per rupee of investment, but also for effecting a more equitable distribution of national income and for creating an atmosphere free from the inherent evils of large scale production.

But if we seriously want to do justice to ourselves as also to these age-old industries, we must take up their case as a purely economic proposition, shorn of all prejudices and pristine glories, and consider whether the aged limbs of the decrepit old man are strong enough to bear the burden, superimposed on his shoulders.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THESE INDUSTRIES

The present state of these industries does not hold out a very promising picture. During the few hundred years of their existence, their tools or technique of production had never undergone any significant or substantial change and the artisans engaged in the trade have been faithfully following the steps of their forefathers. Their empirical skill and attainments have earned quite a mame for them, but the lessons of amazing technological development in course of these centuries has been completely lost upon them. For hundreds of years their products had

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ever experienced any significant change and ave miserably failed to keep pace with changing times and strestes. As a result their products e being gradually ousted from the market by heap mill-made substitutes. To day, in spite of l his efforts and skill, the artisan cannot earn ven enough to feed himself, let alone his family d dependants. Disease and poverty, dirt and qualor have become his boon companions and is bliged to lead a life which, it would be an ggeration, to call substandard. Then again, e amount of labour put forth by these ill-fed d diseased workers is naturally much below e standard and this causes the already high st of production to go up further, creating ereby a vicious circle from which the artisan nnot hope to extricate himself.

Quite a few other factors have also lent our to this sordid picture. The artisan is no ger the monarch of his establishment as he is pposed to be. Circumstances, over which he d little control, have reduced his position to st of a mere wage-earner. In an overwhelming jority of cases, he is bound, hand and foot, to e financier or middleman, who advances the cessary capital, and looks after the marketing raw materials and finished products. Naturally e profits of the trade goes to him, while the san has to remain satisfied with his meagre ges. The spirit of co-operation or co-ordination, which hight have substituted the ctions in a better way, is still dormat or lly absent. On the marketing side again, lack any form of standardisation and the ignorance the artisans about the ever-changing market tion are responsible to a great degree for gradually—diminishing demand of the product these industries.

VELOPMENTAL NEEDS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

All these shortcomings and drawbacks would e to be taken into careful consideration for scheme of re-organisation and rehabilitation these industries. These long-neglected problems of such nature that they need have to be cked' from all sides and at the same time. delay would but lead to disastrous consecs. Yet, the two outstanding problems, which for immediate attention, are the development modernisation' of tools and technique of duction and a close-knit organisation for keting of raw materials and finished products.

During the last few years some state-sponsored marketing organisations have been floated and are doing some excellent work in exploring home and foreign markets. Though much remains to be done, the beginning shows a step towards the right direction.

But the crux of the problem is the technical development or modernisation of production-technique. The idea of technical or technological development of industries is nothing new. Almost all the amazing development of technology that we see to day owe their origin to the urge of the producer to produce more and at less cost. Attempts have been made all through the ages to improve the tools, technique or raw materials of production so as to effect a betterment either in quality or in quantity of production. The term 'development' or modernisation in respect of cottage industries and handicrafts also bears the same connotation; but in their case some extraneous considerations, totally foreign to the economics of production, determine to a great extent the mode and character of such development. These considerations are: (i) economic, (ii) sociological and even (iii) psychological.

By the very nature of these industries as is sought to be maintained, the economic side of their development should not be viewed in the light of economy of production alone. The much bigger question of economic interests of the artisans and the needs and standards of the country as a whole has a decisive voice on the issue. Introduction of suitable machineries to the job of the artisan more thoroughly and efficiently would present little difficulty. But that would nullify the very purpose of such improvement. It would disemploy the artisan himself, though it is mainly his interests that has been sought to be promoted by such development. It would be worth while to remember in this connection that the skill of the artisan is mainly derived from his empirical knowledge of the subject and he never had any experience of handling these machines.

Moreover, introduction of machinery in production tends towards automation and brings technological unemployment in its trail. But the economic reasons behind the move for revival of our cottage crafts are: enlargement of employment opportunities, specially in rural areas and a more equitable distribution of national income. These objectives clearly enjoin the principle that any suggested improvement in tools or technique

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of production should not result in technological unemployment to any great scale.

Then again, there comes the question of capital requirement for such improvement. The new capital required must have to be within the easy reach of the artisans, without which he wont be able to reap any benefit and would be obliged to play the second fiddle to the middleman or the financier. But the artisan who is placed in the lowermost starta of the socio-economic structure of society and all whose energies are being taxed to the extreme for keeping his bones together can hardly save enough to warrant any investment for improvement.

Secondly these industries are scattered over widely diffused rural areas. The rural character of these industries should be maintained not only for the fact that it is the only source of alternative employment to the rural people, who, it has been said, would have the largest share of benefit accruing from such development, but also for the reason that this sector of our industry, at least, may remain immune from the social evils that appear in the trail of large-scale localisation of big industries. Moreover, in an essentially decentralised society, which is our accepted ultimate goal, the industrial sector the major factor of national economy, must have to be decentralised, as far practicable; and the cottage and small industries provide the basis for such a structure. But the benefits of localisation—cheap power, transport facilities, specialised agencies for servicing, high standard of technical know-how,—are not commonly met with in villages. The development programme of village industries must take cognisance of these difficulties and limitations and must proceed in such a way, that the technical and scientific knowledge available in rural areas might be utilised to the fullest extent, and the technological innovations, proposed to be introduced..... might be within the range of competence of such available knowledge.

Thirdly there is the human element of the problem—the artisan, with his psychological complexes and inhibitions, and queer judgements. It is a common experience that in any attempt to introduce new tools or technique in his trade, the artisan's response is very unhelpful, if not totally hostile. The reason underlying such strange behavious is not very far to seek. Perhaps he bears a paternal love for his tools, which had been handed down to him by old masters. It might be that his mind is closed against the reception of any new ideas; but the reason that weighs with his judgement is, perhaps, that consciously or unconsciously, he has an apprehension in his mind of losing his job. He is aware of the fact that his empirical skill and knowledge, though sufficient in itself, might prove to be too inadequate to cope with the intricacies of complicated machinery. Lessons of history, past and present, have only helped to strengthen his belief that introduction of machinery in production almost invariably culminates in robbing the artisan of his profession. Therefore he clings to his tools, which earn a living for him, with an almost devotional love, and a hundred and one advantageous points crop up to his mind in favour of his own implements and this leads him to look down upon these 'new-fangled things' with derision and disfavour.

Prejudices, good or bad, are very hard to kill and it would certainly be a futile attempt to rid the artisan's mind of all his false notions and presentiments by heaping up developmental programmes on his unreceptive mind. At the same time, the artisan being the primary beneficiary of any such development programme, his reaction to such programmes is a decisive factor in determining its suitability. Therefore, to win his favour and enlist his active support and co-operation, the improvements suggested must not deviate to any great extent, either in form or in technique, from his present tools and implements, at least for some time to come.

These are the restraining features or limitations, that have made the developmental problem of cottage and allied industries amenable to no easy solution. Herein is presented an element of conflict between economy of production on the one hand and promotion of employment and economic interests of the artisan on the other. Viewed from the point of technological improvement, these different aspects of the problem seem to be almost irreconcilable factors; and this makes the matter more complicated and difficult. But what the aim should be is to bring about a harmony—to achieve the maximum of both ends.

No doubt, the situation is intriguing and calls for patient and careful attention. The only silver lining in this otherwise cloudy horizon is the growing awareness amongst the people at large of the importance of these industries in our national economy, and that itself is something to

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nd upon. But real power can only come from ner strength and vitality, in which these indus- ies are most deficient and of which, the infusion eatment from outside poses an intriguing roblem. On the successful solution of this puzzle hangs the future of these industries and there and there alone lies the last chance of survival of these industries as also the least chance of realisation of all the high hopes, entertained over their future.

THOREAU'S DISCOVERY OF INDIA

By SUKUMAR AZHICODE, M.A. (San.), M.A. (Mal.), B.COM., B.T.

HILE the East and its philosophy were resigned non-recognition and even denigration by the est during the last century, a few master-minds ceeded in ensuring for themselves a clear view the essential Orient. They hailed from that sitive group designated by Romain Rolland in foreword to Dr. Coomaraswamy's 'Dance of va', as "the dissatisfied children of Europe" ose watchword was, "we look forward to Asia". ith a reversal, as it were, of the old familiar cry the mariners, those sailors of thought ventured cry out "Eastward ho !" Not a few of those cted to set their eyes on the land of India for e promise of light. One so posited, sympathetically and expectantly, was Henry David Thoreau, e delightful and provocative author of that ique book 'Walden or Life in the Woods', hose death-centenary comes about this year.

Thoreau had the distinction to be contemporaneous with Emerson, the celebrated American edantist of the last century. They were, indeed, ins of the spirit. Their visions almost dovetailed. e latter's sway over Thoreau was abiding. ence, it behoves us not to be amazed to find him lover of India that he was. He took to the chan- ls of living, mundane and divine alike, marked the Indian seers of yore, as a duck would take water. His soul was immersed in it. His dis- very of India was wellnigh intuitious. His exe- sis of the Indian way of life is typified by so uch of intimacy, spontaneity and forthrightness at have inalienably come to be associated with uitive or spiritual awareness. His attempt at alization of the Indian spirit was not verbal, t ideal. It was quite unlike the sorry spectacle typical of some recent American tendencies— confining oneself to the easy task of springing scourses on India with such airy words as rahma, Indra, Gita and Ganges, in order to bolster the spurious pretensions of an unsubstantial dianism. Thoreau's Indianism was of another kind. True, he made citations, sometimes mildly garbled, from the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Puranas*. But those were venial sins. Even those failings, in his case "leaned to virtue's side", for he could yet impart to his writings the rare vintage of first-hand experience. There was nothing vicarious about them all. He carried the world before him, singlehanded and undaunted, by his striving to live the ascetic of the Indian type. A challenge, it was galling to the smug nineteenth century modernism, expressed through America —America, of all the nations !

Thoreau pitched the haven for conducting his experiment in essential living amidst the sylvan retreat on the banks of the Walden pond in Concord, Massachusetts. He had to lay out only a paltry sum—about $28—to erect a house to shelter him during his stay of two and odd years in the woods. Of course, his abode, "ten feet wide by fifteen long," with its garret and closet, its window and door, could hardly take pride in the claim of identity with the hoary hermitage, made of twigs and leaves, of the ancient Indian sages. A poor reproduction it turned out to be ! Even at that, it was a glorious attempt at approximation by an aspirant to an antique and exotic philosophy of life which was in his time aloof from and only half revealed to the civilized world. There, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife" and "along the cool sequestered vale of life" he emboldened himself to lead the hermit's life, bare in its animal comforts and shorn of all superficialities, but withal rich in meditation and idealistic transcendence. Wonderingly Emerson wrote of him : "He was a protestant *a outrance*, and few lives contain so many renunciations. He was bred to no profession, he never married ; he lived alone ; he never went to church ; he never voted ; he refused to pay a tax to the State ; he ate no flesh ; he drank no wine ; he never knew the use of tobacco; and though a naturalist, he used neither trap nor gun. He chose, wisely, to be the bachelor of thought and nature".

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He loved India to distraction. Therefore, he lived her life that was spiritual. We do get a frank confession in his sketch-book that he "loved so well the philosophy of India". In deference to that superb sentiment, he would stick to rice-eating; he would shun all gorgeous furniture; he would lead a bachelor's life; he would remain indigent outwardly and abundant inwardly. With a commendable insight into the genius of India, seldom operative in one so far away, the hall-mark of Indian Philosophy was located by him in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Perusing it, he burst out in hallelujahs. He vouched for the superlative permanence of the *Gita*. "How much more admirable the *Bhagavad Gita* than all the ruins of the East!" The supreme esteem he has for that Sacred Book of the East is found registered in many an endearing sentence in 'Walden', as, for instance, herein:

"In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonal philosophy of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, since whose composition years of the gods have elapsed, and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial; and I doubt if that philosophy is not to be referred to a previous state of experience, so remote is its sublimity from our conceptions. I lay down the book and go to my well for water, and lo! there I met the servant of the Brahmin, priest of Brahma and Vishnu and Indra, who still sits in his temple on the Ganges reading the *Vedas* or dwells at the root of a tree with his crust and water jug. I meet his servant come to draw water for his master, and our buckets as it were grate together in the well. The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges".

The *Gita* at heart and the woods around, Thoreau drank deep at the exuberant and unfailing fountain of contemplation. Contemplation is the Indian way. Thoreau's heart throbbed in unison with the foot-steps which centuries had heard in silence along that ageless way. He could thus evolve a practical approach to the understanding of *Karma Sannayasa*, the kernel of the Hindu *Dharma*. In this bold practicality of approach, he stands unrivalled. Even Emerson, I am sure, would be compelled to pay homage to Thoreau in this respect. In his stupendous experiment with life, he went the whole hog lonely and fearlessly. There was no half-way for him. His was a mode of full life saturated with serenity, intensity and austerity that solitude is ever pregnant with. A true paragon of asceticism he aspired to be. A sight indeed for the ancient Rishis to see! Oft-quoted are his words written in this connection: "I love to be alone. I never found the companion that was so companionable as solitude". How contemplation suffuses life with the tranquillizing strains of transcendental bliss is filmed by him graphically in the words folowing:

"I realised what the Orientals mean by contemplation and the forsaking of work. For the most part, I minded not how the hours went. The day advanced as if to light some work of mine; it was morning, and lo, now it is evening and nothing memorable is accomplished. . . . . This was sheer idleness to my fellow-townsmen, no doubt; but if the birds and flowers had tried me by their standard, I should not have been found wanting. A man must find occasions in himself, it is true."

He found occasions, grand and incomparable, in himself. In time-honoured Indian fashion he turned his back upon the deciduous appurtenances and the ginger-bread ware that clutter up human life. His invective against luxuries and the so-called comforts of life was that they were not only not indispensable to life, but positive impediments to the elevation of mankind. The wisest of all lands has ever lived a life simpler and more meagre than the poorest. Says he, in good faith: "The ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindu, Persian and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich in inward."

Contrast this splendidly colourful picture with his virulent caricature of an ordinary English Gentleman, as a traveller tottering under the burden of accumulated trumpery fit to be burned, such as bag, hand-box, trunk and bundle, which looked like "an enormous over which had grown out of the nape of his neck." All the force of his rugged wit and rebust wisdom is lavished upon this none-too-ravishing caricature, which breathes a hot stricture upon the materialistic principles that have cast a spell on modern life. The plethora of American material progress was set at naught by this frail man who was a philosopher, though hardly a professor of philosophy. In his mission he was heartened by his vision of India, denied to many of his soil, then and since. The main texts for his preaching were just these two aphorisms: "Simplify" and 'explore thyself'.

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texts these are that revise, with a ring of challenge, the subdued ecoes of ancient wisdom.

It is this unambiguous Indianism that is Thoreau's enduring chime. While, in fact, many of the wise Americans signally failed to fit in such of his statements as "men have become the tool of their tools" in their proper place, an Indian of the cast of Gandhiji has sought to interpret them in terms of modern conditions. American biographers like Stuart Sewel testify to this fact which is quite significant. It is said that the first work published by Thoreau in 1849, "A week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers", gained scant notice and the second, "Walden", which appeared in 1854, fared little better. His numerous articles and addresses published in magazines, among which was the now-famous tract on "Civil Disobedience", too, were cries in the wilderness. When, however, in the dawn of the twentieth century, Mahatma Gandhi saved the ideas of Thoreau which were jettisoned by America in the last century, the world regained a rich legacy which was more Indian than American. Thus Thoreau got rehabilitated as the spiritual son of India. Indeed, sensitive readers of 'Walden' will be struck with a haunting feeling that its author was at times fighting shy of a sense of nostalgia in being in America. Somewhere, in its pages is lurking an elusive innuendo that he was sick for a home that was elsewhere.

"The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges"—Thoreau is confident.

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WELFARE STATE IN INDIA : "WHY AND HOW"

By Dr. K. M. RASTOGI, M.A., B.Com., L.S.G.D., Ph.D.

In the Avadi Congress Session held in 1954, a resolution on the Socialistic Pattern of Society in respect of the country's future economic policy was adopted. But the idea dates back to the 26th January, 1950, the red letter day in our political, social and economic history when our Socialistic Constitution came into force. In 1954, the Government took the first step to translate into practice the directive principles of the Constitution to establish a Socialistic Pattern of Society in India. Our Constitution expressly lays down, "The state shall in particular direct its policy towards securing, (a) that the citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood, (b) that the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub-serve the common good, (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of the wealth and means of production to the common detriment."

No exact definition of the term Welfare State can be given. It is a relative term and varies from country to country according to its economic, social and politioal conditions. In simple terms it may be defined as a state which provides economic security to its citizens and certain social services relating to education, health, employment and the like. The concept of the Welfare State in India is quite different from the one prevalent in the West because of the vast difference in political, social and economic conditions of the East and the West. In the Western countries the excessive availability of luxurious commodities is a basis for determining the standard of living. A beautiful car, a bungalow, wine and the use of cosmatics may be listed as the essentials of life in the West, but not in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa which are plagued with poverty. We have cut the shackles of slavery after a long and arduous struggle carried on with indomitable courage and unfailing faith, but we have yet to achieve economic freedom and create a Welfare State. The successful completion of our two Five-Year Plans have failed to bring smiles on the faces of the people. The economic security of the masses is the cry of the hour. The creation of a salubrious atmosphere of living and the provision of the essentials of life to the teeming millions, who are ill-clothed and ill-housed, are the things we sorely need. We have rightly adopted the democratic process of economic planning for the social and economic reconstruction of India. It is the duty of our Government to ensure

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adequate food, housing, and clothing to the masses.

Central Government Socialism vs. Local Government Socialism

The appointment of the Mahalonobis Committee by the Central Government last year to locate the whereabouts of ten year's developed economy, as demanded by the Parliament, is an evidence of failure of the Government to get for the masses good requisities of their well being. Rising prices, (though inevitable in a developing economy) decreasing of real income, food adulteration, character crises, and cheep politics, all these have agonised the people, especially, those in the have-not class. I do not question the propriety of the Socialistic Pattern of Society in letter and spirit, but the building of a new India seems like a pilgrims' painful progress rather than an exciting journey. The economic scream of the people cannot be ignored anymore. The prevailing confusion about the Socialistic Pattern of Society has adversely affected the technique of economic growth, the future of democratic planning and the survival of individual economic and political freedom in India. The ruling party has not hasitated in admitting the Snail's pace of socialism and has taken the lead in forming a "forum for labour, planning and socialistic growth." The forum is commonly known as the forum for socialistic action. This may be taken as a tangible evidence of the restlessness within the country about the Socialistic Pattern of Society leading to the establishment of a Welfare State. The forum is pledged to create 'a climate favourable to the acceptance of socialistic policies and programmes.' It is a step in the right direction, but at this late stage the attempt to create the climate is a sad commentary on the actions of the Government. It will be in the fitness of things to investigate into the causes for such a state of affairs in India. The main reason is that, during the first and second plan periods the formation and execution of big projects have led to their normal consequences. They take years—sometimes many years—to complete. The period of waiting is a period of strain and for a poor country like India, it is highly taxing. Incomes were being distributed all this time to the workers engaged in the construction and as these incomes were spent the new incomes were generated, but nothing could be done to enlarge the production of goods on which these incomes could be spent. An artificial parity was maintained between incomes and the flow of goods during this period by heavy imports of goods from foreign countries, which created its own problems. Deficit financing, shortage of food supply, shaky morale and spiritual pauperism, further aggravated the situation. Above all, Central Government Socialism ignored the most important thing, Local Government Socialism. In this way, socialism appears to have been imposed from above, and so it failed to give the people their own socialism. This killed all enthusiasm and individual initiative of the people and gave birth to authoritarianism.

The other important aspect of socialism, i.e., social services relating to education, health, employment, and salubrious conditions of living, which are a vital social need; could not be properly attended to. Of late the concept of decentralisation of administration through Panchayat Raj has been accepted. But the citizens supplied with adequate food, clothing and shelter will not be happy unless adequate facilities for education, protection of health, (curative and preventive), employment, better roads, pure drinking-water and the like are assured.

True socialism in a country like India, which is vast in area, huge in population and largely inhabited in villages, plagued with poverty, can be brought about only through local bodies. The economic activity of local bodies seems to be the best way in which people can participate in an organisation meant for their own development. This has some economic advantages which cannot be lightly ignored. A good proportion of small works, the kinds of projects that are suitable for being undertaken by local bodies, are a distinct economic advantage in a development plan. In reality Local Self-Government is the nursery of democracy; it promotes public spirit and civic sense among the people and teaches the people lessons of self-help, self-respect and self-reliance.

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Decentralisation is the key-note of a government wedded to the policy of Socialist Pattern of Society. In a Welfare State the duties and responsibilities of a local government will continue to be multiplied. In the developing economy the size of the public sector will expand and many of the functions of Central or State Governments may be delegated to the local bodies. Mahatma Gandhi repeatedly emphasised that, if the local administration is run with efficiency, the efficiency of Central and State administration would also grow up. It is obvious that local administration and local problems cannot receive that attention of the National Government in a country like India as is essential; this can only be attended to through local institutions. Moreover, our country has an ancient tradition of solving local problems through Panchayats.

Role of Local Finance

Local finance is of a vital importance in bringing about real socialism in the country. The primary object of local finance is not profit, but service. In an organised society individual efforts are too weak, ignorant, unsteady and intermittant to be entrusted with social services like the provision of roads, public safety, education, health protection and other human needs; they can only be secured by co-operative efforts. Apart from the vital urgency of the above-mentioned services, economies are obtainable by group and quasi-monopolistic activities. Moreover, an element of of compulsion enters through the exercise of political power by the majority section of society—the poor and the comparatively poor. Here the general motive of equalising material welfare and social opportunities through local taxation, local expenditure, has a direct bearing on social conditions and is the most effective means of bringing about social reforms. Social services of the local bodies though equally open to all members of the civic community are actually availed of in different proportions by the poorer section of society. If the local bodies follow an enlightened policy of public interest, the benefit received by the 'have-not class' would be greater than the burden imposed upon or borne by them and in consequence of the benefit received they will be better able to bear the strain for the struggle for existence in our individualistic society. The increase and multiplication of services rendered by a local body would improve the ability and energy of all the sections, but particularly of those who would in the absence of such collective efforts be unable to provide for themselves that degree of human comfort which every human being ought to be eniitled to as a matter of his civic birth right. Moreover, by such an increase of services rendered to the community by its collective organisation (the local body) as well as emphasis on service as distinguished from gain or profit (which is a hallmark of the individualistic organisation) the local body would be effecting an imperceptible but immense change in the very outlook of the people and so silently educating them out of individualism into collectivism. It is an established fact that local expenditure can, to a great extent, bring a true socialism in India.

A local body serves the citizens from the cradle to the grave. It may improve living conditions in a dynamic manner. It may bring about educational and sanitational development. By rendering important services of immediate need, it contributes its unique share to the socio-economic development of a country which goes a long way towards establishing a Welfare State. By increasing the real income of the less fortunate members of society and by creating a salubrious atmosphere for living; which are necessary for civilized existence, a local body lessens the evil of economic disparity and puts the people in a better psychological position to work better and save more.

Financial Decentralisation

The welfare of the people depends on the degree of efficiency with which local bodies discharge their responsibilities. The success of the local bodies is judged by the smooth working of the local government in the country; and the successful and efficient functioning of the local government in its turn depends on the availability of adequate funds to be spent for the promotion

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of the welfare of the inhabitants. Adequacy of income is of fundamental importance for national reconstruction and for the achievement of the goal of the Socialistic Pattern of Society or the Welfare State. Local revenue is like the blood of the body, because its circulation means life. Similarly, continuous adequate revenue is a justification for the existence of the local body. The existing economic disparity cannot be done away with by redistributing the wealth of the local inhabitants in accordance with the "Maximum Social Advantage" doctrine but by the local body by substantially taxing those articles which are considered disasterous to the public health and moral.

Financial Problems of the Local Bodies

No administration is possible without money. Revenue is the first essential of the Government. With the expansion of the area of operation of the local bodies and finally, with administrative decentralisation, the importance of financial operations has tremendously grown up. The old functions of the local bodies are expanding and new functions are being added. The local bodies in India have been shoudered with the heavy resposibility of providing human necessities, but unfortunately they have been deprived of their legitimate sources of income. The financial condition of local bodies in India is not satisfactory and paucity of funds is a greatt hindrance in fulfilling their elementary obligations. They are not only in dire financial strait but are also facing a number of financial problems such as the problems of taxation, financial, administration, collection and assessment.

A sound system of local finance rests on the stable and strong foundation of local taxation. Taxation is the main source of the income of local bodies throughout the world. But the local bodies are reluctant to exploit even those taxes (which are permitted to them under the various Acts) on account of various political and economic reasons. There is also an encroachment on the local taxation either by State Government or by Central Government, such as entertainment tax, passenger tax, the terminal tax on goods, bator tax, and others which logically belong to local bodies. The political parties serve their own narrow ends and poison the minds of tax payers. The only role of the political parties is to dole out opium to the people by making all kinds of promises. But these parties in the Councils of the local bodies act like those undutiful mothers who, instead of feeding their babies, get busy in their own make-up. The political parties clamour for power rather than strive for welfare work. The public keeps pressing for more and better services, but each party boss demands economy and insists that taxes be kept down. It is very interesting to note that during these days of populations and demonstrations; one deputation of the citizens led by some political party will call upon the local authority and urge for better and efficient services and for more public conveniences. Its arguments are convincing. This deputation is quickly followed by another deputation headed by the rival political party of the city tax payer's association. Its members, in an equally convincing way, are against new taxes or higher taxes of any kind. This clearly shows how people undermine the very roots of democracy to gain cheap popularity. An excessive interference of the leaders in the day-to-day administration and execution has slacknened the executive.

The yield from taxes not only depends on multiplicity of taxes but also on their proper assessment. The assessment of taxes or the valutation of the properties is a highly skilled job and requires specialised training and experience of a high order on the part of the assessor. The local bodies have failed to employ well qualified and highly paid assessors, which has caused a considerable loss of revenue. The financial position of the local authorities in India has been also jeopardised on account of loose financial administration which has resulted in the mounting up of uncollected arrears. The meagre salary of the staff, undesirable interference by the political parties in the executive work and lack of character may be included among the various causes leading to such a state of

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airs. Everybody wants to supplement income by corrupt means.

The history of the last one decade is l of attempts to alleviate or eradicate ss poverty in widely differing conditions economic, political and social develop- nt. Quicker progress is needed on all es if we want to avoid loss of faith in mocratic Socialism. India is the largest mocracy of the world and is a hope for nascent democracies of Asia and Africa. e decision of the Congress Executive to effect that the Panchayat elections will be contested on a non-party basis is a healthy step towards socialism. It is suggested that the financial policy of the Government be reoriented for this purpose. List II of the Constitution should be suitably amended. A more rational and decentralised financial policy should also be adopted. The productive and legitimate sources of income of the local bodies should be transferred to them from Central or State revenues. This will create enthusiasm among the people, a sense of financial responsibility and local initiative.

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LOVE IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT POETRY

By P. S. SHARMA

ve or eroticism—the divinely inspired ssion—has always been one of the domi- nt themes of literature. And the flower of otic poetry has always bloomed in its ful- ss around woman. The classical Sanskrit etry is no exception.

There is comparatively a dearth of love- ems in early Sanskrit literature. Ashwa- osh, the earliest known writer in Kavya le, generally wrote quasi-religious poems t in one of his works figures a courtesan d a rogue as chief characters. These aracters could not have been introduced erely for religious edification. In the thor of the Nanda-Sundari, the ascetic ways gets the better of the romanticist d begins to sermonise :

"Passionate women cause intoxication ; men without passion cause fear. Since ey bring only fear and trouble, why uld one resort to them."

He goes on to administer a warning :

"In the words of women there is honey. their hearts, there is deadly poison."

He would not, however, go as far as artrihari who repeated the above half se and suggested its practical application the other half :

"Hence doth one drink from those lips
And strikes at that heart with the fist."

The classical Sanskrit have adored impersonalised love describing its various phases in self-standing stanzas. They have drawn miniature pictures not of Laure or Beatrice but of young and beautiful women in general. Thus they do not achieve an all-absorbing ecstasy but always retain a balanced frame of mind and break forth into exquisite blossoms of fancy. Besides that, they are adept at giving refreshing touches of sparkling wit and humour.

This poetry flourished under the patronage of courts and appreciation of Nagaraks or Rasiks.

Phases of emotion or erotic situations were captured in well knit stanzas and given daintily finished forms. Love was rarely described in long narratives, the honourable exceptions being Meghdoot of Kalidas and Geet Govindam of Jaidev.

Haal Shatavahan in his Saptashati fascinates with the naturalness and bon homie of the little elegant cameos of thought and feeling.

The simple pathos of a young girl's pangs of separation from her lover is vividly captured in the following couplet :

"The poor girl wept as long as she was able to weep ; she thinned as far as her body would be thin ; she sighed as long as her sighs prevailed."

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The charm of association of an object with the beloved is well depicted by Amaru, "Let alone the attainment of her impetuous embrace, even wandering about the road on the outskirts of her house brings infinite delight."

Fine touches like the one given below are profuse in Sanskrit poetry :

"On whichever part of her body one's eyes fall they remained fixed there. No one has seen the beauty of her whole person."

Sanskrit poets are well known for their sly humour, gay abandon and playful banter. Their heroine pretends to be bitten by a scorpion and thus manages to visit the Vaidyaraj she has illicit relations with. The youthful wife is offended at the disloyalty of the husband who falls at her feet and seeks to be forgiven. Meanwhile the little boy spoils the effect by riding on papa's back and making our heroine burst into laughter. At another place, the witty maiden chastises her fickle lover, "From her face to your face, from your face to my feet, the **tilak** has come to a sorry plight in its travel from place to place!" A woman resorting to her rendezvous is warned not to go out on a dark night as her beauty would then shine all the more brilliantly.

Our ancient heroines were ready to make delicate addresses even to passing strangers. One such damsel addresses a traveller invitingly, "The night is dark, my husband is away from home, the house is empty; pray come, O traveller, to guard me from robbers."

Amaru has less range than Haal but strikes deeper and more poignant notes. Anandvardhan speaks of his verses as "containing the veritable ambrosia of poetry." He heralds in his Shatak a new era of "fineness of conception, depth of expression and delicacy of thought."

He has drawn a graceful and true picture of a Mughda Nayika—adolescent and artless maiden—who is rebuked by her companions for being too agreeable to her lover. She replies with simple naivette, "Speak low, lest my lover who abides in my heart should hear what you say."

The reaction of a newly wedded wife to her husband's addresses is expressed in the following words :

"When he touches her garment, she bends her head in shyness, when he seeks a sudden embrace, she moves away her limbs in modesty ; when her eyes fall on her laughing companions she is unable to speak ; at the first jest, the heart of the newly wedded wife is oppressed with bashfulness."

Bhartrihari gives an honest picture of a genuine emotion "When we see not our beloved, our one longing is for sight ; when seen, our one desire is the joy of embrace ; embraced, our one prayer is that our bodies may be made one."

For Bhartrihari, either the life of an ascetic or that of pleasure. For him there is no **via media.**

"Either the beautiful woman or the cave of the mountains ! Either youth, or the forest ! An abode either on the sacred banks of the Ganges or in the delightful embrace of a young woman."

Nonetheless, he regards woman as a hindrance in the journey of life. "The path across the ocean of life would not be long, were it not that women, these mighty unfordable streams, hinder the passage."

He depicts Love God as a fisherman, men as fishes, women as bait, line of rod as lips and says that we are being constantly baked on the fire of desire."

There can possibly be no greater denunciation of woman than that contained in the following rendering of a Sanskrit stanza :

". . . woman is the whirlpool of doubt, the universe of indiscipline, the abode of all daring, the receptacle of all evil, the deceitful soil of manifold distrust, the box trickery and illusion, a poison coated with ambrosia, a hindrance to heaven and a way to the depths of hell."

Sanskrit poets do not feign Platonic love, for them passion has its own excuse for being. They do not indulge in pleasing abstractions and ideal glamour, they idolise reality and have given exasperatingly authentic accounts of the natural yearning for flesh and intoxication of the senses. Kalidas in his Kumarsambhav has not spared even Parvati, the divine consort of Lord Shiva, from a glorious description of her body beautiful. Shridhar in his Damayanti-

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shadh devoted a full canto edifying love sex appeal. The Sanskritists do not like woman. They prefer a girlish, slim, yet l-developed figure.

Kalidas goes in raptures over the hair young maidens, "In the hair of young sels, unbrained, perfumed and still with water and decorated with even- Jasmine, the God of Love regained his ngth which had been diminished by the rture of the spring."

In Kshamatilak, the miniature picture love huntress is well-painted. "Truly maid is a huntress ; her brows the bow, ces darts, and my heart the deer they upon."

Kalidas finds it difficult to describe ptivating smile, "If a flower were con- ed in a fresh twig, or a pearl in a sparent coral, then they might have ated her fair smile spreading halfway her red lips."

Kalidas, like other classical poets, fers a full-orbed bosom supported on der limbs. He compares them to a pair drums. "In my mind, the belief is firm t the Love God after conquering the 3 worlds placed his pair of drums upside down."

The Sanskrit poets have a weakness for heavy hips and buttocks though they are not an essential ingredient of beauty.

Bhavabhuti has given a very down to earth description of Sita in Ram's words, "The touch of Sita's embrace, pleasing and cool as yellow sandal, moon and dew, hinders me by stealing my consciousness, ever and anon."

Jaidev climaxes the art and technique of love by creating a picturesque and musical effect. His poetry approximates to erotic mysticism.

Women poets did not lag behind in erotic descriptions. For instance, one Vikatnitamba says, "When he touched my garment, it dissolved of its own accord, the chord for a while lay on the loosened girdle, and slipped on to my buttocks."

One Lakshmanacharya in his Chandikuchpanchashika has written 50 amorous stanzas on Chandi's breats. In classical Sanskrit poetry, we come across many such dubious amorous situations which defy all mystic or spiritual interpretation.

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IMPACT OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS ON PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By V. LINGAMURTI,
Head of the Department of Political Science, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram

ia in the second half of the 20th Cen- y is distinguished by the building up of emocratic republic through the method planning. Neither democracy nor plan- g is new to the world. But the unique- s in India's effort lies in her attempt to elate the two. Is this a rope-trick for ch India is noted in the West ? Can ocracy and planning be reconciled ? e new Constitution of India stands not y for parliamentary democracy but also planning. The two cardinal principles parliamentary democracy are the emacy of parliament and the exist- e of a cabinet "guiding parliament and at the same guided by parliament."[1] The most significant feature of the parliamentary system, in the words of Bagehot, lies in "the action and reaction between the ministry and the parliament."[2] These vital principles are embodied in our constitution. In the very opening sentence of the Constitution it is clearly stated that India is to be a democracy and in Article 74 (1) and (3) it is further clarified that India is to be a parliamentary democracy. Item 20 in the Concurrent List, viz., "Economic and Social Planning" signifies India's faith in the method of planning. The progress of parliamentary democracy through the Five-Year Plans is thus in accordance with the letter and spirit of our

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constitution. The ideal . democratic planning is expressed in no uncertain terms in the First Five-Year Plan. In Chapter VIII, it is stated, "the concept of planning has hitherto been associated largely with conditions in which a group has gathered in its hands, all the power to control and regiment the life of a community and to command and direct its material and man-power resources. The people become partners in the Plan and are associated closely with its formulation as well as its implementation from stage to stage."[3] The Five-Year Plans are closely associated with our parliamentary democracy and it is this association that is agitating the minds of some people. Are the Plans strengthening our democracy or undermining it?

There is a section of people who hold the view that planning and democracy are incompatible, for a highly centralised administration is the **sine qua non** of planning. It is for this reason that large-scale planning was hitherto adopted only in dictatorships. The Five-Year Plans were first conceived and worked in the U.S.S.R. Plans give rise to such technical and complicated problems both in industry and administration that the representative assemblies can hardly deal with them. This will, it is said, develop among the people a psychosis of dependence on experts and contempt and hatred towards the popular assemblies. "Parliaments come to be regarded as ineffective talking shops unable or incompetent to carry out the tasks for which they have been chosen."[4] Further, planning widens the sphere of the Government to such a great extent that the State will become a Leviathan exercising rigid control over every aspect of the people's life. Economic liberty and freedom of enterprise become significant by their absence. "The all embracing plan must be enforced by arbitrary administrative decision, so the rule of law will disappear. Consumers' sovereignty the free choice of occupation and the right to independent moral judgments must all be sacrificed."[5] Such line of thinking leads to the inevitable conclusion that economic planning, however, indicates that it is not synonymous with dictatorship. As long as a complete budget of production laying down the output of every commodity for years ahead is not imposed on the community and as long as the central authority is under the ultimate control of the people, planning does not endanger democracy. "We use the term economic planning to indicate a principle of administration and not an inflexible budget of production."[6]

In the modern industrialised society, planning far from being inimical to democracy is essential to its growth. Economic inequalities, monopoly and unemployment, the concomitants of the Machine Age, are the most formidable enemies of democracy and they can be overcome by no other method than planning." Planning has in fact become necessary because of the size of society and the complexity of the new techniques which are perpetually appearing.—Planning is necessary whenever technique goes beyond the human scale."[7] It is for this reason that even defenders of traditional liberalism like Walter Lippman and Prof. Fisher have conceded state control over certain fields. In fact in the modern society where Liassez Faire economy has become outmoded, 'we are all planners now." There is no country in the world to-day which adheres totallly to private enterprise. During the period between the two World Wars while the U.S.S.R. adopted planning on a large-scale, the U.S.A. adopted it on a limited scale. In the latter certain enterprises like Hydro-electric power, Atomic Energy and manufacture of fertilisers are nationalised. During 1945 to 1951 the Labour Party in Britain adopted planning on a considerable scale and "about 20 per cent of the economy was nationalised."[8]

Planning by a Central authority has proved advantageous in several ways. Under an unplanned and cometitive arrangement of industry the individual persons take into account only a fraction of the output and investment and so will not be able to forsee the results which a central authority can. So "the decisions taken in an unplanned economy must be short sighted, irrational, self-frustrating

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d socially disastrous."[9] Individual enter-se leads to "blind scrambling." It is y a Central Planning Authority that establish proper relation between ance and production. In a run away akish economy subject to the pulls of the rket, speculations and manipulations, the edom of the common man is next to possible in the absence of state planning. is well remarked that freedom under e enterprise "is the freedom of the weeds t grow wild a neglected garden; it is freedom of the whale that swallows the aller fish around."[10] What is lost under nning is the freedom of certain indivi-als to exploit and to make vast sums of ney.

It is sheer madness to contend that parliamentary democracy can be built a strong and stable foundation without nning. This view has been expressed hout any reservation by all sections of inion in India. In the matter of plann-the Socialist, the Praja-Socialist and mmunist parties want to go a step fur-er than the Congress party. Even the atantra Party which is vehemently acking the Five-Year Plans as the greatest anace to parliamentary democracy, admits at "in regard to the need for some measure planning of our economic affairs there be no dispute."[11]

It is feared that our Five-Year Plans are e greatest threat to our democracy, for ey are supposed to have some their roots Moscow. It is sarcastically remarked that r Five-Year Plans are like a Russian child nceived in the Indian womb. They are sulting in a "Command Economy" and atism. Highly cenralised statist planning d parliamentary democracy cannot co-ist. Even Prof. Galbraith, a champion of anned economy expressed his opposition the centralised nature of our plans. He erred to the frustration and resentment t by competent executives in the state ned steel plants over "the centralisation purchasing personnel and financial deci-ns in New Delhi."[12] Political and eco-mic freedom is gradually eclipsed by the er widening sphere of the state. "No per safeguards or courts of law can pre-nt the surrender of this political and economic freedom when there is only one employer, viz., the state, only one trader, the State Trading Corporation and only one trade union, the Goverment's Labour Front."[13] In the name of the plans the freedom of the factory labourer, of the peasant and of the consumer is growing narrower. The various ordinances that are issued from time to time, the continued re-enactment of the Preventive Detention Act and the creation of more and more special courts are some instances to illustrate how our parliamentary democracy is threatened by the Five-Year Plans.

Such arguments appear to be theoritically sound. But we have to consider the odds against which India is struggling. Judged against the historical background it becomes clear that the Five-Year Plans are greatly helpful in building up our parliamentary democracy. In the European countries like Britain, indusrial revolution preceded democracy. Moreover, they had no competition from highly dustrialised states and so most countries could progress under free enterprise. But India has to fight against odds in both internal and external fields. In the internal field she has to deal with the devastating poverty, ill-health and ignorance of millions of people and in the external field she has to compete with nations that have made phenomenal progress in science and technology. Such compelling circumstances show that the public sector plays a vital role in the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. They do not endanger our parliamentary democracy for the necessary safeguards are taken to check the growth of statism, such as adult suffrage, free elections, independent judiciary and an independent audit system.

One of the essential elements of parliamentary democracy is that the people must have the power and authority to decide from time to time their own affairs. It is contended in some quarters that the Five-Year Plans are such long term plans involving huge expenditure that the party in power today is imposing a number of serious commitments on posterity so that the future generation can hardly enjoy any democratic freedom. The right of the people to determine important matters through free

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discussion and debate which is the essence of parliamentary democracy will not be enjoyed by posterity. "The votes of future generations of adults and their elected representatives are necessarily extinguished or so overladen with previous commitments as in effect to amount to their disfranchisement."[14] It must, however, be said that it is neither possible nor desirable for any parliament to legislate for the present only without affecting the future. In fact wisdom lies in the realisation that there is a tomorrow and one must work for it. The first two Five-Year Plans were intended to prepare the necessary ground for the Third Five-Year Plan during which period India is expetced to enter the "take off" stage. The nature of the two succeeding plans will depend upon the success of the Third Plan. In the life of a nation twenty-five years do not form too long a period. In view of the tragic poverty of the people and the rapid growth of population it cannot be said that our plans are unduly large in their size and magnitude. Dr. V. K. R. V, Rao well observed at Ooty Seminar on the Third Five-Year Plan that looked at from the employment needs, the rate of increase in per capita income and the rate of increase in certain individual items, our plans must be said to be moderate. It is only by achieving the targets fixed in our plans that strong and sure foundations can be laid for our democracy. Parliamentary democracy can never thrive amidst poverty, starvation and unemployment.

The Five-Year Plans are said to be reducing our parliamentary democracy to a formality. Under any system of large-scale planning there is absolute need for a planning committee to assist the Cabinet and there is the danger of such a committee becoming an "inner cabinet" or "super cabinet." "If there were such a development the essential nature of the democratic system would be affected, because the full responsibility of the whole cabinet to parliament and ultimately to the electorate would be affected."[15] The Swatantra Party whose programme constitutes the spear head of the attack on the Five-Year Plans is highly critical of the part played by the Planning Commission. The Party Manifesto says, "the party will seek to restore the real and effective supremacy of parliament and the people by abolishing the much boosted Planning Commission which has tended in effect to bring into being a non-responsible super-government."[16] Sri K. M. Munshi forcefully upholds that "parliament, in fact, does not govern the country. The nominated super-cabinet, the Planning Commission, does the supervision, control and direction of the government of India and owes no responsibility to parliament." This danger to parliamentary democracy is expressed not only by party leaders but also by non-party men. Mr. Asok Chanda described the "Planning Commission as an "Economic Cabinet" both for the union and for the states and makes the observation that the scope of its activities tends to "embrace functions and responsibilities which must both traditionally and otherwise belong to the constituted government."[17] Such a position is considered to be inconsistent with the cabinet form of government. The composition of the Planning Commission as well as its position in the administrative setup clearly indicates that the danger to our parliamentary demorcracy from the Planning Commission is quite exaggerated. The Members of the Planning Commission are no other than promient members of the parliament and the cabinet. The chairman of the Planning Commission is the Prime Minister himself and such a body can never be a threat to democracy. Moreover, during the last decade several measures were taken to uphold the supremacy of parliament. The parliament has developed its own rules of procedure and appointed committees which play the role of the opposition party in checking the executive. "The whole structure of parliamentary committees reflects and at the same time reinforces this mood of watchfulness over the government."[18] Recently the Lok Sabha proposed to set up a fifteen member joint committee of both houses of parliament to exercise effective control and supervision over public undertakings."[19] Such developments clearly indicate that our parliament is not superseded by the Planning Commission. In fact the real danger to our parliamentary democracy lies not in the presence of the Planning

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Commission but in the absence of a vigorous opposition party.

Another danger which planning is supposed to produce is the ascendency of bureaucracy. In every modern state the civil servants are playing a vital role. As Finer observed, "the civil servant is in short, policy adviser, policy promoter and legislator." The importance of the civil servant in the Indian polity has become immense with the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. The dominant role assigned to the public sector in both the industrial and non-industrial fields has left the Minister at the mercy of the civil servant. The rapid increase in the enterprises undertaken by the Government has necessitated an army of officers. Due to the absence of the required number of experienced personnel, civil servants having hardly five or six years of service are promoted and placed in key positions. This factor partly explains the inefficiency found in the administrative machinery to-day. Coupled with administrative inefficiency are corruption and red tapism—all the outcome of large-scale planning. These evils are shaking the faith of the common man in parliamentary democracy. Though in an underdeveloped economy a certain amount of corruption is inevitable, stern action has to be taken to put down all cases of corruption with the help of men of integrity like Sri C. D. Deshmukh. It may also be noted that corruption attributed to the civil servants pales into insignificance when compared with the corruption which is rampant in the political circles. A corrupt democracy can never survive for long. The Five-Year Plans which have given rise to wide spread corruption may at the same time provide the remedy by improving the economic standard of the people and by awakening social consciousness among them.

Does economic planning inevitably lead the country in the direction of "Orwell's 1984"? Is the "Brave New World" of Huxley the inevitable corollary of our plans? Planning no doubt accelerates the tempo of centralisation and increases the power of the State. But this need not imperil democracy. As Huxley himself observed, planning turns into dictatorship only when it is carried to excess. In fact any thing in excess will prove dangerous. India's plans are not of the monolithic type and they are based on the principle of coexistence of public and private sectors. There is no inherent contradiction between planning and freedom. As Mrs. Barbara Wooton argues, a happy and fruitful marriage can be arranged between freedom and planning. In fact the progress of our society depends on our ability to reconcile democracy with planning and this can be achieved through decentralisation. During the first two plan periods the Central Planning Commission occupied a highly dominant position and the local bodies had little share in planning. Such a system, as Mr. Asoke Mehta rightly observed, "showed the danger of apoplexy at the centre and anaemia at the extremes."[20] This danger is overcome to a large extent under the Third Five-Year Plan due to the introduction of Panchayati Raj. In the preparation and implementation of the Five-Year Plans the village and panchayat is assigned an important share. It must prepare a village plan based upon the local needs and resources and mobilise public support for the plan."[21] With the extension of Panchayati Raj throughout India, the plans will truly become people's plans. Planning through democratic decentralisation no doubt requires great interest, enlightenment and co-operation among the people. At present these conditions are largely absent in our country. But as people gain experience in the working of democratic institutions, the obstacles that lie in the way of our parliamentary democracy can be overcome.

To sustain the faith of the people in our parliamentary democracy a few modifications may be effected in the priorities fixed in the Third Plan. In a dictatorship the planners can afford to give top priority to heavy industries at the expense of consumption goods, for the people do not have the freedom to overthrow the government. But in a democracy if the people are not provided with food and clothing, they may lose faith in democracy itself. Hence it is essential to give greater priority to agriculture. The small-scale industries also require greater encouragement than what is allotted

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in the Third Plan. At present a little more than one-fifth of the investment on large-scale industry is devoted to the small-scale industries. Rural unemployment can be solved to a great extent only by the improvement of small-scale industries.[22] Starvation and unemployment are the greatest enemies of democracy and they can be overcome by the improvement of agriculture and small-scale industries.

Both our plans and parliamentary democracy require for their success the building up of "human capital." As Pandit Nehru remarked, "in the final analysis in any country the only basic resource is the trained human being. Almost everything follows from that—The most important thing becomes education at all grades and stages." Yet it is regrettable to note that education is not given a fair deal in the Third Five-Year Plan.

While it is necessary to have a re-appraisal of the plan priorities, it is equally necessary to have a proper understanding of the meaning and nature of parliamentary democracy. A stage has been reached when it has become crystal clear that democracy is doomed to fail unless it solves the economic problems of the modern times. Hence, planning has become a significant feature of modern democracy. In this age of science and technology the Benthamite concept of democracy has to give place to a new theory of democracy which is in the nature of "half science" and "half democracy." As modern administration has become highly complex and technical, the traditional ideas of parliamentary democracy have to be revised. The supremacy of parliament which was considered as the touch-stone of parliamentary democracy is now neither desirable nor possible. The parliament should not be peevish in its relations with the executive. The multifarious problems created by modern science and the technical legislation of the modern state require the assistance of the civil service. So the increasing part played by the Civil servants far from being a danger to democracy is essential to it.[23] The Civil servant should no more be looked at with suspicion and prejudice, for he is as much a patriotic son of India as any elected member of Parliament. Though Parliament should remain supreme its powers and functions should be confined only to policy making. Such an understanding of modern democracy leads us to the conclusion that the Five-Year Plans are not at all a menace to our parliamentary democracy, nay, they alone can contribute to its success.

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21. Refer the author's article on *Panchayati Raj in A.P.* Modern Review April, 1961.
22. Refer Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy's article on "Neglect of small scale Industries Bars India's Progress." *The Sunday Standard* November 12, 1961.
23. Refer the author's article on "Dynamics of Democracy"! *Parliamentary Studies.* February, 1960.

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THE LATE SCULPTOR ROY CHOUDHURY

By M. R. SEN

In the death of Mr. Hironmoy Roy Choudhury which melancholy event took place at Lucknow recently, India has lost a great sculpter. Mr. Roy Choudhury was an example of a perfect artistic balance and his grasp of the details of his art was complete. As a sculpter he had something to say and looking at most of his works, we find he said it with all the vigour, honesty and forcefulness of a vital personality. Indeed, he had the knack of getting down to essentials.

It is a pity that Mr. Roy Choudhury, during his life, could not make a studio of his own. The reason was poverty. I met him at his Lucknow residence many times and in the course of talks, he told me that his life was incomplete. He once said: "My work is incomplete. I could do better if I had a studio of my own, or if I received some encouragement from the people and the Government. I know bronze casting but I am unable to practise it without a foundry." Another thing that grieved Mr. Roy Choudhury was when he was asked to retire without pension when he was still full of energy and creative potentiality.

Mr. Roy Choudhury was born in 1884 in a village in Khulna. His father, the late Krishna Bhuson Roy Choudhry, was also an artist. Krishna Bhuson had no specialised training yet he showed exceptional merit in painting, engraving, wood workmanship and ivory work. He also made a new type of loom which the weavers still possess in his village. Besides, Krishna Bhuson was a great craftsman and his work was exhibited in those days in village melas.

After passing the matriculation examination, Mr. Roy Choudhury joined the Calcutta Art School in 1905. In those days very few boys joined the Art School, but shortly after him came Ashit Kumar Haldar, the well-known artist. At this time Mr. E. B. Havell A.R.C,A,, and Abanindra Nath Tagore were the Principal and Vice-Principal of the institution respectively. In order to give a new orientation to Indian art, a special class was opened by Abanindra Nath Tagore consisting of Nanda Lal Bose, Ashit Kumar Haldar and Surendra Nath Ganguli, etc. There was no arrangement for teaching sculpture at the Art School, but at the suggestion of young Roy Choudhury, Mr. Havell made necessary arrangements for it. Mr. Havell who had a high opinion of Hironmoy watched his progress as a student and was pleased with his "artistic ability." At this time, the famous sculptor L. Jennings came to Calcutta at the invitation of the Government of India. Jennings who was in search of a suitable assistant for modelling sought the help of Hironmoy. Hironmoy worked with Jennings for about a year and the latter was highly impressed with the quality of the former's work. During this period the then Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir E. Baker, was pleased to grant Hironmoy a special scholarship in recognition of his work. With this scolarship Hinronmoy went to England in 1910 and joined the Royal College of Arts. He was the first Indian student the College had. He was also the first Indian to become an Associate of the Royal College of Arts, London. The Principal of the College Mr. Augustus Spencer appreciated his merit and remarked: "While bringing freshness to Eastern themes, he was in enough sympathy with its traditions and aims to preserve its character." During his sojourn in England, Mr. Kedar Nath Chatterjee, the present Editor of "Modern Review," a great friend of Roy Choudhury, was his constant companion.

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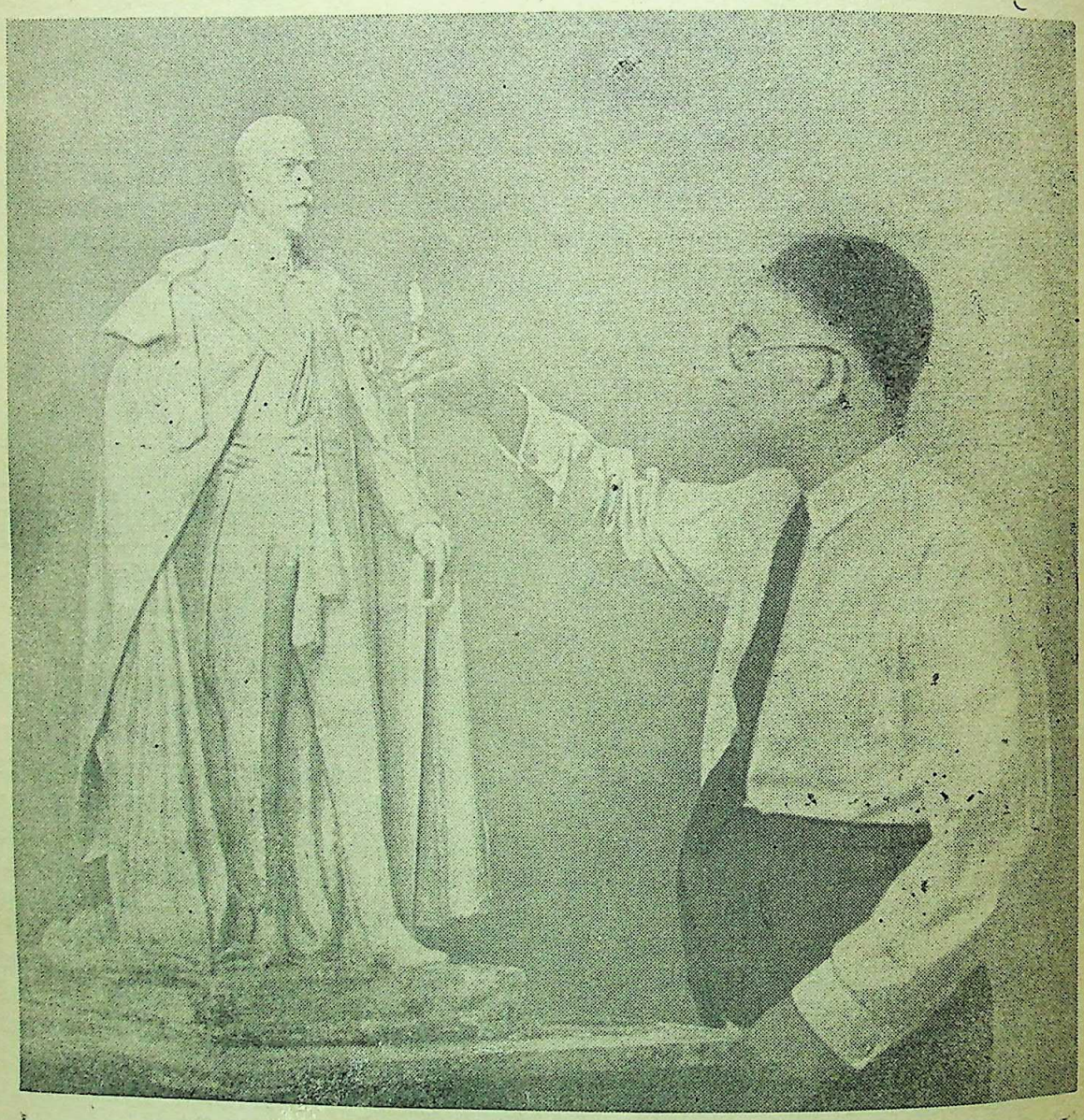
Learns Bronze-Casting

After obtaining his associateship, Roy Choudhury desired to learn the technique of bronze-casting. This is a specialised art and can only be learnt in bronze casting firms. No firm in England was willing to divulge the secret of the art to an Indian and Roy Choudhury experienced a great deal of difficulty. At last through Prof. Lanteri he approached one firm which, however, demanded £10,000 for the lessons. This was an impossible amount for Roy Choudhury to pay. Happily Roy Choudhury came in contact with an Italian genius—the great sculptor Parlentti who was perhaps the greatest exponent of the art of bronze-castings of his times and who developed a special technique of what is known as the "Cire Perdue" process, or the process of the lost wax. Prof. Parlentti took Hironmoy as an apprentice into his own studio for a nominal premium and personally taught him all that he knew of his art and treated him more like a son than a mere professional student. After completing his studies under Prof. Parlentti, Roy Choudhury went to Paris to study under the famous French sculptor Rudin.



Roy chowdhury with a Model

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ut he returned to England sometime ter.

Roy Choudhury's complete knowledge bronze-castings was a valuable acquisi- n as very few sculptors were able to st their own work. Roy Choudhury turned to India in 1915 during the First orld War. For many years he sat idle cause the technique he had learnt in gland required a regular studio which did not have. During this time he velled extensively throughout India. ter he accepted an appointment in shmir. He left this job and returned to lcutta where Raja Profulla Nath Tagore ho was the sculptor's own brother-in- w) was good enough to open a studio in s house for Roy Choudhury, but it was ither adequately equipped nor had a vourable atmosphere to work in with mfort.

In 1925, Roy Choudhury was appointed incipal of the Jaipur Art School which st he held with distinction till 1929. ater he joined the Lucknow Art School Vice-Principal. While at the Lucknow rt School his ability as craftsman was mply demonstrated when he executed in iniature a model of the Sarda Canal Barrage. This work was sent to India House as a present from the U.P. Government. Sir Barnard Darley of the U.P. Government, the originator of the idea having failed to get it executed elsewhere appreciated the work which was done in an excellent manner with the minutest details within a total area of 4 ft.

Statue of Mahatma Gandhi

Late Roy Choudhury had made some remarkable life studies in bronze, besides some special studies in marble. While it is true he acquired his skill in modelling in the West, yet he did not allow himself to be bound by any rigid standards. This is why he was able to enter into the spirit of the oriental designs he had executed for nearly 36 years. He has several statues to his credit of which special mention may be made of the King George V Memorials at Lucknow and Allahabad. His last work was the huge marble statue of Mahatma Gandhi, the first of its kind in India, which was erected at Gonda (U.P.) several years back. The statue is nine and a half feet high and stands on a 12-feet pedastal. It took about two years for Roy Choudhury to complete.

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EDUCATION FOR THE SPACE AGE

By MARION and ALI BULENT CAMBEL

THROUGHOUT the history of man, certain events and movements have changed the destiny of the human race. When historians of the future analyze the twentieth century, they will note that during this period there was an intense seeking for improvement of the entire human community. Three great movements can be cited: one is the widespread emergence of many peoples from social and economic bondage; another is the growth of compasisson; and the most obvious and exciting is the entrance of man into space and perhaps on to other planets. Historians probably will indicate that the conquest of space differed from previous revolutionary human achievements because it required an unusually sophisticated background in education.

Several decades ago, it was possible to differentiate between science and technology because, as a rule, science led the way by many years. Furthermore, science was generally pursued to satisfy intellectual curiosity whereas technology was developed to produce a certain piece of hardware.

Today, the line of demarcation between science and technology has become almost imperceptible. In fact, the impetus for much modern scientific research is found in the need to develop the underlying knowledge in order to create certain technologies. Thus, today's engineer follows closely on the heels of the scientist and at times becomes a scientist himself. This close alliance is demonstrated in the successful American companies which maintain large research departments because their technology would become sterile and would fail eventually without the benefit of research.

American schools, too, have had to change their curricula, and are continuing to do so daily. The principal change has been to minimize and to even delete the skill or handbook courses and to emphasize, instead, a profound understanding of fundamental physical concepts coupled with an appreciation of mathematical dexterity.

The reason for this change is that the rapid advances in science and technology make obsolete the skills and the information contained in handbook. The modern scientist-engineer can continue to contribute to his profession only if he knows thoroughly the implications of the laws of nature. Knowing these, he can constantly meet the challenge of developing heretofore unknown devices and processes. One might observe that the discoverers of new laws and the designers of unconventional devices rarely have studied in school what they conceived.

The young student who decides to enter the field of space technology, commonly called astronautics, should therefore plan his education very carefully. During his undergraduate years —in any part of the world—emphasis should be placed on receiving as broad and as rigorous an education as possible, with little if any specialization. The choice of a school is a difficult process even for those in the academic field because the reputation of a school can linger, long after the school has lost its most inspiring faculty members. After all, neither massive buildings nor impressive course titles make a school great, but rather the quality of its faculty. Not even centuries of tradition guarantee scholarly excellence because knowledge, too, becomes obsolete.

The student should then seek to learn mathematics at least through vector and tensor analysis; physics through modern physics; and chemistry through reaction kinetics. Among the engineering courses, the undergraduate student would do well to study electricity through field theory and electronics; thermodynamics through statistical mechanics; fluid machanics through compressible flow and transport phenomena; mechanics through continuum theory; and materials through soild state physics. He should then study astrodynamics and should be initiated into astrophysics. Finally, he should study the biological sciences, because the findings of the space sciences will revolutionize medicine.

A person following such a program will not be a specialist in astronautics but will have obtained a body of knowledge which would

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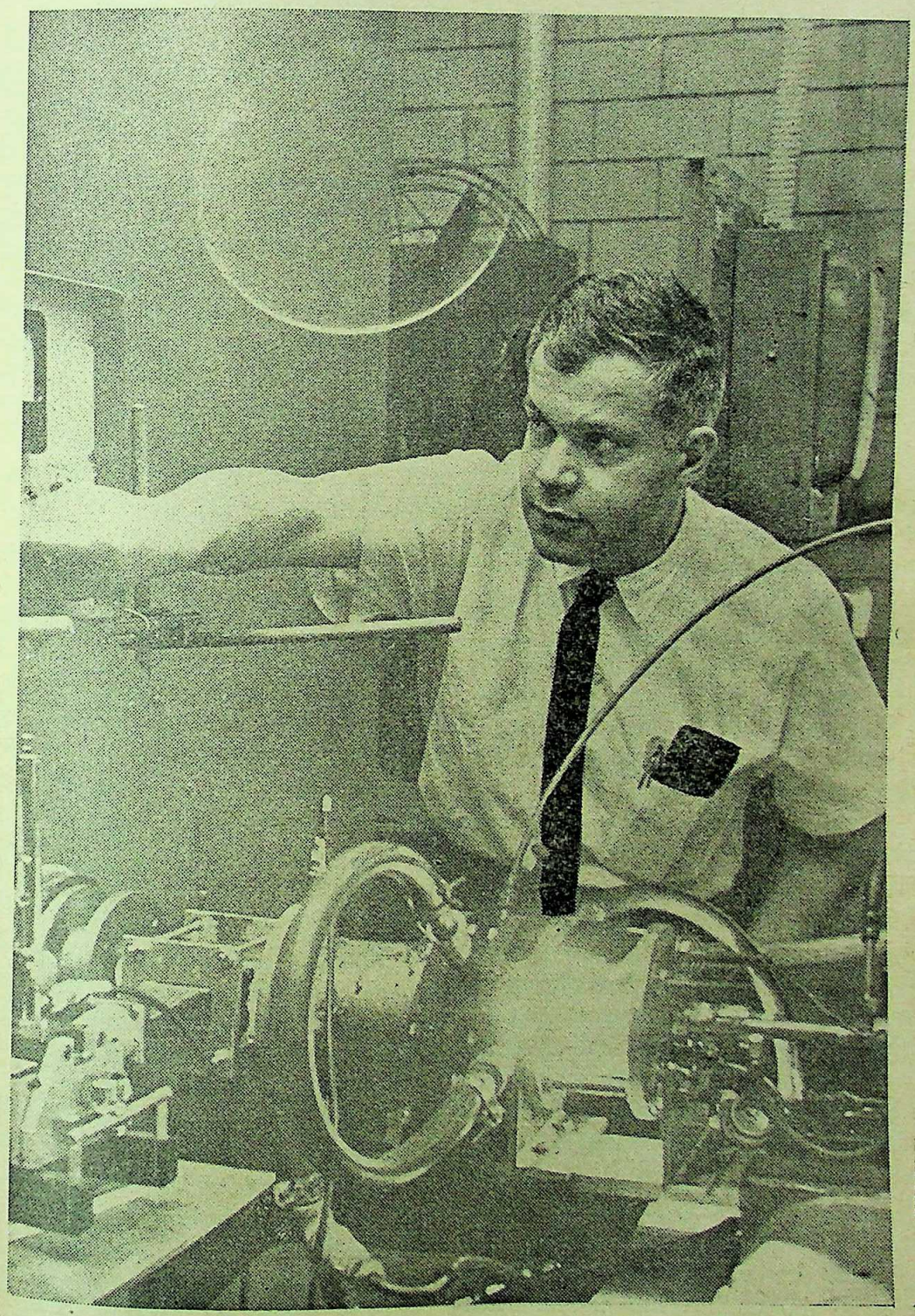
able him to speak intelligently about events ppening in the space age. He will also be ready embark on a career in graduate school ding to the Ph.D or Sc.D degrees.

The increasing complexity of the space ences is tending to make graduate study prequisite for work on its interesting and stimulat- projects. In graduate school, the student should continue to maintain his wide intellectual scope. However, this is also the period of specialization. To paraphrase the great philosopher-mathematician, Alfred North Whitehead, the scientist-engineer of the space age should be good in everything and excel in at least one field.

For those students wishing to do under-



Ali Cambel with plasma jet at North-Western University, Evanston, Illinois

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graduate work or graduate study in the United States, *all* accredited colleges, by and large, provide adequate educational programs. (A list of the accredited curricula leading to first degrees in engineering in the United States may be obtained from the American Society for Engineering Education, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois). The most capable scientists do not always come from the most famous schools. Although there is a large choice of colleges on the undergraduate level, on the graduate level there are fewer schools which provide advanced instruction. In turn, among the schools providing graduate instruction, there are not as many offering a doctorate degree as those awarding master's degree.

A special program for prospective astronautical engineers is the co-operative or *co-op* plan of engineering education, now offered by many schools. (A list of such *co-op* programs may be obtained from the booklet "List of Co-operative Educational Programms" from the Examining Division, United States Civil Service, Washington, D.C.). Under this program, the student alternates between school and an industrial job each quarter or semester. The advantage or disadvantage of choosing a *co-op* education depends, of course, on an individual's professional plans.

Admission requirements vary from school to school. Descriptive booklets may be ordered from the College Entrance Examination Board, c/o. Educational Testing Service, Box 592, Princeton, New Jersey, or Box 27896, Los Angeles 27, California. Admission to graduate school is primarily based on the undergraduate record, but if an applicant attended an unaccredited school or feels that his record does not show his true abilities, the Graduate Record Examination is recommended, or sometimes required. Information about this examination may also be obtained from Educational Testing Service.

A wide variety of financial aid is available to both undergraduates and graduates in any field of space science. Individual colleges and universities can provide detailed information upon request, both in general catalogs and separate brochures. A summary of financial aid for graduate study in engineering is published by the Tau Beta Pi Association. "A Compilation of Financial Aid for Graduate Study in Engineering," *The Council Bulletin of the Beta Pi Association*, (published by the George Banta Company, Inc., Curtis Reed Plaza, Menasha, Wisconsin.)

The student should remember that his college and postgraduate years constitute a tremendous investment, and therefore he should take care in choosing a school. One should differentiate, for example, between non-academic research laboratories operated by schools and academic research laboratories. The student will find greater opportunity to do research in the academic laboratories of schools.

Particularly during the graduate years, besides seeking outstanding instruction, the budding scientist should be associated with a "great teacher" to whom he can apprentice himself to soak in knowledge and wisdom by means of "intellectual osmosis." In relationship, the role of the elder man is, to paraphrase the Indian Poet-Philosopher Rabindranath Tagore; "Let my guidance like sunlight surround you, yet give you illumined freedom." The student so nourished will, upon graduation, score his own accomplishments and make his mark in the world.

A question may arise concerning whether a student from an emerging nation should concentrate on a field of study which is pertinent to his nation's immediate need, or whether he should study in a field that will answer a future need. Although the emerging nations are beset with problems presently involving basic technology and economics, they are nevertheless subject to the same technological complexities that abound in the older established countries. It seems reasonable that their young people should study not only for the present but also for the future.

Finally, the student who specializes in some branch of the space sciences, whether he is from an older established nation or from an emerging nation, will be amazed and inspired by the unusually close co-operation of his peers at the international level. Inevitably he will comprehend that he is a functionary of not only one, but of all the movements in this century which contribute to the betterment of the entire human community.*

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* A native of Turkey, Ali Bulent Cambel received his first degree from the College of Arts and Sciences at Robert College, Istanbul.

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quently he studied chemical engineering at the iversity of Istanbul; mechanical engineering d naval architecture at Massachusetts Institute Technology; machanical engineering and echanics at California Institute of Technology; echanical engineering and mathematics at the ate University of Iowa. He holds B.S., M.S., d Ph.D. degrees.

Dr. Cambel has served on the staffs of the iversity of Iowa and the University of Toronto. esently he is Walter P. Murphy Distinguished ofessor of Mechanical Engineering at North-estern University, Evanston Illinois. He is also Chairman of the Mechanical Engineering culty and the Director of the Gas Dynamics boratory.

Professor Cambel is the author or editor of e books and has written numerous scientific icles. In 1959, Dr. Cambel received the G. Edward Pendray Award from the American Rocket Society for his outstanding contributions to the scientific literature in astronautics and jet propulsion. In 1960 the American Society for Engineering Education awarded him its Curtis W. McGraw Award for his outstanding research achievements at an early age. In 1962 he was elected National Lecturer of Sigma Xi, honorary scientific society.

Marion Cambel was born in New York City, spent her early childhood in Waterloo, Iowa, and her school years in Pasadena, California. In 1944 she graduated from the University of California after which she worked for a year with the American Friends Service Committee in a remote village in Mexico. She met her husband in 1946 when both were members of an international group on the California Institute of Technology campus.

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LABOUR WELFARE IN INDIA

By S. N. MEHROTRA
Gauhati University

Labour Welfare is one of the major terminants of industrial relations as it is ected towards bettering the lot of labour d creating a life and work-environment of cent comfort for this class of population. is concept of labour welfare is aptly sum-d up by the Royal Commission on Labour India, when it defined 'Welfare' as one hich must necessarily be elastic, bearing omewhat different interpretation in one untry from another, according to the ferent social customs, the degree of dustrialisation and the educational deve-ment of the worker."[1] According to an .O. publication, it includes "such services, cilities and amenities as may be establish-in; or in the vicinity of undertakings to able the persons employed therein to form their work in healthy and congenial roundings."[2] The term includes, as used the Recommendation No. 102, concerning lfare facilities for workers, adopted at Session of I.L.O. held in June 1956, (i) ding facilities in or near the undertaking, Rest and recreation facilities, and (iii) transportation to and from work where ordinary public transport is inadequate.

Proud defined welfare work as the "efforts on the part of employers to improve, within the existing industrial system, the conditions of employment in their own factories."[3] According to Prof. Richardson, it inculdes any arrangement of working conditions, organization of social and sports club and establishment of funds by a firm, which contributes to the workers' health and safety, comfort, efficiency, economic security, education and recreation."[4] On the other hand, Dr. Pandandikar held the view that it may be defined as "work for improving the health, safety and general well-being, and the industrial efficiency of the workers beyond the minimum standards laid down by labour legislation."[5] Thus, under welfare activities anything done for the intellectual, physical, moral and economic betterment of the workers through different agencies may be included.

With the achievement of Independence and emergence of the country as a Republic

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wedded to the ideal of a welfare state and a socialist pattern of society, the need for special efforts for promotion of welfare services to the large number of workers in the industries has automatically been realised. The success of a vast programme of industrialisation in fact depends upon a contented labour force employed for the purpose. Inspite of the remarkable efforts at industrialisation, the country as a whole is in the process of transition from a predomainantly agricultural to that of modern industrial economy.

It may be noted that a substantial proportion of the industrial labour force still retain their rural nexus and a permanently committed work force is yet to be achieved even now. A large number of workers, especially in certain industries like mines and plantations, are immigrants in the sense that they do not belong to their place of work. In such circumstances there is need for special welfare measures. For instance, in regard to plantations, the workers who are recruited from other States to work in tea estates, say, in Assam, require assistance to move and they are to be fed on the way, accommodated and established on arrival. Similarly there is need for asistance on repatriation. Besides, because of the rural nexus workers find it very difficult to adjust themselves to the urban and factory environment and to the new modes of city life. It is here that welfare facilities soften the transition and enable him to adjust himself to industrial conditions.

Secondly, "the existence of certain special categories of workers, mainly those employed in small undertakings and workshops, or plantations located in out-of-the way and isolated places creates special welfare needs, such as transport" facilities, etc.[6]

Thirdly, trade unionism has not shown satisfactory progress in the different industries. They are not in a sound position to stand for collective action for amelioration of working conditions and improvement in wages. The lacunae has brought to the fore the need for alternative methods of promoting welfare measures for the workers.

Welfare work in India, as in the U.K. and U.S.A. was mainly a product of the stresses and strains that developed during the First World War. During the Second World War, the Government of India started taking active interest in labour welfare when they introduced certain schemes of labour welfare in their ordnance, ammunition and other factories engaged in production of war materials. It was done to increase their productivity. In 1946, the Central Government initiated an experimental scheme to finance welfare activities in industrial undertakeings owned and controlled by them. Thus, labour welfare funds were constituted in the industrial establishments, running in the States. The establishments under Central Railway Board and major ports were excluded from it, as they were having a separate administrative set-up. Besides, the Factories Act of 1934, amended in 1947 and known as the Act of 1948, contains a separate chapter on Welfare. The State Governments are also empowered to make rules requiring the representatives of workers in any factory to be associated with the management in regard to welfare schemes for workers.[8]

There are two other Central Government's Acts providing for welfare services to the workers in the mines and plantations. In recognition of the hazardous nature of work in the mines, the Government of India promulgated in 1944 the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Ordinance which was replaced by the Act of 1947, amended subsequently in 1952. The principal activities financed by the Fund may be divided into (a) General Welfare and (b) Housing. The former comprises activities of medical facilities under different conditions; recreational and educational facilities. The Miners' Institutes are the nucleus of these welfare activities. Moreover, the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund is also set up under the Mica Mines Welfare Fund Act 1946. It provides medical, educational and recreational facilities for mica mine workers. Similarly, under the Plantation Labour Act, 1951, all employers are required to make effective arrangements for a sufficient supply of wholesome drinking water and the provision of medical and other sorts of welfare

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cilities provided under other Acts. It also quires employers to provide housing commodation to their workers.

The Central Government has been incing considerable interest in labour elfare since the beginning of the First lan period as it is evident from the finan- al allocations made in the Plans.[9] Actual xpenditure is estimated to be equal to two- irds of the planned outlay for the Second lan period.

So far as the State Governments are con- rned, U.P. occupies the formost important sition at present from the point of view financial allotment made under Third lan, which is equal to 16.4 per cent of total ovision under States' Plans.[10] On the other nd, from the point of view of estimated tlay for Second Plan period as well, U. P. nds first amongst all States (excluding aharashtra and Gujrat).[11] The State of P. is followed by West Bengal, Maha- shtra and Bihar, having provision of s. 3.46 crores, 3.02 crores, and 2.80 crores spectively, for the current Plan period.[12]

The welfare programme of U. P. overnment, started in 1937 through setting of 4 Welfare Centres at Kanpur, with a odest budget provision of Rs. 10,000 con- ed to welfare measures outside the place work and serves as a model in that way the employers and other interested in the lift of labour in the State. The main acti- ies of such Centres whose number have creased to 6713 in 1961, comprise of out- or and indoor games, kirtan, inter-mill d inter-centre tournaments, provision of edical assistance and advice, maternity ork, educational facilities, literary, cul- ral activities, etc. The Centres have been ssified into four classes, viz., A. B. C and asonal, according to the basis of their tivities and thus their present strength is 33, 6 and 2, respectively. With a view to vise the Government on the organization welfare scheme, a State Labour Welfare dvisory Committee and 19 District L.W.A. mmittees are functioning in the State.[13] ring 1959, it was decided to decentralise administration in certain zones and, erefore, a Regional Office has been set up Lucknow recently.

A brief mention may also be made about the U.P. Sugar & Power Alcohol Industries Labour Welfare & Development Act, 1951, enacted on the lines of Central Coal Mines Labour Welfare Act, referred earlier, for the purpose of financing measures for promoting the welfare of labour employed in sugar and power alcohol industries.

Similarly, the Assam Tea Plantations' Employees' Welfare Fund Act has been enacted by Government of Assam in 1959 to provide for the construction of Fund to finance and conduct activities aimed at promoting the welfare of tea garden workers in the State. It has been proposed to set up this Fund out of the large amounts of unpaid money by employers due to workers. Another important feature about Assam's welfare schemes to be noted is that they are executed by non-official organizations like Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust, Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangha and the Assam Seva Samity, but under the general guidance and supervision of the Assam Labour Welfare Board and through the Government's grant-in-aid from time to time. Moreover, the programme has been appropriately divided under three heads, viz., (1) State Level Scheme, (2) District Level Scheme and (3) the Village Level Scheme. The first is concerned with establishment of Training Centres, the second includes Technical Training Schemes and the third comprises of establishment of Community Centres for plantation labour and of Centres for urban labour.

The pattern of welfare that is provided by employers is that of generally a broad-based policy of providing recreational, educational facilities in large units, while the smaller units content themselves with conforming to those facilities prescribed by law. In the case of some large-scale and well-organised industries like jute and tea, welfare activities have been taken up on a joint basis. The Indian Jute Mills' Association, Calcutta, has undertaken direct responsibility for its member units." It may be noted that standards of amenities provided by some employers are high and above legal requirements.

Not many instances are there regarding welfare work by Workers' Organizations.

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The most important amongst these is the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, which has organised a number of social and welfare activities for the benefit of its members through a number of Centres scattered over the working class areas.

Conclusion

There is an urgent need to realise the fact that the success of welfare schemes depends as much on the manner in which they are administered and introduced to the workers as on the nature and quality of facilities offered. So far as the former aspect is concerned, the role played by the Welfare Officer is significant, as he is often to act as a liason between the management and labour. He is to secure also the whole-hearted co-operation of the workers and the executive heads. An equally important point is to build up welfare work logically by slow stages. Thus, welfare work, if carried out in a spirit of sympathy, fairness, mutual compromise and respect, will weld[14] the employer-employee relations into a potential and peaceful entity. So far as the nature and quality of facilities are concerned, the need is to lay down statutorily some sort of social minimum standards indicating the responsibility for carrying them out.

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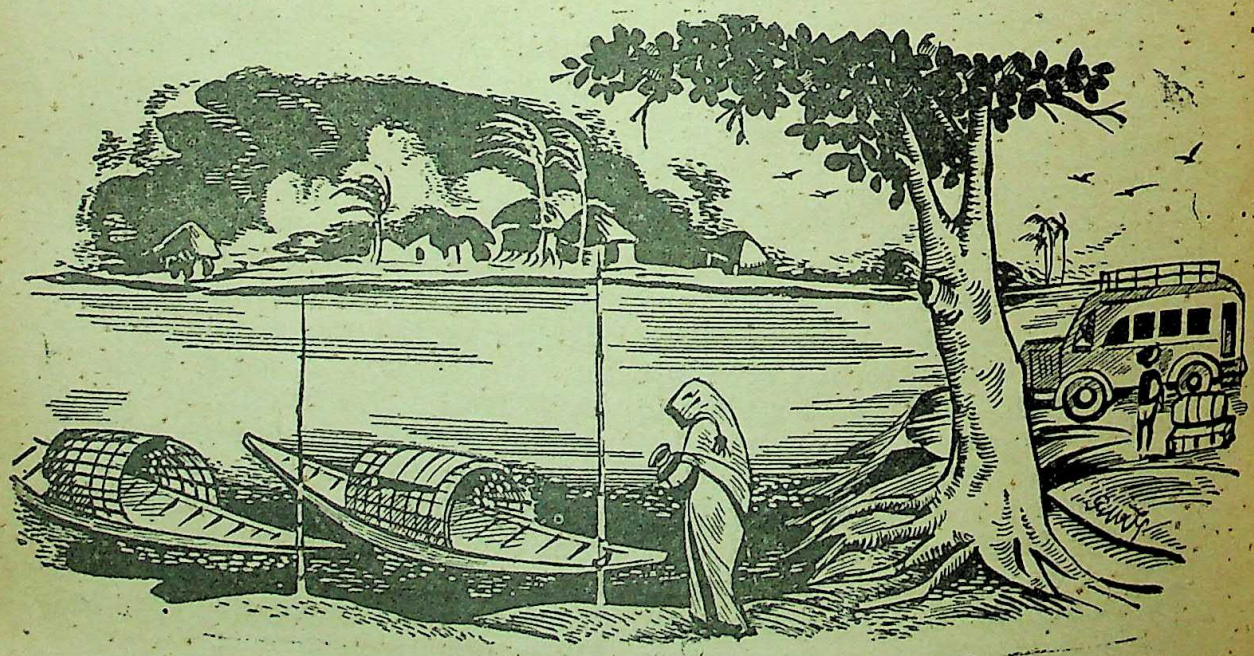
1. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1931), pp. 261.
2. Report—II Provision of Facilities for The Promotion of Workers' Welfare, I.L.O. 1949.
3. Proud : Welfare Work, p. 5.
4. Prof. Richardson, J. H.: Industrial Relations in Great Britain, p. 172.
5. Dr. Panandikar, S. G.: Industrial Labour in India, p. 243.
6. I.L.O.: Recent Developments in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy—IX, 1959, p. 88.
7. Chapter No. V.
8. Sec. No. 50.
9. Rs. 3.97 crores in the 1st Plan, Rs. 18 crores in 2nd Plan, Rs. 44 crores in 3rd Plan.
10. Rs. 4.14 crores in 3rd Plan, (Rs. 25.19 crores—Total States' outlay, Third Plan, Government of India p. 745).
11. U.P's estimated expediture, Rs. 1.62 crores (Do-Figures for Gujarat & Maharashtra are not available) p. 745.
12. Third Five Year Plan Government of India. pp. 740-745.
13. Annual Review of Activities, Dept. of Labour, Government of U.P. 1961; pp. 54-64.
14. Recent Developments in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy, IV. (I.L.O.) 1959; p. 97.



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SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON RELIGION

By MANGALMAY DATTA, M.A.

We find in Swami Vivekananda a man o was not content merely to preach a stem of philosophy in an academic fashion put before the people his own life and t of his Master Sri Ramakrishna as the stration of religion in practice.

Religion—a Constitutional Necessity With Man

But, there are some people who want dispense with religion on the ground t it has done us more harm than good. ey contend that religion has been the ne of the world and that man would be ppier without it. But it is based on a se view of religion. To dispense with ligion on the above account would be like mmitting suicide because life is not free m misery. Against this view of religion would quote the words of Swami Vivenanda: "It is my belief that religious ought is in man's very constitution, so ch so that it is impossible for him to e up religion until he can give up his nd and body, until he can give up ought and life. As long as a man thinks, s struggle must go on, and so long man st have some form of religion." What amiji meant to say is that the instinct of ligion is in-born in man. Man cannot rid of religion. Religion will cling to n whether he will or not. Consciously or consciously he must live in it. His heart nours for it. His nature clings to it. e would appear intolerable without it.

What Religion is

Next comes the question—What is religion? Swami Vivekananda defined religion as "the manifestation of the divinity ready in man." Man is divine by nature. d exists in us as potentia and possibility. The aim of religion is to awaken us to the goal of human life—manifestation of divinity already in us. Love, charity, sympathy, courage, honesty, truthfulness—qualities of a pure heart—conduce to the gradual unfoldment of the divinity in man, whereas hatred, ill-will, selfishness, anger, etc.,—diseases of the human heart,—obstruct it. Just as the breach of hygienic principles entails the loss of physical health and physical wellbeing, the breach of the cardinal principles of religion entails the loss of spiritual health and spiritual strength. In other words it may be said that virtue is the law of our growth and vice obstructs it. An action is bad or evil that imposes a veil upon our divine nature; and an action is good or moral that helps us to rediscover this hidden divinity. The realisation of this principle is the bed-rock of religion. What remains to a man, if religion is banished from human society! As Swami Vivekananda rightly said, "Take religion from human society and what will remain. Nothing but a forest of brutes."

Again, religion, as it aims at the manifestation of divinity already in man, makes no distinction between man and man, between the high and low, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak. All are equal in the eye of religion. It looks upon the whole of humanity as an organic whole in which every individual has his proper place, in which every individual is great in his own place, in which the king on his throne is no better than the scavenger in the street, for both are spiritually equal for the common good of the organism. The Brahmin is by profession a teacher but the Sudra a servant. Both are spiritually equal. The Brahmin is no nearer to heaven than the Sudra. 'Dharmavyadha' was a butcher by profession. But he had very few spiritual superiors even among the Brahmins. Swami

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Vivekananda believed that all men are basically equal and the difference between man and man lies in the degree of divine manifestation.

We know that there are two important faculties in man, viz., the heart and the intellect. Each of these must be developed but not the one at the expense of the other. They are placed together that each may help and guide the other, like a pair of horses drawing a carriage. The business of the heart is to feel and to love, but it often makes mistakes; then reason comes to its help and corrects it. Similarly, it is the business of reason to discriminate, to argue and to judge, and left to itself it also makes mistakes, which the heart corrects.

The perfect man is a beautiful combination of the head and the heart, and he has no quarrel with either, for, he knows the place and sphere of each. Individuals make up the society and, roughly speaking, it is their heart portion that reveals itself in religion and the head-portion that takes shape as civilisation. As in the individual, the heart and the head mutually correct and develop each other, so in society also, religion and material advancement faith and science ought to be the companion and guide of each other. It will be a mistake to cry down science and hold up blind irrational religion as the be-all and end-all of existence; and it will be equally absurd to extol the former and cry down the latter. The end of existence is not blind irrational religion nor is it barren intellectual science. It is the harmonius blending of the head and the heart, of love and light, of faith and knowledge. As Swami Vivekananda said, "Intellect has been cultured; result, hundreds of sciences have been discovered, and their effect has been that the few have made slaves of the many.....Through the intellect is not the way to solve the problem of misery but through the heart. If all this vast amount of effort had been spent in making men purer, gentler, more forbearing, this world would have a thousand-fold more happiness than it has today." Swamiji's above observations are as true today as they were during his lifetime.

Harmony of Religions

But, painfully enough, we have enough religions to hate one another, but not enough religious spirit to love one another. One's heart sinks in despair at the sight of so much intolerance and oppression, all in the name of religion which prescribes for its adherents universal love and understanding. To such a bigotry-ridden world, Swami Vivekananda pointed out that each great ancient religion has rituals, mythology and philosophy. The first two are the externals of religion, and philosophy is the essence. There can never be uniformity in rituals and mythologies. These are the abstract ideas of philosophy made concrete for the grasp of ordinary minds. These are to be given up when the soul, through its purity and discipline, is able to comprehend the essence of religion. Religious quarrels arise when we insist that the externals of religion are to be kept alive for ever. We quarrel over the husk and not over the kernel of religion. There is only one Eternal religion or the universal religion of which different religions are but different manifestations to suit different temperaments. Different religions are not antagonistic but complementary. Like the different photographs of a building taken from different angles, different religions give us the picture of one truth from different standpoints. Variety and Multiplicity evolving from unity is the fundamental principle underlying the ongoing of the world. Wherever there is great religious zeal and religious thought, there is bound to be diversity of religion. But to make diversity the cause of enmity indicates not thoughtfulness but thoughtlessness. Diversity has been the product of thoughtfulness and thoughtlessness has made it a weapon of hatred.

To conclude, Swami Vivekananda's teachings act like a powerful searchlight by which one can see through the externals of religion and discern its innermost essence. He unmistakably pointed out that the Eternal religion by proclaiming that the unity of existence and the divinity of the soul will reconcile all discords, hasten the dawn of peace and establish good-will among men.

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CONDITIONS FOR STUDYING AS PART TIME STUDENTS AT YUGOSLAV UNIVERSITIES

In the course of the last few years adult ucation at university level has become a ry popular method for improving and rfecting skills, for the acquisition of eater knowledge, and far creating better nditions for obtaining higher earnings. is has a twofold advantage to the commu- y as a whole, special students most often dy without leaving their working places, d simultaneously, through their prac- e, become highly skilled experts, o are so urgently needed in the Yugoslav nomy. This is the reason why the com- nity allocates considerable funds for the ncing of this kind of advanced schooling.

During the 1961-61 school year, part me students enjoyed nearly identical nditions as those granted to regular full me students.

On the basis of the needs and real erests shown by students, communes, nomic enterprises and university colleges, rt time students developed in various ys through their practice. This is why ere are many forms of assistance—depend- g upon the organization, the sponsor, and e method of finance and management. r that purpose special institutions—educa- nal centres—have been formed.

Special educational centres for part me students with compulsory education d training are mainly organized outside e existing university colleges, in areas here there are no colleges, but occasionally ey are also found in places in which there e university colleges, too. These centres e set up by the commune, economic enter- ses or individuals concerned, while the ching staff is supplied by the nearest iversity boards.

The very existence of educational tres has rendered it possible to introduce lt education university colleges which e connected with experimental studies, ecially for non-resident students. For at reason educational centres won the putation as an extremely efficient device r helping part time students.

On the other hand, with the establishment of educational centres, mutual links between the uiversity and enterprises and institutions which give them financial aid and often ensure the teaching staff recruited from the trained personnel in the economy, have been strengthened.

During the 1960-61 school year, there were 93 educational centres under university guidance. Of this total number, 19 educational centres have been formed in places with regular university colleges, while 74 centres were set up elsewhere. Educational centres exist at 29 university colleges, that is every third college in our country has an educational centre, or every other college where adult education has been introduced. There are 19 centres within agricultural colleges, 11 within the schools of law, 14 within the colleges of machine construction engineering, 18 within the schools of the economics, and so forth. The number of students attending lectures in these centres is approximately 6,000.

In dependence of the kind of aid given to students, these centres, as educational institutions, mainly organize lectures, classes and laboratory work on a regular basis. These lectures mainly comply with educational programmes for all or certain subjects studied at the chosen college, or at educational centres where the regular study programme relates to the most important and the most difficult leasons in a subject during special review lectures. Occasionally, they are also consultative centres.

Judging by their organization, educational centres are either linked with a given college as one of its separate departments, irrespective of the fact that the founders are sometimes the commune or economic enterprises or workers' universities, or they may be set up as independent institutions, completely separated from the university, and exist as an establishment of various economic enterprises, communes, social organizations of workers' universities. Some centres are founded under a

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contract concluded between the commune or an enterprise on the one hand, and the university on the other, while others are formed following a decision of an enterprise or the commune and consent given by the college concerned beforehand. There are some joint centres formed by two similar colleges, such as the colleges of machine construction engineering and electric engineering.

Apart from centres of a so-called open type to which all part time university students are admitted if they are enrolled at the main college in a determined territory, there also exist educational centres of a so-called semi-open type, and centres with restricted enrolment. All part time students at the main college in whose territory a centre of this kind exists, are admitted to centres of open enrolment. To semi-open centres which are set up in certain economic enterprises, those students alone are admitted who come from particular enterprises, while centres with restricted enrolment are formed and financed by individual enterprises, and their workers alone can be admitted to those centres as students.

The financing of these various centres is also different. Enterprises, communes or students themselves pay either completely or partly for their maintenance costs. For instance, the commune finds a place or premises for lectures, the students pay for financial expenses, or their institution or enterprise where they are employed, while the lecturers are paid by the college Some centres on the other hand are sustained by workers' universities or colleges themselves. Financially, a majority of these centres are completely independent from the colleges.

In addition to educational centres for part time students, special afternoon or evening classes exist known as "concentrated" education, "parallel" studies, evening classes, correspondence courses, etc., depending on the methods of organization.

Brief seminars are also organized one or more times annually for part time university students who are not enrolled in courses of adult education at colleges or educational centres.

At many university colleges lectures are held throughout the year on Sunday afternoons for part time students when the most difficult sessions on various subject-matters are reviewed. During the summer vacation, summer terms of one or two months duration are also organised by the colleges concerned.

At workers' universities as well as within the associations of engineers, physicians, economists, jurists, etc., lectures are held for part time university students, but they are optional.

About three-fourths of special students attending higher schools of applied sciences have systematic parallel lectures or classes, either at the colleges or at the educational centres.

In view of the broad scope of full time and part time studies at a majority of universities and a series of measures which university colleges had to introduce to help part time students, special services have been established in many colleges for part time adult education at university level. The task of these services consists of organizing studies at educational centres, of preparing special educational programmes and plans, of issuing special lecture note books, of organizing correspondence courses, etc.

At universities and colleges various services have also been formed to inform part time students on examination terms, to supply lecture note books and other materials required for examinations. Thus, part time students need not travel so often from their places of residence to the colleges which they attend for such information.

As a result of all these opportunities, during the 1960-61 school year, the number of special students enrolled at universities rose to 27.46 per cent as compared with 16.33 per cent in 1959-60 of the total number of students enrolled as regular or part time.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*. should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

BHARATIYA JATIYATA 'O' ANTA-RAJATIKATA EBONG RABINDRANATH (*Evolution of Nationalism and Internationalism in India and Rabindranath*) : *By Nepal Mapumdar, D/Demy 8vo Pp. 553, Vidyodyaya Library, Calcutta, Price Rs. 10.*

This is the first of a projected two-volume compendium by the author intended to historically and chrnologically record the evolution of the spirit of nationalism in India, its eventual trends towards a broader international outlook and, in these perspectives, to trace the development and evolution of these ideas in Rabindranath. The period covered by the volume under review begins with the consolidation of British power over India during the early decades of the nineteenth century, until the close of the First World War.

The importance and value of such a work recording essential material for the future historian of the country to work upon can never be sufficiently emphasized. The relation of the Tagore family generally, and especially of Rabindranath with the gradual evolution and growth of nationalistic India into an important and significant international entity and force is deep and abiding, a fact which although generally known and appreciated, has never before been scientifically analysed and assessed. The efforts of the present author towards such an end is not merely praiseworthy but is of especially valuable moment at this particular juncture in our national history when the whole country and her people visibly seem to have been increasingly trending towards internecine separatisms and fissiparousness and the existence of the nation itself would seem to be at stake and likely to founder upon the shoals of parochialism, communalism and other narrowing forces of disintegration and dissolution.

The significance of such a study would also seem to have valuable lessons for the world at large. The nacsent internationalism to which the lessons of the First World War gave its birth and which, through the wider affiliations of the United Nations organization should legitimately have found increasingly robust nourishment since the end of the last great War, would seem to be increasingly proceeding at a fast pace towards the precipitious brinks of annihilation by a violent but obviously suicidal ideological cleavage dividing the whole world into two warring and irreconcilable camps. But a sense of internationalism alone may not be enough to save the world from its own suicidal follies unless it may find ultimate consummation in the universal. It is this spirit of universalism, not merely the somewhat negative aspects of internationalism which enabled the poet to visualize the whole human race as an integrated whole. It is such a vision that the world needs today to save itself from the follies of cutting its own throat.

Man, nor ideas, are not just an accident in point of time but is the product of aeons of preparation and evolution. Rabindranath, likewise, was essentially a product of not merely the heritage of this forbears but also, to a certain extent of his times. It is, perhaps, true of all men and for all times, but it is given only to a select few to not merely take out of his forbears and of his own times the essentials of his

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spiritual and material sustenance as all of us do, but also give back a hundredfold to his compeers and to posterity. Such men are the true makers of history and of these Rabindranath was undoubtedly one of the most outstanding ones of all times in recorded history. He was born with a spirit of self-respecting sense of nationalism, a heritage from his parents and his elders in the family. It found vigorous expression, although significantly distinctive in character and composition, during his youth when the country was passing through the birth pangs of nascent nationalism. For his nattionalism, even in those early days of the evolution of the idea in this country was not the familiar negative concept in common acceptation, that of, first association of Indians in the rule of his own country alongside of their British masters and, later, of the wholesale liquidation and independence of British political domination over the country. His was the far more robust and stronger sense of nationalism which seeks fulfilment within itself in self-growth, self-reliance and self-determination, not confined to a particular strata or section of the community alone, but permeanting the entire people irrespective of rank or condition of life and living. The concept of Rabindranath's *Swadeshi Samaj*, perhaps one of the causes ot his eventual estrangement from the school of active politicians in the country of those times, was a vigorously creative one and which, in a sense, provides the jumping off ground for his many later constructive experiments.

A creative genius like the poet could never keep himself within the confining bounds of what, for lack of a more adequately expressive vocabulary one might describe as 'territorial nationalism.' Thus even before 1910, when Lord Morley in his celebrated *Recollections* declared that patriotism was the last word in human political evolution, the glimmerings of a vision transceding all national borders and racial boundaries were already apparent in the Poet and began to find expression in his writings and statements. These were, perhaps, the early beginnings of that broad universalism embracing within its ambit the entire human race, which later found such vigorous and fearless expression in his later writings and work.

It is not possible to confine within the narrow confines of a review all that signify in this connection just as it was obviously not easy for the auther to deal as far adequately as, perhaps, he would have liked to have done, with this vast subject matter of his study. He has attempted to be as far objective as one possibly could in the circumstances and the result has been not merely been a pleasing one, but also a disinctly profitable one. One wishes however, that the chronoliogical arrangement of his materials were done a little more consistently than, apparently, it has been done which would distinctly add to the value and the evolutionary qualities of the discussion he has undertaken in the volume.

I wish also that the author were a little more careful in the compilation of his opening chapter (Purbavash). Although a great deal of very valuable and so far rather widely dispersed and difficult-to-get-at material has been packed into this chapter, their collation leave a great deal to be desired. Especially, the author's reading of the history of the birth and evolution of the neo-industrial civilization in the West has not, always, been quite accurate and, especially where he has endeavoured to put down his own interpretations on events in this connection, the result has not always been very happy. His rather hurried review of the early nineteenth century renaissance in India, especially Bengal, appears also to have been too summary and to have ignored vital factors of our later growth.

But, as already indicated, the book is a happy composition of immensely significant material to the serious student of the history of our own national growth and evolution and may provide valuable guidance for eking out our legitimate future paths of progress.

KARUNA K. NANDI

A YANKEE AND THE SWAMIS: *By John Yale. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ld., Museum Street, London. First published in 1961. Price 25s. net.*

The author has been essaying to be a monk at the Hollywood branch of the Ramkrishna Order of India for the last ten years. He has another name beside the one printed on the title page of the book under review and that name is *Brahmachari Prem Chaitanya.*

Before he came in contact with the Vedanta Society of Southern California, he was living a satisfying and comfortable "worldly" life. After college John Allen went into the publishing business in Chicago and made quite a good professional and financial success which allowed him to taste many of the so-called good things of life. But when he entered his thirties, Allen began to feel inside himself some crippling lack. A sadness occupied him. He asked himself "Is this all?" After some 'inner' searches—he found out that what he really wanted and longed for was to be religious. But he did not know where to find the "religion" and faith which would be compatible to his needs. The religion of his early years seemed childish now.

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Allen was in New York in 1947-48, on a business trip. The interior crisis had far advanced. He went to a bookstore and bought an English translation of the *Gita*, made by Swami Prabhavananda assisted by Christoper Isherwood and Aldom Huxley. He finished the book without putting it down. In a curious way he felt as though the message of the *Gita* were capable of awakening the happy condition of pure faith he had formerly enjoyed as a child ; hence healing the psychic breach which the emergence of discrimination had caused.

And then the miracle happend. Allen sold his share of business and moved to California and met the translator of the *Gita* at the Vedanta Society in Hollywood. He told Swami Prabhavananda his troubles and his hope for a new pattern of behaviour that would satisfy his heart and head. In the spring of 1950, Allen was allowed to enter the organisation as a monastic probationer.

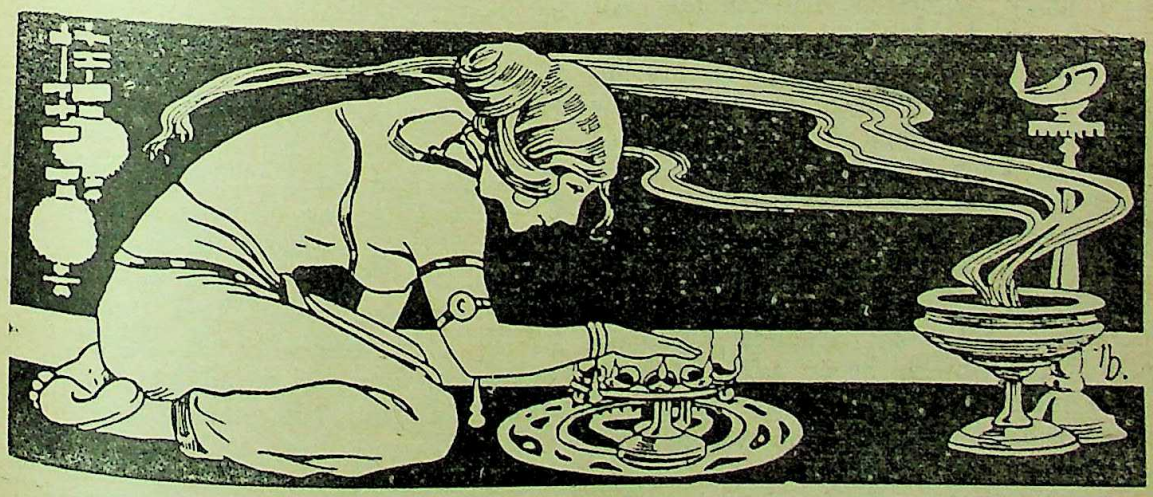
Allen visited India in 1952-53, with the idea of taking a critical look at renascent Hinduism. On his way to India, he visited all the Vedanta Societies in the United States, England and France.

In India he had been to many Ramkrishna Maths and met scores of Swamis and Brahmacharis. He had made the acquaintance of juniors who were struggling to get established in a life of religion. He had touched the feet and talked with seniors of the Order, men of high levels of spiritual attainment. As a pilgrim he gained the *darshan* of many of India's sacred spots and temples. He had walked in the footsteps, had stood on the stages where their *lilas* occured—of many saints. Gradually he felt an acquaintance growing in him Ramkrishna and Holy Mother and Ramkrishna's disciples. 'Dakhineshwar' turned him into a *bhakta*, a serious spiritual seeker.

The book is a graphic record of the American Brahmachari's pilgrimage to the age-old holy places of India and his special study of the Ramkrishna Order and movement. Since the outlook and practices of the Ramkrishna Order deeply reflect its India Origin, Allen as a member of the Order, felt 'it very essential to see Ramkrishna's land of birth. India, first hand and hence his pilgrimage to India. In India he lived in various Maths of the order sharing the daily life of the Vedanta Swami's. All these have been vividly recorded in the book.

The travel story of the Yankee has been told with reverence, humour and candour. The book is something more. It is an interesting souvenir which adds a great deal to the contemporary knowledge of an important work and trend. The book will be found interesting to all readers, specially the Western ones, who will gain a fair knowledge of Vedanta's spirit and the Ramkrishna Order and its working, which has been given in minute details. The description of the home of the Ramkrishna Order—the Belur Math and the birth place of Ramkrishna—Kamarpukur, will be found specially interesting. Some rare and beautiful plates have added to the value of this book.

C. K. H.



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Indian Periodicals

Flunkeyism Or Emotional Integration ?

Writing in the *Indian Libertarian* of October, 1, 1952, under the above caption Shri M. N. Tholal observes :

It is a sign of our slavish mentality and undemocratic spirit that we accept unquestioningly the most foolish of dogmas from our leaders who have by hook of crook—generally the latter—succeeded in making a name for themselves. We all know how Gandhi became a magician by fasting and wearing the loin cloth, and faith in Gandhi became an article of faith with most Congressmen. Even cynics like me who had been scoffing at the Mahatma's powers as a magician for decades had to admit them when he produced Pakistan, out of his hat, as it were, for I had never heard of a magician producing anything more than a rabbit out of his hat.

Pakistan was really born of emotional integration, the means being advocacy of the Khilafat movement, which was a sort of flattery of the Muslims. At the bottom of it was the conviction that flattery can achieve anything. The Mahatma went all out to flatter the Mussalmans. At almost every meeting that he addressed he reminded them that they were eighty millions, impyling thereby the ease with which they could fulfil their desires. And they started fulfilling the same soon enough with the Moplah rebellion.

We all know the great emotional integration that the country witnessed between the Ali Brothers on the one hand and the Mahatma, on the other. It was a marriage between Muslim fanaticism and Hindu tolerance, and we know the result. The Ali Brothers at least demanded that disputes between Muslims and Hindus in the Frontier Province should be settled according to the Shariat (Muslim law). And did it lie in the mouth of an advocate of the Khilafat to say "No" ? But Gandhi said 'No' and the more intelligent of the Ali Brothers, Maulana Mohammad Ali, forthwith began talking of the need of a Fourth Battle of Panipat to decide the fate of the Country and who was to rule over it—Hindus or Muslims.

Saprus and Sastris and Jinnahs who condemned the Khilafat movement in private—for who could in those days condemn it publicly ? —became traitors to their country almost overnight. And Congressmen themselves felt to ashamed of the Khilafat movement after supporting it for all they were worth, that they never mentioned it in their speeches or writings even in private talk, although it was the most successful movement started by their wonderful leader. Chancing to meet the compiler of a book on the savings and writings of Mahatma Gandhi, I asked him why he omitted all that Gandhi said or wrote on the Khilafat issue. He said the leader who wrote the foreword had asked him to omit all references to the Khilafat. The foreword was written by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The emotional integration of the time reminded one of the proverb : "Marry in haste, repent at leisure."

Mahatma Gandhi practised emotional integration for long before he became known as a Mahatma, and that emotional integration had a good deal to do with the title that his countrymen conferred on him. The first victim was no less a person than Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who referred to Gandhi at the Lahore Congress in 1914 as one who gave evidence of 'the highest watermark of Indian humanity" When Gokhale was a guest of Gandhi in South Africa, the latter used to clean himself the pots of Gokhale's lavatory. The crowd at the Lahore Congress rose to its feet and gave Gandhi a standing ovation. When Gandhi met the Viceroy after the start of the Second World War he literally broke down (hysterically or histriically ?) at the thought of London being bombed and the Viceroy had to support him. That was also emotional integration of a sort, though it did not prevent him from starting the "Quit India" movement three years later. Gandhi did not seem to have realised that the Viceroy had practically no hand in the shaping of British Government policy towards India.

Jawharlal Nehru, as a close associate of Gandhi, saw the latter's emotional integration at work and also knew from personal experience, as the only son of a flourishing lawyer, how emotional integration all round him, practised unwittingly by the members of the family as well as by all those who came in contact with him worked on his emotional soul. The foibles of the great become dogmas of uncritical or selfish minds. Not long ago we saw how a mere suggestion of "zonal councils" by him began to be repeated all over the country until he had

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himself to ask, "what if they gang up against one another ?" Emotion is indeed a poor guide, as every one knows, and none knows it better than the emotional man or woman for no other type is fooled more easily. But he has been brought up in the school of emotion, although his own father was a hard-headed man who knew how to keep his emotions under control. Indeed, it can be said of the highly emotional that they never live and learn, and to this type belongs our great Prime Minister ! We are seeing it now and we shall see more and more of it hereafter.

In his own writings, particularly the books, Nehru gives us some examples of emotional integration. Compare, for example, the references in *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of India* to the fanatics, Maulana Mohammed Ali and Sir Mohammad Iqbal, and the slighting references to that noble patriot, Srinivas Sastri, when the only problem in India was and has been the communal problem. I shall be suprised if in literature anywhere else there is such incitement to bigotry as in Iqbal's poems and yet that man is referred to by Nehru in his *Discovery of India*, as turning "more and more towards Socialism during his last years". It is true that Iqbal had praised Nehru highly once. But is mutual praise the basis of emotional integration ? Can it work in politics ? Has it worked in India or anywhere else on a national scale ?

Our Prime Minister has tried the mantram of emotional integration on the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. At the Bandung Conference he did every thing he could to please the Chinese Premier and made no secret of his pleasure at Chou's success. In India also he was at his courting best towards the Chinese Premier and once publicly hoped Chou would agree to talk. With what resuit ? He forgot like Gandhi that Chou En-lai does not frame China's policies and even if he is willing to oblige Mr. Nehru he would find himself helpless. Gandhi danced attendance on Jinnah for 14 days twice a day . To what end ? Only to upgrade Jinnah. There is no generosity in politics. And it is this proved political maxim that Mr. Nehru is out to disprove with his emotional integration. He can go on trying at the country's cost.

Cart Before the Horse

Emotional integration boils down in practice to ingratiation. It does not always succeed even in personal relations. In political relations where policies are thought out by a number of persons, the likelihood of its success is nil. In no country except India do policies depend on the moods and fancies of one man, not even in Soviet Russia. Nehru's attempt at emotional integration with Soviet Russia has brought forth no results so far. It was being said that Russia had advised China not to advance in the NEFA area. That also has been proved to be false or fruitless, and our hopes have been belied. But hope springs eternal in the human breast and the Communist Party in India continues receiving funds from the Russian employees in Russian projects in India falsifying the Indian Government's claim that it does not receive aid with strings.

Turning to the country, we find that the same foolish integration is sought to be foisted on the country without anyone understanding what it is and how it will work. It is some sort of mysterious process whose working even psychologists cannot understand. It has been taken for granted that emotional integration will work, because it has been discovered by Jawaharlal Nehru, just as it was taken for granted that non-violence will work, because it was discovered by Gandhi. "Are you wiser than Gandhi ?" Was the question when he was alive. The question now is, "Are you wiser than Nehru ?"—with addition : "There must be something in it when a man of the stature of Nehru approves of it". Of course, there is. Disaster for the country lies embedded in it, just as it lay in non-violence. Nehru in his *Autobiography* accused Gandhi of reducing others to mental pulp. What is he doing himself ? Gandhi had at least men of intellect like C. R. and Sardar Patel to advise him to the end. Who is there to dare advise Nehru ? Not a soul. So the Mantram of emotional integration is being chanted from one end of the country to the other and even an Emotional Integration Committee was appointed to devise ways and means of developing emotional integration. When the cart is thus put before the horse, what can horse do, even if he is Sampurnanand or an Asoke Mehta ?

It is not being suggested that emotion has no place in politics. But it is the bud, not the flower, and seldom is it of any value until it expands into a flower. More truly, it is the soil in which thought is steeped and which lends to thought its tone and power. Emotion turning back on itself has an element of madness; leading to thought it provides the basis of morality. Our constitution provides the quintessence for emotional and national integration, with its emphasis on justice which demands equality. Emotional integration is there in the Preamble in which the people of India solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic

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repubic to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political, liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

But when the Prime Minister himself forgets the Preamble to the Constitution, particularly its clause relating to equality of status and of opportunity, enabling many a Kashmiri Pandit to declare in private that he belongs to the ruling race, the result may be more emotional integration so far as the Kashmiri Pandits are concerned, but is likely to lead to emotional disintegration so far as the rest of the population is concerned. A revealing piece of research for anyone to undertake would be the number of Kashmiri Pandits appointed as High Court Judges in U.P., the percentage among them paying income-tax on their earnings before their appointment as High Court Judges and their percentage among advocates in the State. Of course their fair complexion is an additional qualification for appointment outside India in embassies. But what about equality of opportunity guaranteed in the Constitution? A few thousand Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir may be said to be determining the foreign policy of the land and endangering its democratic existence, but over a million Tamils in Ceylon can be brushed aside as irrelevant. The need to talk of emotional integration is indeed great.

It all depends on what you want. If you want the lap-dog variety, you are bound to see emotional integration in practice, and if you are a literary man, you are likely to know what it is and give it a name. But the democratic Constitution of India does not envisage a lap-dog breed, and Mr. Nehru should know that he is not quite loyal to the Constitution in his desires and practices. There was a time when Nehru was the one man in India on whose lips the word "ideological" was found more frequently tnah any other word. He was then found saying: "I'll be damned for ever if I do anything to help the Axis cause" and "I'll fight Japan sword in hand". There was a good deal of sense in it, though his quest for leadership did not prevent him from joining the Quit India" movement tand betraying his cause. But what sense is there is emotional integration, the tphemeral nature of whose basis—emotion—is well-known? All that is needed is the preaching and practice of the Preamble to our Constituion, which rules out Hindi as the national official language because it will be manifestly unfair to non-Hindi-speaking people who will never be able to compete with Hindi-speaking people in proficiency in the language.

Surely, Mr. Nehru knows that the people of India do not appreciate the beauty of the principles embodied in the Preamble to our Constitution and knows too that they did find place there haphardly. Why then has no attempt been made to popularize them? That is the only sort of education the people need, including their leaders like Nehru and it should not be beyond the means of the Government of India to provide it. His great father, Motial Nehru, belonged to an age when democracy was neither really sought nor understood in India. But he was a true democrat in his life. When he was addressing a meeting once in U.P. a man cried "Question!" "Who dare question me?" roared the odl lion. "I do," said his son, raising his hand, and there was a burst of laughter. (He had only one son, who is now our Prime Minister.) Had the son been the father and the father the son, that one word "question" would have done irreparable damage to the relations between the two. Knowing both I have no doubt about it. But it had no effect on Motilal even as my sallies at Gandhi during my talks with him made no difference to our relationship or his admiration for me which started with my career on his daily, "The Independent". Indeed, I have a shrewd suspicion that he liked me all the more for those sallies.

Patriotism, it has been said, is the vital condition of national permanence. To the public good, Milton said, private respects must yield. Where they do not and where patriotism is lacking, national existence is in danger and the facade of emotional integration commodities cannot safeguard it. To quote Jawaharlal Nehru himself from his *Autobiography*: "We cannot take refuge in vague and emotional phrases, but must face . . . . facts and adapt ourselves to them, so that we may become the subjects of history, instead of being its helpless objects."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

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Aims of Nasser

Writing in the *U.A.R.* News of September, 962, President Gamel Abdel Nasser speaks of s aims thus :

Perhaps ten years (since the Egyptian re-olution) is a good milestone at which to look ck along the road we have travelled and to nsider the way forward. *All the basic aims and liefs that I set out in my "Philosophy of the volution" remain the same. In many cases, how-er, there is no point in trying to rush them.*

In my short book I told of the three circles which we were involved—*Pan-Arabism, Muslim -operation and African solidarity.* There is clash here of any kind. First and foremost, are an Arab nation and, therefore, Arab ity is uppermost in our minds. The vast jority of the population are Muslim, so any-ing affecting the Muslim world automatically comes our concern. Even if we wished, it is possible for us to escape from Africa. We part of the African continent and the Nile, very essence of our being, rises in the heart that continent.

This natural interest in these three different rlds does not mean that we are seeking poli-al integration. It does mean that we are king close co-operation.

Arab unity is our prime concern. It is vious that complete political unity or even deration of the Arab States will not be achieved the immediate future. What we are seeking st is a unity of thought among all the Arab ples, so that eventually unity can be brought out by the spontaneous will of the people.

Intense Pressures

Each country—and they range from the dal society to the modern Socialist State—st be allowed to find its own pace for deve-ment. The frequent turbulence and upsets in Middle East, however, are all traceable to fact that this development cannot come wly over centuries as it did in Western rope. Today the ideological pressure are ense. Television and radio battle continu-ly for the control of man's minds across a tinent. *In Egypt, we have had to do in ten rs what has only been accomplished in ain in more than 300.*

Complete unity between countries at such erent stages of development is not only ficult, it is impossible. The political unity ween Egypt and Syria, which has been bro-n for the moment, was effected in 1958 against ge difficulties.

When I was approached by representatives the Syrian Army, I said quite frankly that did not believe we were ready for unity. I gested that we should spend five years pre-paring for full political unity; we should start economic and social co-operation and integrate the two States completely only when they had both reached the same stage of development. They insisted that there was no time for this. Unity had to be put into effect immediately or the country would be in danger.

In the event, I was proved right. Too many things were against us. Reactionary interests brought all their power into play and this, combined with the geographical barrier, proved decisive.

Some of our enemies have acclaimed the break-up as a defeat for our regime and a complete failure. I do not agree. Although the political union broke up, much was accomplished. *Today there is considerable unity of thought between the peoples of the two countries, as was shown from the recent revolt.*

In the Arab world we have one language and one history. It is inconceivable that, one day, we shall not be united.

Our interest in Africa and in the whole Muslim world does not mean that we are interested in political unity in these cases. I do not believe that integration with any of the African nations is that easy. *We are particularly anxious, however, to co-operate with those nations on the African continent with whom we have so much in common. Geographically we stand at the gateway to Africa. We cannot escape our destiny.*

I have often been asked whether I believe that a totalitarian Government is necessary in the formative period of independence of under-developed countries. It depends what you mean by a "totalitarian." Certainly the normal Western idea of democracy is not immediately applicable in countires where the freedom to vote, although one of the most important and basic freedoms, has little meaning for a large proportion of the population. The vote means little or nothing to a hugry man.

This was certainly the case in Egypt in 1952. If a Western-style democracy had been set up immediately after the coup in July 1952, exactly the same kind of decadent and corrupt Government that we had removed would have been elected. All the power rested in the hands of one privileged class.

The first essential was to break down the class barriers, redistribute the wealth of the country in a more equitable way, and restore to the average Egyptian such basic freedoms as the freedom to work, to eat, and to own his own land. Freedom to protection for himself and his family, and a right to participate in the wealth and control of the nation, are all freedoms that helped restore to him the pride and personal dignity which is every human being's right.

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Political parties are banned in Egypt at the moment, because I was determined that our measures to improve the lot of the great mass of the people should be put through without opposition or sabotage. I do not know when they will again have a place in the life of the nation. We are in the process of creating a new constitution which will eventually lay the foundation for a fully elected Parliament, on a constituency basis, I am determined that everyone shall have a voice, and be able to judge every national issue on its own merits. No one will be tied at this stage to the narrow confines of party doctrine.

I have an open mind about the future, but I am determined that there shall be no dictatorship of any kind. We have destroyed the former dictatorship of the upper classes. I am just as determined that the country shall not fall victim to a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Population Rise

Our land reform policies, which have changed the face of Egypt, have frequently been made to appear vindictive and grasping in the overseas Press. The truth of the matter is rather different. We have reduced the maximum holding of any one person to 100 feddans (103.8 acres), which has enable thousands of fellahs to own their own land, whereas before they existed in economic servitude. Such was the size of the old estates that only 2,100 people in all have been affected by the reforms.

This does not mean that our problems are solved. Those that remain are immense. And while it is one thing to introduce the sweeping measures that we have done, it is quite another to make them work.

We are faced with a continuing rise in population, which is one of our most serious worries. Yet last year the population rose by 2.5 per cent, while the total national revenue rose by nearly 8 per cent. New methods have to be adopted for agricultural production, and the fellahs must be persuaded to combine their efforts for maximum efficiency. Enormous sums of money are required for the industrialisation of the country.

We have many problems, but I believe we are tackling them realistically. There is a sense of purpose now in a nation that is on the move and taking a pride in its achievements almost for the first time.

Our position in international affairs is, I believe, much more clearly understood now in the West. For many years both Britain and America were inclined to take the attitude that if you were not prepared to enter the Western bloc, then you must be a Communist sympathiser. For several years they found it difficult to believe there could be such a thing as a genuine neutral.

I believe that attitude has changed today, and the sincerity and genuine value of uncommitted nations in a world divided into two camps is appreciated. I believe that not only can we remain uncommitted to either East or West but that it is essential that we should do so.

Genuine neutrality does not mean remaining neutral on every important issue that comes up. It is impossible to kill a nation's conscience. It does mean judging each issue on its merits and speaking out without the restaints of commitments or pacts.

One problem remains outstanding not only for us but for all the countries of the Arab world, and that is the completely unacceptable position of Israel. *We cannot withdraw our demands that Israelis recognise in full the rights of their Arab citizens and restore their homes to the one million Arabs whom they have made homeless refugees in the aza strip. In these circumstances there can be no question of a negotiated peace with the Israelis, even if they were prepared to make some form of financil compensation. You cannot buy a man's home, you cannot purchase his soul or his basic human rights.*

Full Justice

One day the account will have to be settled and in full. I believe to achieve this we must build up the economy of the Arab world and the living standards of our people until we have reached a stage at which we can put such pressure on the Israelis as to make them understand the full justice of our stand.

The first ten years are now behind us. We are reaching a new stage of internal political development. Under the new constitution I intend that the people shall have the power to vote for their President. *I do not intend to be a life president.* Every world leader should have to answer to the people of his country.

In spite of world tensions I do not believe there will be a major world war. I am sure, through my conversations with Khrushchev, that the Russians do not want it.

We want to take the leadership of the Arab world not by military pressure or by threats, but by our example. I intend to prove that our ideas work for the benefit of the people.

I intend to continue to work, too, for a removal of suspicion and distrust in our relationships with all nations. I believe we shall succeed, we cannot afford to fail.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji
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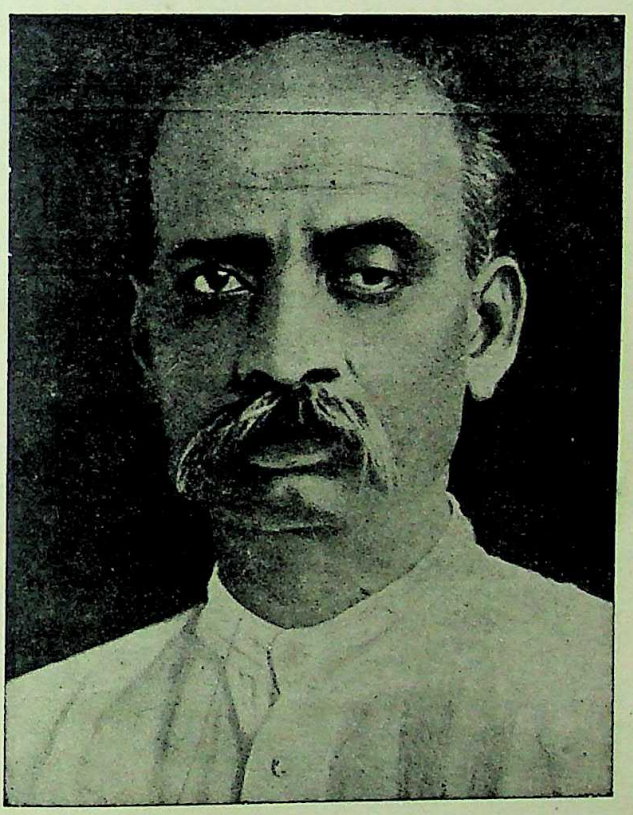
THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1962



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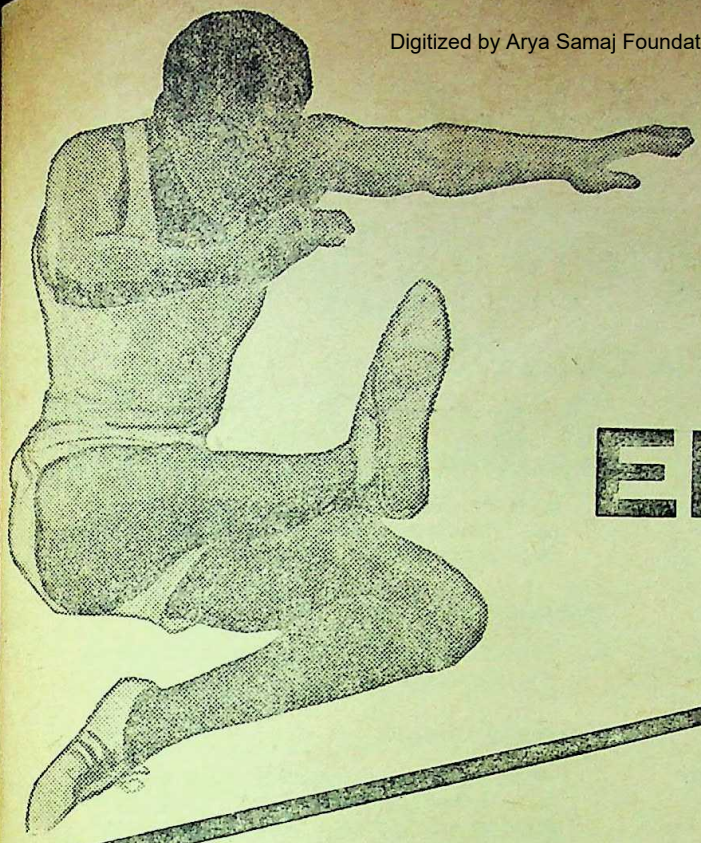

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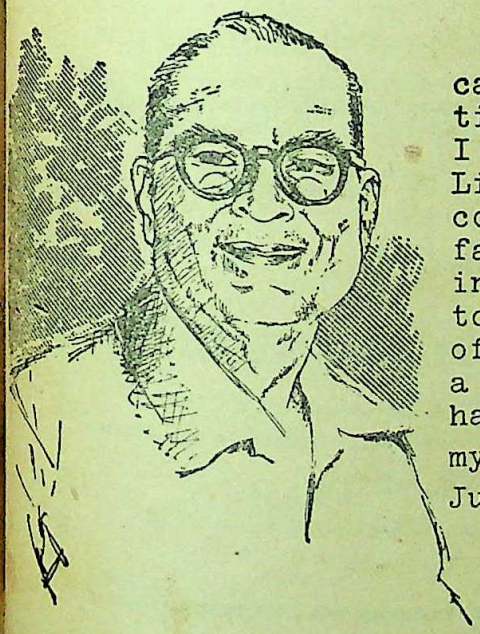

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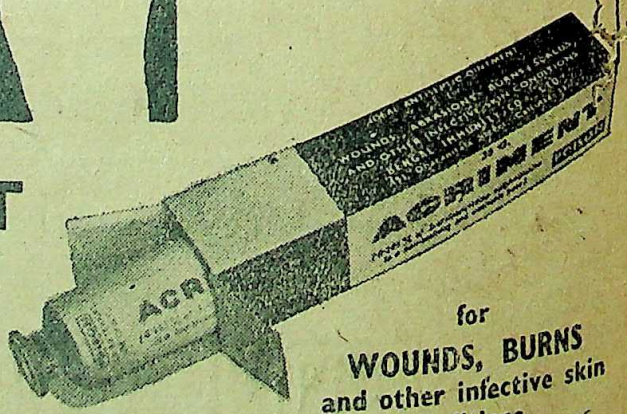

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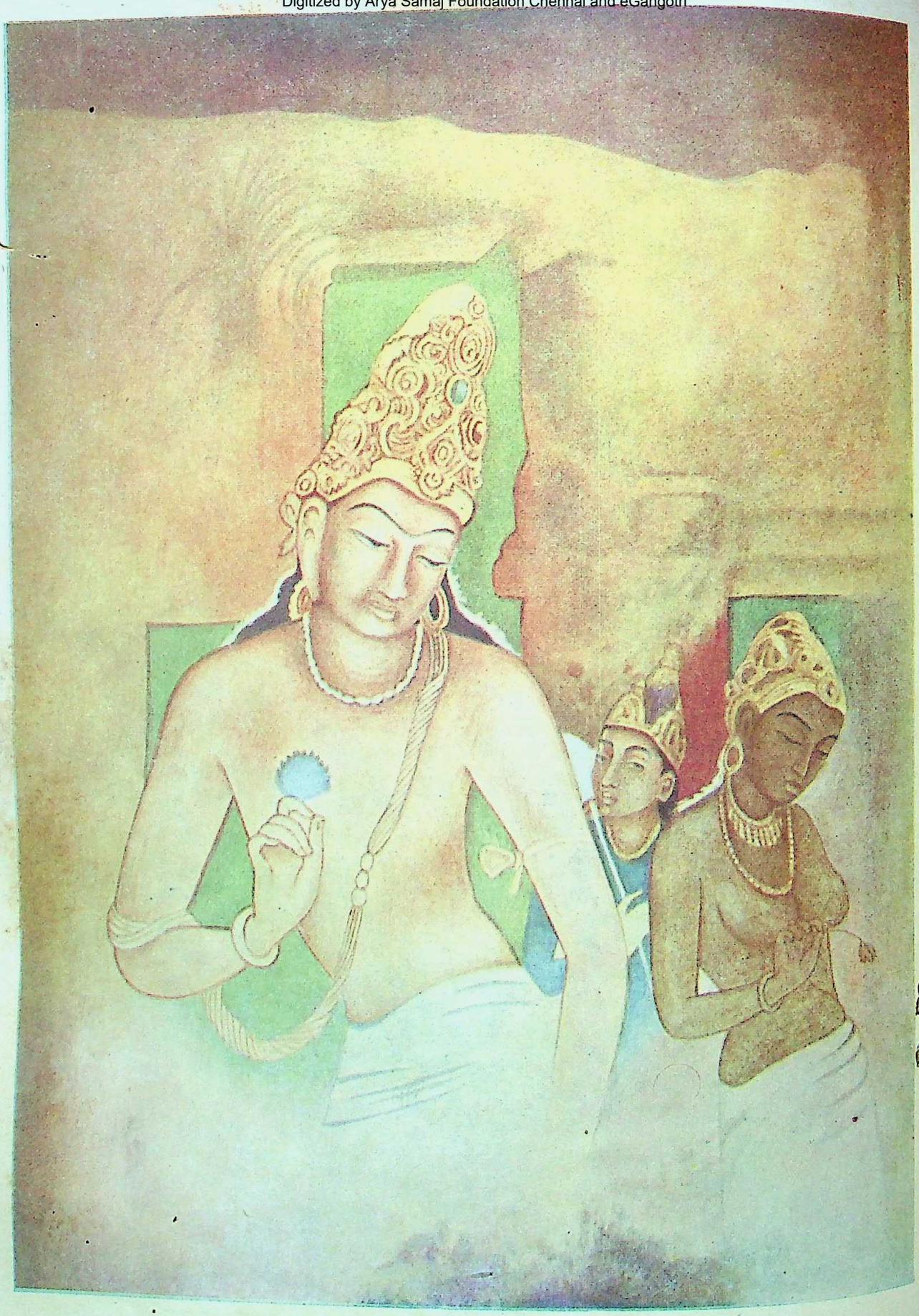

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1962

VOL. CXII, No. 6 WHOLE No. 672

NOTES

The World

To us Indians the most crucial test in the sphere of world politics is that which is in the process of being tried out on the edges of the roof of the world at Ladakh in the North-West of India and at the North-Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) in the North-East. But to the rest of the world it was but a minor flare-up, which might or might not develop into a major conflagration—such is the effect of the cold war climate on the world. But the reaction of the Indian people to the treacherous stab in the back by China, and the nation-wide pulsation of patriotic fervour coupled with the stern resolution to fight and drive-out the aggressor from the Indian soil, cost what it may, has had its effect on the world.

There is a tense atmosphere now prevailing in South-East Asia as the issues of the present conflict may vitally affect many countries that are adjacent to the borders of the Chinese sphere of influence. China has realized that many of these countries have become apprehensive and, therefore, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-Lai have mounted a peace offensive amongst all the non-aligned nations of Africa and Asia. There is a very cleverly masked attempt to antagonise these nations against India and agreements based on unmitigated lies and highly embellished half-truths are being forwarded to all the heads of the governments of these countries. This attempt has two clear objectives, firstly, to isolate India from the rest of the non-aligned Afro-Asian countries, secondly, to throw the weight of their opinion against India, regarding the question of acceptance of Chinese terms for cease-fire and the bilateral negotiations between China and India regarding a settlement of the frontiers.

Our Government has woken-up and has sent out two missions to Africa and South-East Asia, and is contemplating sending some more, in order to place the facts regarding the Chinese terms etc., in a proper light before the world. There is as yet a great deal of indecision in these non-aligned circles and Ceylon has called for a conference, at Colombo, of Afro-Asian countries.

The Chinese have taken a further 3,000 sq. miles of Indian territory in Ladakh, in addition to the 12,000 sq. miles they have taken piece-meal since 1957. The unprovoked and massive campaign of aggression launched by them on October 20 last has also gained for them about 3,000 sq. miles in the rugged areas of the NEFA. There has been a lull in the hostilities since November 21, when the Chinese unilaterally imposed a cease-fire on both fronts. There is a proposal for the withdrawal of the Chinese forces to some 20 kilometers behind what the Chinese term as the actual line of control on November 7, 1959, which our authorities consider as being indeterminate and illusory in view of the qualifying clauses that are put into the same proposals.

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In any case it is an uneasy lull as now it is clear that no reliance whatsoever can be put on Chinese terms, assurances and talks. The main question now is when would the Chinese launch another offensive and what are their objectives? The view that prevailed in New Delhi previously was that the Chinese objective—for the time being—was Ladakh and that they would be prepared for bargaining on that basis. But there are doubts being expressed whether the limits of Chinese expansionist moves were limited to only Ladakh. The Chinese have been building roads from Western Tibet on to their main bases in Sinkiang, which is a Chinese province, and they wanted Ladakh in order to consolidate their hold over the conquered territory of Tibet.

We have to prepare for a long struggle. It is almost certain that if we weaken in our resolve, then there would be another—and a far more powerful—assault on our territories at a later time. Putting off the evil day would only mean asking for more humiliation and, perhaps, loss of freedom for a long period of time for large sections of our country and its peoples. The tempo of preparation must increase and not flag. There has been a lot of wishful thinking in some influential quarters here regarding the attitude of Moscow on this Indo-Chinese conflict. Pandit Nehru went so far as to say that the Soviets would fulfil all contracts regarding supplies of war materials made prior to the present Chinese aggression. There has also been a lot of speculation regarding the possible effects on Peking of the rifts between the two major Communist powers and its consequences. Indeed, some have seen evidences of these differences in the sudden unilateral pronouncement of a cease fire on the Indian Frontier, which the Chinese said would take effect—as would the withdrawal of their forces from the advanced positions from December 1—whether India agreed to the proposals or not.

In this connection the summing up of all visible effects of the "Rifts" and the conclusions drawn therefrom, as published in the international edition of the New York Times for November 11, are very cogent and we append below a long extract from the concluding portion:

To both Premier Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung the situation each finds himself in appears to be a struggle on two fronts, one against his communist rival and the other against the capitalist world headed by the United States. Each fears the day may come when he will need the other for help in a general war between the Communist and Western capitalist nations.

However weak the ideological bond linking Moscow and Peking has become, it is still important because each side feels that an open break would cause serious damage to the naive faith of millions in each country. It would be very difficult for Mao Tse-tung, for example, to explain to his people that the Soviet Union, the home of Lenin and Stalin, is now actually anti-Marxist as Mao believes. Similarly, Premier Khrushchev is chary of administering the shock to the Soviet people that would result if he were to declare openly that the "brotherly Chinese people" are led by a group of anti-Marxist warmongers.

Finally, there are many countries where continued Soviet-Chinese political co-operation still serves the interests of both sides. This was true in Cuba before the recent crisis, and is still to be observed in many of the underdeveloped countries, particularly the newest African nations. In these countries it is mutually helpful to co-operate in projecting an image of Marxist friendship, strength, and desire to help.

For Premier Khrushchev the key foreign policy objective—now that the Cuba situation has eased—is still the conversion of West Berlin into a free city. He has hesitated for four years about bringing this issue to a showdown, but he is under intense pressure not only from the Chinese but also from the East Germans and perhaps also from some others in Czecho-slovakia and Rumania.

For Mr. Mao the primary conflicts with the West arise from the current fighting on the Indian border and from his continued inability to incorporate Taiwan into the China he rules. Less important, but not in-

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consequential, is Communist China's continued exclusion from the United Nations.

The Soviet Union endorses both Peking's right to rule Taiwan and its replacement of Nationalist China in the United Nations. On the Indo-Chinese conflict, Moscow has been caught in a very uncomfortable squeze because of its large investments in wooing India this past decade. Premier Khrushchev is trying to ride the latter storm by assuming a public posture of pro-Chinese neutrality, while pressing for a cease fire such as Peking would now like.

As would be gathered from the above, there would be little beyond remonstrances from the Soviets against the aggression, if the observations of the New York Times are correct.

Here in India there are only a few persons, outside the "indoctrinated" perverts with extra-territorial loyalties, who now believe in the possibility of the schism in the World's International Communism offesting the present struggle in any way that would be favourable to India, or that anything but the force of circumstances and the build-up of India's fighting strength would bring to a halt the forces of Chinese expansionism. The position was thus seen through the eyes of the observers of the **New York Times** about tree weeks after the Chinese assault began :

"India was being transformed to an extent the Chinese may have not anticipated when they struck. Illusions of years about China were shed —and Indians were looking with new eyes at Moscow ad the West as well."

"In relations with China, Mr. Nehru had leaned over backwards trying to settle Peking's border claims. To his own people he played down the extent of the Chinese incursions into the disputed areas long after they assumed threatening proporitons. But last week Mr. Nehru accused China of using the Hitlerite technique of the 'big lie.' Under the 'terrible shock' of the invasion, he said, 'the soul of India has awakened again."

"As for relations with Russia, India's view of their value was being adjusted—downward. For all their wooing of India, the Russians in India's desperate hour did not go beyond an unhappy neutrality. Mr. Nehru was keeping contacts with Moscow open last week. The Russians, he said yesterday, are living up to their commitments to sell India a dozen or so MIG jet fighters. But in Indian public opinion Moscow never stood lower."

"As for the West, its stock was never higher. The United States, in speedy response to an Indian request, was flying in small arms to help stem the invaders in the mountain passes of the north. A broad coordinated program of military aid to India was under discussion in Washington by the U.S., Britain and Canada. India was still a non-aligned country last week, but her emotions were turning West."

The view quoted above, which is substantially true now, began with the realization of the intelligentsia that this massive assault on our northern frontiers had totally altered the perpective in which our eyes were being oriented where Welt-Politik was concerned. We were now looking at the World from a totally different angle. Uptil now we were asked to take sides in quarrels started by others or to align ourselves with one or the other of the two groups of powers that were ranged on opposite sides in the cold war. We could pick and choose our stand in such matters and, placed as we were in the need of massive help for the rebuilding of our country's economy and to set the nation on the main track for welfare, progress and self-sufficiency, the choice of our leaders of the path of 'Peace and good will to all' which is another name for non-alignment, seemed to be correct—and adequate. It brought us not only long-term loans and substantial aid in technical know-how and machinery but allowed us to upgrade our economy without the drag of power politics with its consequent heavy drain on tine, energy and resources. Those who scoff at the progress made during the past 15 years forget the depths of economic and moral chaos into which we were plunged—willy nilly—during World War II. The poor were impoverished further while a large number of rapacious and unscrupulous adverturers, who were totally devoid of any humane instincts, came in possession of the major portion of the country's industry, commerce and economic power. The corruption that has permeated to the highest places today has come from

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those very sources of contamination and they are largely responsible for the serious shortcomings that have appeared in the working of our Plans.

But, of course, this should have been merely a pre-occupation and it can no longer be put forward as an excuse for the total neglect of our defences. The lapses and errors of omission and commission that are now being highlighted by the defeats in the present struggle are also throwing into prominent relief the aberrations and weaknesses of those whom we have. To put ill-clad and poorly armed soldiers to face an enemy whose might in numbers and warlike equipment was known to the World was not only an act of stupidity but was also neglect, heinous and inexcusable. But then, this is not the time for the reckoning of culpabilities.

Let us revert to the main theme. The perspective has changed now that we are involved in a mortal struggle that threatens all that we hold dear in our way of life. We have been caught unprepared by a powerful and ruthless foe whose rapacity and treachery know no limits where lust for power nad territory are concened. We are now in need of substantial aid in the form of armaments and materials essential for warfare and also in need of support and sympathy from all with whom we have been friends. It is now the time to test friendships and the test has been revealing in more way than one. We are plunged into the actual stream of adversity and perhaps a trained inlooker on the spot can analyse and assemble the facts of the situation better. This is how A. M. Rosenthal, the highly trained and skilled observor of the **New York Times** put it a few days before the cease-fire. After reviewing the background of Pandit Nehru's "combination of political morality and diplomatic back-room pragmatism" with skill, he summed up the reactions of, the attacked—that is ourselves—and that of the World that we called our friends. He sums up the results of the shock of this treacherous aggression by the Chinese to Pandit Nehru's philosophy and policies by saying that he still holds on to them. Then he goes on to say:

"But the belief of Nehru and of many around him that non-alignment remains India's best course is considerably less important than the fact that they also now realize that non-alignment of itself cannot protect India's freedom."

"To the Western mind, there may be a total inconsistency in India's refusal to give up non-alignment and her desperate attempts to arm herself, with the aid of the West, against one of the leaders of the Communist world. The fact is that more and more Indians see this inconsistency, too."

"But for the time being, all this seems to matter less than the fact that day by day Nehru is being forced, through public pressure and his own patriotism, to build up India against Communist China. For the West this, and not India's pledge of political allegiance, has been the real goal."

"Diplomatically, India remains non-aligned. But emotionally her people regard those countries that help India as allies and those that do not, not as enemies or, at best, turncoats. Nehru cannot deny his own past and his own philosophy. Communism is not the question, he says almost desperately ; Communism can be good and Communism can be bad."

"It would be comforting to believe that India's example had galvanized the rest of the non-aligned nations into appreciation of the reality of Communist power politics—comforting, but illusory.

"The Chinese Communists shattered the smugness of the non-aligned world. Tito reacted to Nehru's peril by weeks of silence ; Sukarno by permitting Indonesia's Communist Party to champion Peking ; Nasser by rushing about in search of a negotiating formula ; Nkrumah by brazenly castigating Britain for daring to come to the aid of a fellow member of the Commonwealth in time of danger."

"But the non-aligned world's confidence in itself—again, as seen from New Delhi—is gone now, drowned in non-aligned fearfulness stretching from Indonesia to Egypt, from Ghana to Yugoslavia.

"It is still the first chapter, but even now it can be foreseen that India's economy and military posture will be affected by the attack for years. The full impact on the minds, habits and treasury will naturally depend on whether India,

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as she and her friends hope, can achieve a peace with honor relatively quickly.

"Perhaps the most important single fact is that the invasion has created the overpowering realization that it could happen again. Immunity has died."

"There is also some faint hope that the Chinese Communists will have succeeded in shaking India and Pakistan out of the state of political warfare that has sapped the energies and resources of both countries for a decade and a half."

"It is possible, even probable, that although the Chinese Communists chose to begin the confrontation, they have no desire to see it through to a climax now. It seems obvious that they would prefer to continue in stages, each to begin when Peking decides. Nor do the Indians have any desire for a final test for which they are not prepared.

"But neither Communist China nor India has powers of political magic. There is no army strong enough, no politician powerful enough, to wipe out an event of historical importance or its effect on the minds of nations and men."

The mind of the Indian nation is now set in a resolve to drive the enemy out, whatever the cost. And this resolve has been strngthened and our hearts comforted to a great extent by the genuine and generous offers of aid and sympathy from a number of friends, who have proved true in these tests, Britain and the U.S.A. being the most notable, though the response from many others have been no less warm in quality.

The rest of the World: There is not much to report since the tension has lifted from Cuba, after Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba agreed to return the jet bombers that the Soviets had given him. The naval blockade imposed by the U.S. around Cuba has been lifted as a consequence. The fear of air-strikes against Cuba air-fields and anti-air-craft batteries, that was threatened by the U.S. State Department if more reconnaissance planes were shot down—as was the U-2 on October 27—has also passed. The tension remains, of course, but it is not strained to the limit as before.

The U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution at the beginning of November against the Union of South Africa which might lead to its expulsion. The resolution was backed by the Afro-Asian bloc and it was passed by 67 votes for and 16 against with 23 absentious. It called upon U.N. members to apply economic sanctions and break off diplomatic relations with South Africa. The 16 nations that voted against the resolution were all Western nations who were of importance in international trade and they are not likely to abide by the call for economic sanctions. But all the same the resolution is of importance as expressing the U.N. General Assembly's condemnation of the "Apartherd" policy followed by the South African Government.

In Algeria the Communist Party has been banned. No reasons were given by the authorities, but it is known that it is a probable consequence of that party not accepting Premier Ben Bella's directive to merge itself in the F.L.N. The Communist group is a small one in Algeria and it did not play any significant part in Algeria's struggle for freedom—as can he easily surmised. But Mr. Ben Bella's main objective is said to be the establishment of one-Party rule in Algeria which, if true, would indicate a deviation from the democratic path.

The Cease-fire

There is an unilateral "cease-fire" in the Sino-Indian war on our northern areas. The reasons behind this cessation of the Chinese offensive are unknown to us—or rather a matter for speculation or conjecture, not only to us, but to the rest of the truly democratic world. The Chinese themselves have made the three-point proposal formulated by them and forwarded to us for acceptance, a three-pronged weapon for mounting a diplomatic offensive. These seemingly generous and peaceful proposals have been so artfully worded that they have made an impression on some countries and governments in Asia and Africa, particularly those who have been wooed by China and are more than inclined to be deceived by her guile. This diplomatic offensive has been substantially aided by the poor quality of our own diplomatic representatives, ambassadors, charge-des-affaires and counsels posted in these areas. As a result, special missions headed

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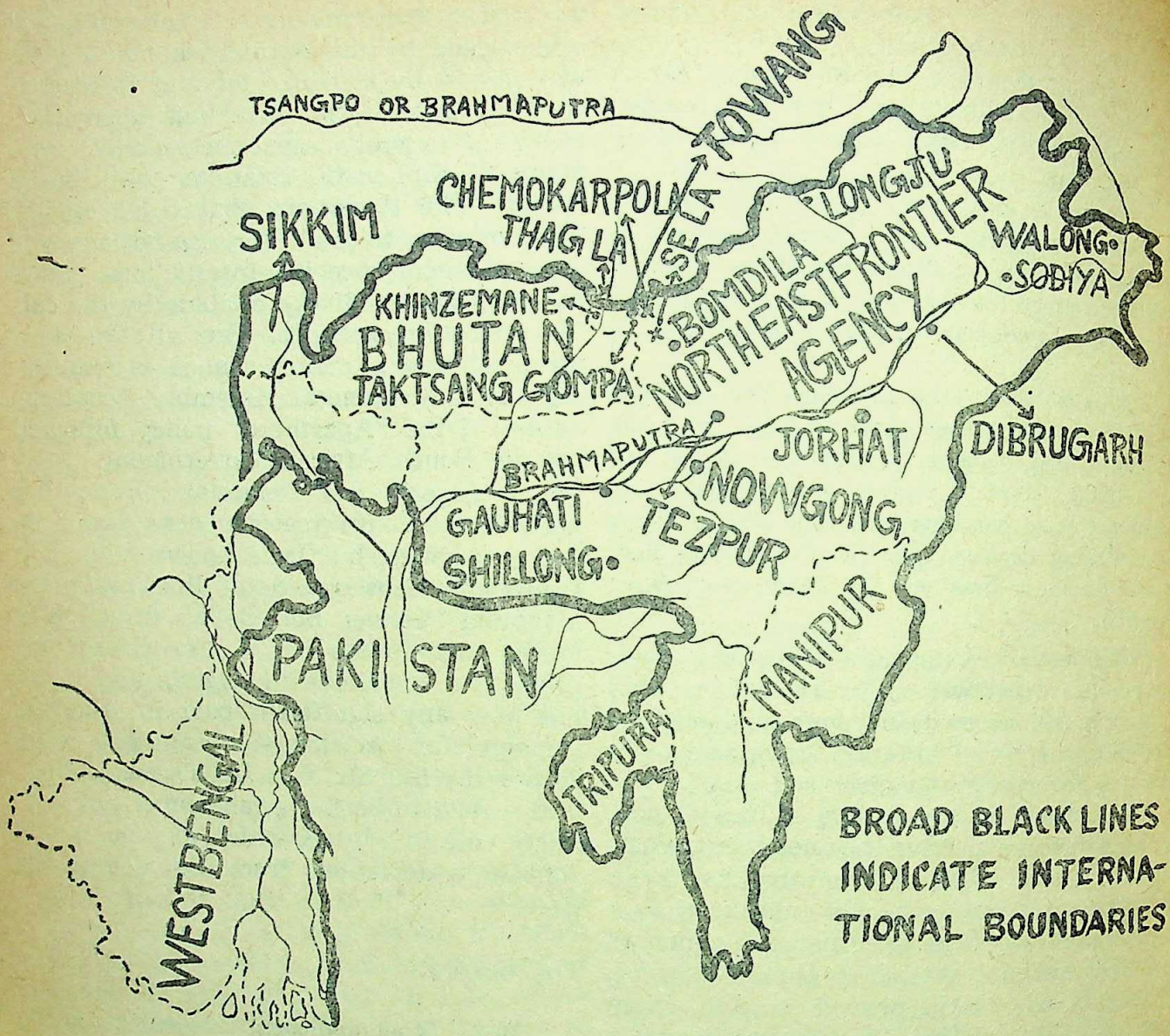

by ministers assisted by high officials of the External Affairs Department have had to be sent to the U.A.R., and Ghana in Africa and to Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia and Ceylon in South-East Asia.

In passing it might be remarked that the "affairs" at the Ministry of External Affairs seem to have been almost as haphazardly carried on as in the Ministry of Defence—not by the officials but by those who are in supreme control. *The Statesman* carried the following news in regard to the Chinese manoeuvres in this field :

Apart from Mr. Chou En-lai's recent letter to 24 Afro-Asian Heads of State explaining the Chinese stand, the Chinese Government has written further letters to selected Afro-Asian Heads of State.

These sources said the Chinese Government had shown no inclination to accept any of the mediation proposals put forward by several of these Governments, but appeared detrmined to stick to its own position, hoping they would accept it.

In addition to writing to the Indonesian President, Mr. Chou En-lai has written another letter to President Nasser requesting him to continue his mediation efforts.

The Cairo weekly, *Rosal Youssef*, wrote on Monday : "Peking desires President Nasser to convince New Delhi to first accept China's cease-fire proposals and then hold talks over India's demands concerning the withdrawal of Chinese forces to their former positions."

A Chinese cultural delegation is arriving in Cairo shortly to start an extensive tour of some Arab and African countries and will presumably

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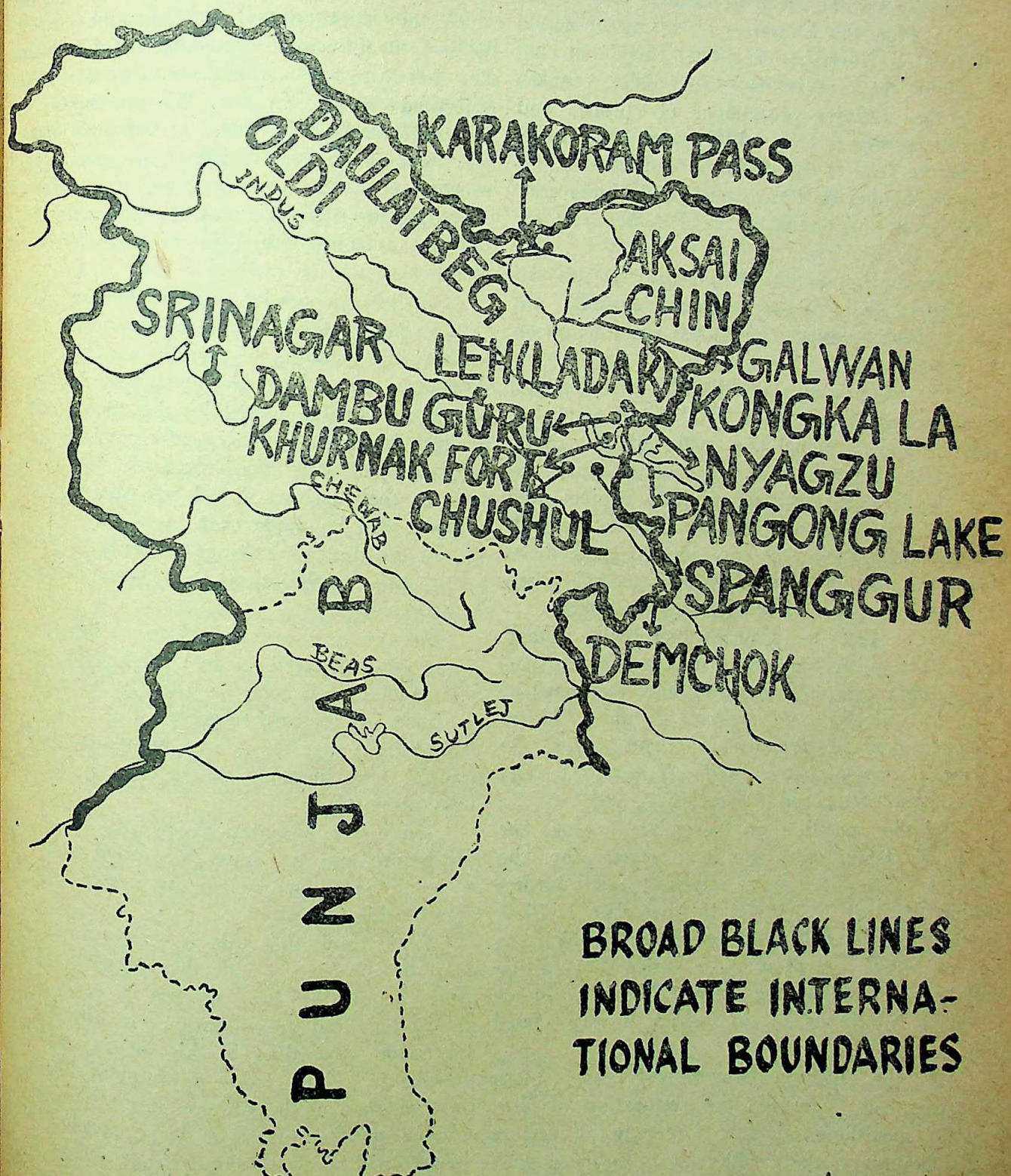
attempt to propagate the Chinese version of the border dispute.

The delegation plans to wind up at Dar-es-Salaam (Tanganyika), where about 80 Afro-Asian delegations will be meeting for the third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference from January 7 to 21.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry told the Press at New Delhi on Nov. 25, that the Chinese proposal to withdraw to the "actual line of control as on November 7, 1959", instead of being "more just and fair than the Indian suggestion of withdrawal to the line held prior to September 8, 1962," was in reality a snare to deceive the unwary, as while using the expression "the line in actual control as on November 7,



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1959" they also say that by this line of actual control they mean "the traditional customary line in the western and middle sectors" which again they interpret as the line they claimed in the 1960 maps, which is now in their occupation. The spokesman said :—

"A certain amount of confusion has been caused by the deceptive Chinese propaganda on the question of withdrawals of Chinese and Indian troops to what the Chinese call a line of actual control as on November 7, 1959. This is in contrast with the Government of India's position that if the Chinese professions of peace and peaceful settlement of differences are really genuine, let at least the *status quo* which obtained before September 8, 1962 when the Chinese committed fresh aggression in NEFA, be restored first.

"Those who do not understand the full significance of the Chinese proposal naturally ask why we cannot accept the earlier position as on November 7, 1959.

"The Chinese also say that the line of actual control as on November 7, 1959 is the same as they call the traditional and customary line in the western and middle sector. By a clever manipulation, the Chinese are attempting to project the line that they claim for the first time in the official meeting between the two sides in 1960, to be identical with the line of actual control which they have now established by massive attack.

"If in 1959 the Chinese had really wanted to go back to the position as it existed on November 7 1959, we would naturally have welcomed it.

"*But all this is mentioned by the Chinese Government for propaganda purposes, for the line of actual control today, is not the same line that existed on November 7, 1959.*

"If the position on November 7, was the same as today, why was it necessary for the Chinese to mount massive attacks to gain further Indian territory ? Actually if November 7, 1959, is taken as the date with reference to which the line of actual control is to be settled the position will be as stated by the Prime Minister in his letter of November 14, in which it was stated that,

"If the Chinese Government really mean what they say regarding the restoration of Nov. 7, 1959, positions of their forces in all sectors of the boundary, their withdrawals to those positions and the restoration of the positions of the Indian forces as they were prior to September 8, 1962, would by and large meet the problem of disengagement as there will be enough distances between the positions of the forces of the two sides to prevent risk of a clash. To put it concretely, in the Eastern Sector the Chinese forces will go back to the positions they held on November 7, 1959, that is they will be on the other side of the boundary along the Himalayan watershed which they first crossed on September 8, 1962. In the Central Sector the position will be the same, that is they will be to the north of the highest watershed ridge. In the Western Sector, the Chinese forces will go back to the positions they held on November 7, 1959, as given in the attached note, that is, along the line connecting their Spangur post, Khurnak Fort and Kongka La and then northwards to join the main Aksai Chin Road.

"In other words, this is the Peking government's usual method of causing confusion by perverting the meaning of words and by making statements which bear no relation to realities.

It was further stated by the spokesman that further clarification of certain portions of the proposals had been asked for from Peking and as soon as they arrived a full consideration of the proposal will be made then.

At the time of writing the reply to the letter asking for clarifications had been received in New Delhi.

But the why and wherefore of the proposals are as yet a mystery, as few outside the circle of Nations that have been beguiled by China's blandishments are inclined to accept it at its face value or to believe that China was motivated purely by peaceful and humane considerations in making these proposals.

There are speculations galore, as we have said before, and any guess is as good as any other at the present juncture, on the causes and objectives of this move.

Some think that this is part of a well-laid plan, in accordance with the strategy of piecemeal acquisition by aggression and peaceful absorption and consolidation of the fruits of aggression. According to this theory—which now prevails in New Delhi—a powerful thrust will come as soon as the Chinese forces are ready for starting another offensive. It is expected that the assaults will be over a larger front and on a major scale but, of course, no one outside the Chinese

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command knows when and where. The ambiguities in the peace proposals are regarded as being part of the plan for extension of time.

Others are inclined to think that some hitches have occurred in the progress of the well-planned aggression, particularly with regard to the action of the fifth column inside India. It was known to all well-informed people that vast sums were being spent by the Chinese diplomats in India, through their agents in the major cities and the frontier areas of India and that they were keeping in close touch with the pro-Chinese group in the C.P.I. and some minor splinter groups of the so-called Leftists. Indeed, we thought that the well-planned and well-executed conflagration in Calcutta a shortwhile back, in which thirteen pairs of tram cars were set on fire in the twinking of an eye so to say, and burnt to ashes, was an exercise in the disruption of transport facilities by well-trained and well-equipped saboteurs of that very fifth column.

But despite all that, New Delhi remained unperturbed for, of course, they knew better !

Other hitches are also being speculated upon, such as those on transport across the Tibetan highlands, 32 of whose passes to and from China are snow-bound for winter ; disagreement with the Soviet authorities who are said to have taken a dim view of the Chinese aggression, etc. But even these speculations do not at all preclude a resumption of aggression on a massive scale at a later date.

Some support is being provided by the rage and fury of the Pakistanis over the turn of affairs after major offers of large-scale aid, in weapons, equipment and other essentials of warfare contingencies that have come from Britain, the U.S.A., and some other countries. There can be no doubt that Pakistan expected to get large pieces of Indian territory through this aggression of China on an India that was totally unprepared for aggression on such a scale—thanks to the aberrations of its Chief Executive—and that would be rendered totally helpless and an easy prey to the rapacity of a belligerent Pakistan, if no aid were forthcoming from the Western Powers. A secret pact over the division of Indian territory between China and Pakistan cannot be ruled out, if we closely analyse the action of the Pakistani authorities in trying to prevent any aid coming to India from outside. The Pakistani Press, which is under the thumb of the dictator's executive, has been on the rampage ever since China launched her campaign of aggression and it is difficult to believe—as Pandit Nehru and Sri Lalbahadur Shastri did—that all these paens of hate were being circulated against the wishes of President Ayub Khan, though it may be that the reaction of the Press exceeded instructions.

The *Canard* put forward by Pakistan's Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Mohammad Ali, in the Pakistan National Assembly on Nov. 23, and the resultant uproar, well illustrates our point. *The Statesman's* correspondent gave the following report :—

Opposition groups in the National Assembly today almost unanimously demanded immediate abrogation by Pakistan of her foreign defence treaties and an exit from the Commonwealth "because the West has betrayed the confidence reposed in her allies by Pakistan."

"The Government benches felt quite embarrassed at so unanimous a demand and found it difficult to make members understand the implications of such drastic action at this stage. The Treasury Benches' plan to proceed with the debate on the Sino-Indian conflict and the arms aid by Britain and the USA crumbled in the face of the Opposition attack. Numerically weak, it came out with a massive onslaught and successfully rendered futile all efforts of the Government to transact business.

Today's entire three-hour session was held in camera as the Ministerial Benches did not find it convenient to throw the galleries open to the Press, diplomats and the public. When the House adjourned for the day, Opposition members looked jubilant, while a feeling of disappointment and dejection could be read on the faces of the Ministers and their supporters.

"Yesterday the Treasury Benches made a good start but soon lost the initiative due to a lack of direction as to how the proceedings could be conducted to their advantage. As the House met this morning, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Minister for External Affairs, read out long texts of treaties with the Western bloc, including SEATO and CENTO and the treaty of mutual defence assistance allegedly negotiated between India and America 11 years ago. He had hardly finished reading the last mentioned document, when the House went into an uproar.

"According to the National Assembly members, most of whom volunteered information to

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impatient correspondents waiting outside, Mr. Abul Quasem, the Deputy Speaker, was the first to charge negligence and inefficiency on the part of the Foreign Office. He said Pakistan's foreign service officials in America did not even bother to buy a booklet containing the "secret" treaties which according to him was avaliable for a paltry sum of 10 cents. This was the beginning of the trouble. From then onward orderly discussion became impossible.

As the noisy scenes subsided for a while, Mr. Ali sought the House's consideration of the motion moved yesterday inviting a general debate on the situation arising out of the Sino-Indian conflict and arms supplies to India by Western countries."

"Sardar Bahadur Khan, leader of the Opposition group Muslim League, opposed consideration of the motion as it was not specific. He asserted that the Government should table a concrete motion so that the debate could serve a useful purpose. This again caused an uproar in the House, but finally the Government had to concede to the opposition with a promise to reconsider the motion and table a fresh one tomorrow.

The statement made by Mohammad Ali has been refuted by our External Affairs Ministry, but even without that refutation the fabrication was patent on the face of it. If here was a pact, why were our troops so ill-equipped with modern weapons? Of course, no mob—least of all a Pakistani mob—stops to think and the reaction evidently got out of hand as later processions, etc., were forbidden in Rawalpindi and at Karachi.

The Pakistani Press is still going all out in its campaign of lies and half-truths, in the proper rabble-raising style that is so characteristic of it. The latest fabrication is that of a tremendous concentration of Indian forces on—of all places —the East-Pak—Tripura border !

THE EDITOR

Military Unpreparedness

One can easily see that India's military unpreparedness had two clear-cut aspects. One was psychological and a direct product of the cult of non-violence and, therefore, disarmament, which the Congress adopted when they came into political power by peacefully accepting the British Plan of Partition of India in 1947. Ever since that day India had been carrying on a campaign which was anti-war and the Indian Government had been lending itself to be used by the world as an instrument for establishing peace between nations. With this outlook and the background of Gandhian non-violence, India's political leaders bsgan to forget the needs of national defence and the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force were allowed to deteriorate in man-power, equipment and that upto the last ounce fitness for meeting emergencies, which gave the forces their true might and ability to defend the country against any attacks from any quarters. The British Indian Army used to be in the dry and dreary North-Western Frontier of India all the time in ample numbers and kept up their ability to fight back the tribesmen who were ferocious and the children of the soil. No one ever thought that the tribesmen could by-pass the British Indian Army and capture Rawalpindi or Quetta, for, the soldiers who defended that frontier were just as tough and as well-acquainted with the terrain as were the tribesmen, *and they were better armed.* In the case of the North-Eastern frontier of India under the independent Congress managed Government, the soldiers of India were neither as fit and as well-informed about the terrain as the Chinese invaders of India; nor were they equally well armed and equipped. So, the Chinese came through almost to the plains of India and might have occupied one or two border towns in the plains if they had so desired. This was sure evidence of the deterioration that had set in our defence arrangements under the non-violent and peace-loving Congress *raj*. We do not know whether Pandit Nehru has set in motion the probe that he promised he would have carried out to discover "who done it." Even without a probe one can say in a general sort of way that the Congress outlok on defence had done it. Who now were the custodians and the repositories of that outlook? The answer is too well-known to be reproduced here.

The Government of India are now going abegging all over the world to obtain military aid and assistance. They are also getting some military alms from Britain and the U.S.A. This is the other and the material aspect of our military unpreparedness. How far this is wise and in keeping with our national self-respect is better known to our leaders than to ourselves. We feel small everytime, our Government goes

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out with the beggar's bowl. But, then, we are ordinary people with no diplomatic training or experience of high-level politics. Our economic planning has been partly carried out by begging and we are now well on the way to borrow from other nations to defend our territory. That these have been found necessary could not be cited as a proof of able management of the affairs of the nation. Yet, we do not see any signs of self-reproach among our leaders. They have landed the people of India in a grave situation by their negligence, inefficiency and lack of wisdom, but they are no whit abashed and continue to blow their own trumpets as if nothing condemnatory had happened. Only V. K. Krishna Menon has resigned. But there must have been many others whose common effort brought about this shameful state of affairs. The others continue in their various places repeating a newly concocted set of war cries of which they hardly know the dimensions and the true meaning. Certain types of people are the products of their own fundamental nature and character. No one can, for instance, teach a timidly surrendering type of person to become a ferocious fighter over-night. Most of the people who rule our destinies now are soft and timid by nature. They are not the sort of people who can help India to win in a life and death struggle. They will always try to get out of difficulties the easy way. Which is the way of dishonour and disgrace. We want men and women in our various councils, committees, etc., etc., who will know the real meaning of a war to the finish. Otherwise, we shall have yet another Kashmir in the NEFA. Negative approach by removing one or two persons or by arresting a few traitors is not the right way to win. Where are the men and women who are fighters to the bitter end by nature, by faith and by up bringing?

A. C.

Avoid Party Names

All political parties of India should make a supreme effort to win back our lost territory and self-respect. But they must not antagonise each other by declaring their effort and work as emanating from the Congress, the PSP, the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra Party as the case may be. War effort and war work must be non-party and purely national for two reasons. The first reason is that the Indian people, as such, do not belong to political parties in very large numbers. If all party members are counted they would total upto a very small percentage of the population of India. This percentage will not exceed 5 per cent. The other 95 per cent of the people are non-party, though many of them agree from time to time to believe this partymen or that for election purposes. We have been noticing that the political parties, particularly the Congress, are trying to take a lead, *as parties*, to make a war effort. This is wrong, as it might lead to squabbles and defeat the national purpose of our war effort. So that the Government should prohibit by law the use of political party names in connection with the more important branches of the war effort. These will includes Civil Defence by means of ARP and First Aid training, formation of Home Guard Units and organisations for raising funds. Indian people have responded quite well to the call of the motherland; but the Rs. 10 crores or 6,000 tolas of gold cannot be called all out giving. The number of persons appointed for ARP, First Aid, etc., are as yet insignificant. The general public have not come out in their millions to help in the work. This is due to the preponderance of Government servants, political partymen and their stooges in the various committees. Some political partymen and Government agents even speak slightingly of any efforts made by the general public, if such efforts have the nature of bringing together larger numbers of persons in different areas for an all out war effort. Actually such men slow down the war effort. The Nation as such must rise to a man and work for winning the war. This cannot happen if policemen, Government officers and political party leaders together with their supporters try to keep out members of the public from all recognised organisations for war work. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose once said that if certain political parties tried to make a monopoly of winning freedom, that freedom would never be won. So that if the war is to be won on the basis of a total mobilisation of man-power and resources, the idea must be given up that this or that political party must be in the top positions everywhere. This is more true in view of the fact that political leaders are, generally speaking, not at all useful in making things effective, efficient and strong. If the officers in the Army, Navy and Air Force were taken from the ranks of political leaders the situation would have been far

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worse. For bad leaders make their followers useless even if they were initially good. Good leaders on the other hand change weak men into heroes. It is, therefore, an unfortunate fact that just as the defencs arrangements have gone from bad to worse over the fifteen years of independence leading to the Chinese invasion of India due to bad leadership, now that the war has come to India, the war effort of India also is likely to be weakened by the selfish activities of the same leaders. This situation can improve only by removing political partymen from important positions and replacing them by non-partymen of outstanding ability and undoubted integrity. If this is done then the war-like peoples of India will soon send the Chinese back to China.

A. C.

Mortgaging National Assets

During the British Period of Indian history the natural resources of India in the shape of forests, forest products, minerals and wide tracts of land for raising cash crops like jute, tea and sugarcane were handed over to British concerns for commercial exploitation. This virtual gift of the nation's assets enabled the British to multiply their capital in India a thousand fold over a period of decades and much of the so-called British capital investments in India were merely the earnings of Britishers in India made by use of economic rights and privileges obtained through political connections. British political overlordship in India was by and large a facade for economic exploitation and the poverty of Indians towards the end of British period was only the reverse side of British affluence at home. When India became independent the lesson of political power being turned to cash was not forgotten and we got the permit, quota, licence *raj* which slowly began to create a new capitalism in India in which trades people and money-lenders dominated the landed aristocracy, Maharajas and superior landlords had to join hands with shop-keepers in order to live and all had to curry favour at *Durbars* in the manner of British Traders at the Court of Jehangir or Warren Hastings. Great fortunes were made by individuals within and outside the law and many foreigners joined in this "gold" rush in the role of suppliers, contractors, designers and erectors of the great plants and factories that sprouted all over India like mushrooms. All this has been going on without any increase of power as far as foreigners were concerned till the Chinese invasion of India set in. This exposed the vital weaknesses that had crept into the nation's life and shook the political leaders out of their attitude of complacency in the field of foreign relations and national defence. India had to look for help outside and she found it almost simultaneously with her discomfiture in her relations with the Chinese. Mighty foreign powers rushed into help India and poured their assistance into the empty arsenals of India. They did not ask to fix terms nor to gain any advantages. But they did come in and were received by India as friends. We all appreciate their generous gesture and are grateful for it. We only want to warn our leaders against depending too much on foreigners. Our economic plans have been very expensive on account of our dependance on foreigners and our military expenses will also mount up for the same reason. Our leaders are making it a habit to beg and borrow from foreigners and this is tantamount to pledging the country and it's resources *morally* if not factually to foreigners. History often repeats itself. Our past history of receiving foreign aid has never been of advantage to us. Rather we trace our two hundred years of bondage to foreigners to this easy going habit of allowing foreigners to help us. Let us not forget this and learn to be wise in foreign relations.

A. C.

Purges

The arrest of the pro-Chinese Communists under the Defence of India Rules has the nature of a social purge made necessary by the anti-social and treacherous activities of the pro-Chinese Communists of India. An examination of the lists published in newspapers will make it clear that the number of such persons has not been very large. But the fact that most of these persons are well educated and come from good families makes one feel surprised that such treachery towards the motherland can be harboured in minds that have been taught to think clearly and logically. A twisted outlook or, perhaps, hopes of personal political gain through change of regime, may explain why apparently idealistic persons can behave as enemies of their own people and side with foreign marauders. This sort of treachery has

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been found to exist in many lands in different periods of history and religion has very often played a part in it. In India too in 1946-47 large masses of Indians acted in a totally treacherous manner towards their motherland and, eventually, forced its partition into two different States. Basic patriotism is often absent from Indian political thinking and parties have quite often acted in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the nation as a whole and of advantage only to the party. Castes, tribes, families, communities, etc., have also acted in this manner in which they have been peculiarly inspired by their limited loyalties rather than particularly in the wider and national sense of the term. The States of India, which had been created for the appeasement of linguistic, racial or other sectional interests, have also been a source of disunity and a cause of disintegration of true nationalism. All these forces, cliques, coteries, local interests and regional party loyalties have to be taken into consideration and dealt with fairly and firmly, if there is to be a single integrated India which will attract the loyalties of all groups and factions. This will require purges everywhere of those elements which will oppose the liquidation of their cliques. There are also large groups of enemy agents within the ranks of the various organised bodies that the governments of the States and the Centre have set up. One will have to consider very carefully whether all members of the different police forces, the administrative services and the mliitary personnel are totally free from the infection. In short, Pandit Nehru has allowed various dangerous cracks to develop in the walls of the great edifice that is India and he will have to work fast and unerringly **right now** to put things right. If he tries to muddle through this, he may not succeed.

A. C.

Civil Defences

Although the Chinese have declared a unilateral cease-fire and have agreed, unilaterally again, to go back to some vaguely demarcated position, for no logical reason, as from the 1st of December, the invasion of India by the Chinese remains a fact. This peculiar development has for the time being put the Indians in a position, in which they cannot fight nor agree to the fantastic proposals which the Chinese are making. In fact, as far as one can see what the Chinese are aiming at, one feels sure that the Chinese are trying to occupy a further stretch of Indian territory and eventually include that in Tibet by reason of past claims or present conquest. India, no doubt, will not agree to this and fighting will break out again after the Chinese intentions are clearly understood by all concerned. When that happens, India's civil defences, viz., Air Raid Precautions, Precautions against sabotage, false propaganda, sporadic risings by infiltrators or enemy agents, maintenance of law and order, protection of railways, bridges and important installations, arrangements for evacuation of women and children from danger zones, treatment of persons injured, fire fighting, etc., etc., will have to be fully organised. Upto now the governments of the Centre and the States are taking action in a none too vigorous fashion and the people of India are taking things easy. The general atmosphere pervading India is one of slow awakening to realities which are not very clearly understood. The idea that Government will arrange everything for the people and the people themselves will not be in any serious danger at any time or place is also present in some minds. What is really required is a much more vigorous response to the needs of the hour. Every man, woman and child will have to be made to understand the true meaning of a total war. The Home Guards or the State-arranged A.R.P. measures will not be able to cope with the situation, if war is brought into India's homes in all its ferocity and violence. It is, therefore, necessary to form area committees of men and women to which **all** must belong; and to teach everyone what he or she has to do in case of emergencies of different kinds. All householders, for instance, must learn to arrange to black out, to make glass windows and glass

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attachments to furniture splinter-proof, to put up baffle wals or sand bag protection to ground-floor doors and windows, to take shelter in ground-floor rooms thus protested in the absence of anything safer, to have extra water tanks, buckets with water and earth, ladders, lengths of rope, fire extinguishers if possible, first aid kits, kerosene lamps, emergency rations and all other such equipments, as they are advised to have with them by the local authorities. Arrangements for evacuation of women, children, the aged and the sick should be made in time and keeping in mind the questions of transportation, routes and accommodation at the destinations. This work may become as difficult as organising a hundred **Kumbh Melas** all at once and the few officials who have been deputed to carry out the work may find the job too big for them. One will understand why we say that the entire populations of the probable target areas should be organised without any delay. The other towns and large villages which will perhaps not be the targets for air raids but will have to line up nevertheless for other needs should also be organised straight away. In any case what Major General Sardanand Singh said the other day about civil defence being a **national** effort rather than a limited official plan of action, should be understood by all clearly and to the remotest implication. We are all very glad the Government are setting up training centres for first aid, fire-fighting and rifle shooting; but we think some organisation is required to be set up which will be much more widespread and will include all Indians.

Regarding the industrial areas in India, the workers must be organised in a manner which will keep their morale intact and grant safety to their family members who may be now staying with them at their places of work. **Lateral evacuation** of workers' families, i.e., taking them to safer camps within 15 to 20 miles of the places of work of their bread winners, should be the right thing. For, if the workers' families went to far away places, the workers too, in many cases, will try to go with their families. The factories should arrange to black out, camouflage and build shelters for the safety of the persons actually at work. After working hours the shift men should be able to go to their families who will be within an hour's journey or so from the factories.

The whole nation should go in for physical training. A healthier and tougher nation will give a much better account of itself than masses of unfit and sickly people. This plan will improve attendance in factories and other places of work and soon provide a very large pool from which soldiers, transport workers, nurses, etc., etc., can be recruited. In short, the idea that the people can continue as before and the Government will win the war, is a totally wrong idea. Everybody must do as much as he or she can in order to **prepare the whole nation to march forward to victory.**

A. C.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO "THE MODERN REVIEW"

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Manager, "The Modern Review."

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llocations for National Defence

Although it is not very surprising that the inion Government, in placing their supplemen-ry budget for additional allocations for defence xpediture, were unable to give any precise esti-nate of the expenditure that the country will be ventually called upon to provide for in this be-alf, there might have been a more careful asses-ent of developing needs and their approximate easure than is apparent. It is understandable at, immediately, the needs of defence, so far as ey are expected to be related to the urgent task f vacating Chinese aggression from Indian soil, ould have to very substantially depend upon number of imponderables.

It was not surprizing, therefore, that as mething of a first instalment of allocations to-ards these immediate needs, the Union Govern-ent should have asked for a supplementary ant of Rs. 100.4 crores comprising Rs. 95 crores account of additional defence expenditure and further Rs. 5.4 crores for other miscellaneous penditure on this account which, of course, e Lok Sabha has accorded without demur. Of ese Rs. 75 crores will be under "revenue" and s. 20 crores under "capital" raising the sub-tals for the current fiscal year to Rs. 418.37 ores and Rs. 52.63 crores respectively, and inging up the total defence expenditure during e year to Rs. 471 crores in all. This will raise e over-all budget deficit for the current year, iginally estimated at Rs. 88.84 crores to Rs. 9.24 crores. This, as already observed, is only rough first estimate and the possibility cannot e ruled out that the exigencies of a still fluid d potentially developing situation may cause fence expenditure during the present fiscal ar eventually to further substantially exceed esent assumptions.

In fact, the basic lessons of the currently ounted massive Chinese offensive against India ould tend, it would be reasonable to assume, to monstrate the sorry state of our defence orga-ation and the need to reinforce its basic ength to successfully deter and resist future ther aggressive designs upon the country from e present or other unpredictable directions. It ould, therefore, not be unreasonable to hope at the immediate needs of the present hour will ve set our Government to think as to the cessary extent and measure in which our de-ce potential should need to be organically ngthened so that it may be ready and able to adequately cover and meet the basic needs of the country's defences in all possible manner and means and against all possible eventualities. The time for implementing the possible results of such thinking may not be yet in the midst of our present preoccupations against the Chinese, but that a beginning should be made to ensure that the country's integrity will not be seriously threatened from any direction in the future, would seem to be an inescapable lesson of our present experiences.

Reverting to the immediately allocated supplementary grants for additional defence expenditure, it has already been seen that these will have the effect of raising over-all budget deficits for the current fiscal year to Rs. 189.24 crores. The Government, however, have not proposed any countervailing measures of new taxation to cover this additional burden upon their resources. It is possible that in view of the emergency need for the additional provision in this behalf, the Government had not yet had time to think out appropriate measures for raising necessary resources to cover the gap. It is also possible that not to have come forward yet with countervailing measures of taxation indicated the Government's anxiety to avoid hasty decisions in this matter with their possible further effects upon an already visibly demoralized stock-market in the country and their possible reactions, on the one hand, upon the capital market and, an equally sensitive factor, upon an already spiralling price level. A heavy deficit of the order of some Rs. 190 crores in the budget may, in itself, prove an intractable inflationary factor and further undermine an already not too stable prize pattern. But the fact that Government have already mobilized considerable resources for meeting additional war expenditure both by way of voluntary contributions to the National Defence Fund as well as by way of a new series of savings certificates, defence loans, premium prize bonds and gold bonds, may, in the measure they are able to mobilize the requisite funds, have the effect of reducing the deficit-gap if not wholly covering it. Moreover, the Union Government have already undertaken to reduce their expenditure on staff by 5 per cent immediately and by 10 to 20 per cent eventually and the State Governments advised to take like measures. Additionally, there is the fact of under-estimation of Central revenues of which we have had considerable experience during the two preceding budget years; but signs have not been wanting that the growth

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of revenue during the current fiscal year had already been evincing tendencies of a somewhat reduced bouyancy and it may be unwise to depend on this factor as a reductant of deficits. There is, however, a somewhat substantial margin of favourable adjustments by way of slowing down outlays on some Plan Projects as well as economies on non-Plan expenditure of the Central Government, but it may be foolish to place too great a reliance on this factor as, while it may be quite possible to slow down outlays on some Plan Projects, outlays on some others calculated to have an immediate and urgent bearing upon defence production may even have to be immediately and more than correspondingly stepped up.

A factor with a measure of high potential of dislocation of current conditions is the apprehension that it may not be possible to hold the price level even at its present rather high altitude. Concerted attempts are, it has been claimed, being made by the Government and the business community together to avoid possible rocketting in this behalf and to assuage the apprehension that the high potential of deficit financing in the budget already indicated earlier may have the effect of further pressures on the price pattern. The Reserve Bank, it has been claimed, is maintaining a vigilant watch upon commercial banking with a view to prevent diversion of credit facilities to speculative and hoarding activities. It has been further asserted that if the people co-operate by substantial abstemiousness in non-essential expenditure and liberal contributions to defence savings, no great harm may eventuate to the economy as a result of the uncovered budget deficit.

An initiative by the country's business community, already widely commended, is the offer, made through the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, that all Companies will continue to make certain specified contributions to the National Defence Fund comprising certain percentages of their profits or income and which is estimated, in the gross, to aggregate some Rs. 15 crores per annum. Commendable as this voluntary offer by the business community is, its gross value in terms of possible conrtibutions to the Defence Fund is only a pittance compared to even immediate needs and may not, it is feared, obviate the need for fresh and countervailing taxation measures. The most sensitive factor in the whole argument is the price level and, despite all the official and unofficial measures already taken, evidence is not lacking that prices of essential and primary consumer commodities have already been evincing a steady and relentless upward pressure. In the metropolis of Calcutta, where facilities for official vigilance and non-official pressures are naturally far greater than in the outlying districts, the price of rice during the last two to three weeks has already considerably gone up, not all of which can be conjured away by the complacent self-delusion that it is merely the normal price-rise usually experienced immediately preceding a new harvest.

Additional measures of taxation, therefore, would seem to be the inescapable demand of the present situation, not merely for covering the immediate deficit—large enough in itself—in the Budget, but also to cover further widening gaps that may eventuate with the progressive need for further future allocations for defence expenditure that, in view of our present low defence potentials and in spite of very generous measures of outside assistance, may have to be provided. A measure of somewhat long-term thinking on this question would seem to be an inevitably vital need and extreme caution and circumspection would be needed to devise the pattern upon which the possible new measures of taxation must be posited. The tendency of the Union Finance Ministry, which has been all too disastrously evident during the last several years now, to find short cuts to needed resources by way of excise imposts upon essential primary consumer commodities,—and which must be held to have been, in very large measure, responsible for bringing price levels up to their present high altitude out of all reasonable relation to the progress in the growth of the national product,—must be looked upon with the gravest apprehension and disfavour. Taxation measures must take into account not merely the ability of the sector of the tax-payer concerned to bear the additional burden without jeopardy to himself, but also that it does not offer invitations to the predatory profiteer to batten himself upon at the expense of the tax-payer, thus imposing correspondingly additional burdens upon him in excess of the Government's revenue demands. With our present taxation structure in the condition to which it has already been reduced, this will be no easy task and will, presumably, tax the ingenuity of the public finance experts to their uttermost. But the need to avoid the obvious pitfalls offered by easy short-cuts like the ones already described would seem to be equally inescapable.

K. N.

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RAILWAY ACCIDENTS IN INDIA

By S. K. DAS

The public have become nervous at the larger number of railway accidents that are occuring every year involving considerable loss of valuable human life and national property. The frequency with which one accident is found to follow the other may only lead one to the inescapable conclusion that the preventive measures taken so far are too inadequate and lack the dynamic imperative for achieving success. The failure to bring down the number of accidents remains a standing scandal which not only blights the railway administration, but the entire government machinery as well. The malaise has become too endemic to warrant any reasonable hope for a brighter future.

This problem which confronts the country as a standing challenge is admittedly a complicated one and is beset with various issues and difficulties. Whether the government of the country and the people possess the necessary ingenuity and foresight and are bold enough to muster sufficient courage to face the ordeal and come out with flying colours is difficult to foretell. Here is the anvil on which it would be tested how far the ideals of democracy have permeated the government and the people of the country and produced that irresistible urge and ardent spirit imperative for spurring the nation to fervid activity for the successful working of a democracy.

The proverbial explanation of sabotage advanced by the railway administration in a very large number of cases to wash their hands of the unsavoury business and shift the responsibility on to anti-social elements, and the requiescats thick with cliches that follow, provide poor consolation to the public, not to speak of those directly or indirectly affected. It is strange that the railways do not hesitate to stick to their pet theory of sabotage even where the report of the Forensic Laboratory and that of the police indicate otherwise. The public observe with regret that it is only where accidents occur as a result of head-on collision, or where one train telescopes into a stationery one, an engine hits a buffer at a railway terminus, or where an accident occurs during shunting, that the authorities admit delinquency. If one would only judge these accidents from a scientific angle,—that of probability,— one would wonder how an administration, if it were really rational, could put forward sabotage as the cause of accidents in so many cases. One cannot blame the public if, in the circumstances, they lose faith in the administration's ability to improve matters. Restoration of lost confidence is a "sine qua non" for successfully running a democracy. And this can be achieved only when the measures undertaken show positive results and not by explainning away 1,100 accidents in 7 months nor by jugglery in statistics. It is high time the administration shed this 'idee fixe' and ceased to ladle out sabotage as the 'piece de resistance.' The authorities must get rid of paranoia and regain mental health and balance imperative for successfully conducting a probe with a view to finding out how far the accidents might be due to inefficiency, irresponsibility and other undesirable factors which undermine the administration, and how far to widespread existence of anti-social elements. The fact should not be lost sight of that effective action to remedy the defects is possible only after the defects have been revealed in such probes.

Unfortunately, the toll of misfortunes does not end here ; to fill the cup of misery,

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the country is, moreover, having accidents galore at the innumerable unmanned level crossings, as though the other accidents provide too inadequate a fare to satisfy the Moloch that knows no God.

Now, as regards the problem of widespread existence of a large number of alleged saboteurs possessing scant respect for valuable human lives and national property, the first question that would naturally disturb one's conscience is why in a country with a democratic set up and a popular government, where the governing class comes predominantly from a band of selfless workers with a tradition of relentless fight against foreign imperialism, imbued wih the high ideal of creating a happier India, there should still persist such a large number of anti-social elements bent on sabotaging all attempts designed to make the country richer and thereby raise the standard of living of the common man; what are the seminal causes which provide a breeding ground for such anti-social elements and what allows them to thrive and merrily carry on their nefarious activities? When one ponders over such a problem, it would not be unfair for one to come to the conclusion that the social, political and economic structure of the society which the leaders propose to set up or preserve must contain some cardinal defects which give scope for the growth and survival of such anti-social elements. It is difficult to challenge the above premises and say how far they deviate from the true position; but, nevertheless, one cannot expect the answer to be so easy as may be readily available in a dossier. It would not, therefore, be unrealistic to carry out an inquiry with a view to finding out how far the problem lies entangled in a maze of complicated human relations. In this connection, it would be pertinent to demand an explanation why the government having at their disposal such a large police force with an array of subdivisions, viz., I.B., C.I.D., etc., meant for apprehending criminals, cannot lay hand on the miscreants and swoop down upon their secret dens.

In spite of vehement public protests and indignation at the alarming rise in accidents at unmanned railway level crossings, the railways have advanced the plea that it is not possible to man all the innumerable level crossings. Such an attitude shows a callousness least expected of a democratic government. Recently, the Railway Board has asked the different State Governments to post policemen at all such level crossings as a safeguard. It is not desirable that correspondence between the Railway Board and the different State Governments over the feasibility of the scheme, and unending conferences should continue 'ad infinitum' while accidents go on piling up from day to day. It must also be realised that divided responsibility can never work satisfactorily. When precious human lives and national property are at stake, the railways must rise to the occasion and immediately man all the level crossings irrespective of the cost involved; any such crossing which might not be deemed feasible to man for want of sufficient manpower must be sealed, notwithstanding any inconvenience which might be caused thereby, and alternative arrangements made without undue delay. It brooks no delay. In this connection it should be remembered that if the works which normally take years to complete could have been done within the short spell of a few months during the war emergency, there is little justification why these and other works which might be deemed emergent cannot be completed within a short period. It must be remembered that emergency knows no excuse; all resources must be pooled to carry out the emergency safety measures at a lightning speed.

Mr. Lakshman Pai's observation that the causes of accidents are more deep-rooted—"overworked men running worn out engines on weakened tracks supported by rotting sleepers"—may be rhetorical but none the less is a scathing criticism exposing the reeking scandals of the railway administration. It is, therefore, necessary to delve into these defects and take urgent action for their removal. It must be realised that the people have had too many Messianic delusions to have any confidence in nostrums. The appointment of enquiry committees to go into these allegations and produce voluminous reports only to get

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lost in the melanage of findings would only delay overdue reforms and urgent renovation works. The purpose would be amply served if experts belonging to one zonal region are appointed to probe into the conditions subsisting in a different zone by surprise checks if necessary, and prompt action taken to remedy the defects. Much of the defects may be eliminated or brought under control if a strict supervision is maintained over the work of the troubleshooters and remedial measures taken against moral and material atrophy. In order to attain success, employees at all levels must be made to realise their responsibilities and the fact that it is not merely cash nexus that binds them to their jobs. Moral blessings of freedom must supervene where unregenerate irresponsibility leads to chaos; the railway system is, after all, no Charon's ferry for carrying across the Styx. Furthermore, a mere comparison with the hours of work put in by employees in other countries, as many hold, cannot conclusively prove whether the employees are overworked. This is so for more than one reason: (i) capacity to stand physical strain, (ii) climatic conditions, (iii) employment conditions, (iv) amenities available for rest, recreation, regaining euphoria, etc. A sample survey conducted to determine the fatigue factors will abundantly show whether the employees are overworked and how far the accidents might be atributed to such fatigue factors.

When the country has been caught in such a predicament, it is high time the authorities shake off complacency, realise the stark reality and face the situation boldly. They must be fully alive to the responsibilities and obligations which a parliamentary democracy requires of its elected representatives,—and through them, of the employees. It must be understood that so long as the authorities prefer to live in olympic heights far away from the common people, happily buttressed and cushioned against shocks enjoying near-ambrosia 'ad lib', the dynamic measures imperative for preventing loss of human lives and national property would prove as elusive as the Holy Grail. Any plea for deferring such measures on account of lack of funds can not be entertained, nor tolerated, simply because, a civilized society considers human lives and national property more precious and cannot countenance any attitude that smacks of disparagement of human dignity. Should impecuniosity stand in the way of improving matters and implementing the required safety measures, it would not be too much to expect of government to make necessary cuts in the salaries and other amenities enjoyed by officials, viz., special trains, saloons (where single sleeping berths would serve the purpose), air-conditioned trains and coaches, retinues, etc., irrespective of the position they hold or the department to which they belong, and curtail all extravagant and gaudy functions. Stringent measures should also be taken with a view to stop all wastage, infructuous expenditure, extravagance, etc. The question of taking necessary measures for equating the incomes of the government employees with those in commercial establishments as a result of the above policy must, as well, engage active consideration of government, as otherwise, the imbalance would complicate the economy.

Moreover, it is imperative that a vigilant eye should constantly be kept to ensure that the administrative machineries' handling of the situation yield the results envisaged in the policies laid down by government. Should any failure or deficiency come to notice, the administrators and the legislature who constitute the entire government machinery must combine in conducting a continuous and unrelentingly searching inquiry and fight to extirpate, lock, stock, and barrel, the evils and the drawbacks that stand in the way of implementing the policies.

It is pertinent to note here that a satisfactory solution cannot be expected to be arrived at in obstreperous political meetings, the bear-garden of different party caucuses where mutual recriminations rule supreme. One must go deep into the problems if one were anxious to find a way out of this imbroglio; and, for this purpose, what is essential is a searching of hearts, an introspection in a calm, cool and sober atmosphere unruffled by the din and bustle of

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the everyday world torn asunder by political, economic and commercial jealousies and conflicting interests. It would then be possible for the authorities to devise means and carry on an unrelenting and determined drive to set right the defects which might be found to have been causing loss of human lives and national property. It is high time the authorities realise that empty statements, declarations and promises made everyday go to create an atmosphere of distrust; antagonism gets the upper hand when people get disillusioned and find their difficulties and inconveniences remain unresolved and continue year after year with even an accelerated tempo in some cases. What more surprise and disappointments to shake their faith in the administration as a whole can the unhappy people of India expect to have in store for them than the fact that the nearest lamp-post meant for the black-marketeers has proved as elusive as ever even in independent India! While the people are getting crushed by the rocketing high commodity prices, the black-marketeers are going on merrily with their anti-social activities. Will the authorities, therefore, get down to real business with all sincerity and alacrity with a view to rehabilitate the administration which has fallen badly into disrepute and thus save and conserve the human and material resources, the 'sine qua non' for making the country prosperous?

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GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION —METHODS AND RESULTS

By STRATEGIST

The System of public administration in India is founded on "Hollow Expedients." The merit of such an administration lay in designing elaborate machinery tied up with strings for performing some piece of trivial ingenuity. All projects are complicated without any advantage to the holder of Government machinery and also to the people. Such hit and miss methods of administration can never solve our gigantic problems.

The Government of Mysore has 65 departments employing about 1,59,244 persons. Out of nearly one hundred crores of receipts per year, about 25 crores is spent on establishment alone. We analyse causes and also suggest specific remedies in the interest of this great state.

As per Government Order No. FD. 50-srp-(1)-1961 dated 23--6-61 revised pay scales have been given effect to form 1-1-61. The result of this order is most confusing. At present there are hundreds of scales and cadres of appointments, ranging from a basic pay of Rs. 50 to Rs. 1800 per month. We shall verify the organisation, methods, and rhythm of Rs. 25 crores of expenditure on establishment. The pay scales are complicated and confusing. All Rules and orders should be simple and easy to enforce within the capacity of the State Exchequer. If a survey of accumulated establishment files is conducted, we could easily trace out two lakhs of files without decisions. It is calculated that Rs. 6 (average cost per handling of one paper) is a nor-

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nal cost per paper per day. At a modest estimate, two lakhs of establishment files per year would cost about Rs. 2 crores.

What are the facts of our financial strength? It cannot be strength. It is strength based on weakness. During 1962-63, the expenditure of State has been estimated at Rs. 103 crores, while receipts would aggregate Rs. 99.71 crores. The deficiet during the current year is Rs. 3.29 crores. Total loans of the Government of Mysore as on date aggregate nearly Rs. 144 crores, excess of assets over liabilities is 7.33 crores—sinking fund accumulations come to Rs. 23.21 crores, interest and redemption charges Rs. 4.06 crores for the current year. Consider the cost of Rs. 2 crores on accumulated files of establishment per year. Organisation and methods division and our finance department have to explain our successive failures and disappointments in the field of constructive administration. The State wants to know, whether, these two key wings of the administration have discharged this task with skill and loyalty? Isolation between this section and Government has created an administrative crisis. The result is an "Himalayan Mountain of Accumulated Files."

Therefore, one is greatly concerned about the state of administration and the effectiveness of our machinery for the central direction of administration on proper and constructive lines. At present, we can detect a wide-spread sense of frustration and discontent among all classes of State employees. The facts of accumulation of establishment files at different levels of administration show briefly, what happens at different levels and in what order. We could solve the problems only by daring sagacity and power of quick and constructive decisions. Our solutions should be healthy and permanent. The question which we must ask ourselves, is not whether we like it or do not like what is going on, but what are we going to do about it? An arrangement should be made, so that accumulated files move in a direct unbroken chain of lawful decisions in moral and national interest. The table number 1 enclosed reveals a tragedy of errors and omissions. The table shows only a cross section of hundreds of confusing and complex pay scales. The facts of the system are founded on justice based on injustice, order based on disorder. The entire Government machinery in India is based on the filing system and not on a decision system. We should rather have a system of injustice based on justice, disorder based on order. Every Government servant is well trained to offer a million objections for not doing a thing. We should have a system, whereby, we can see our way as to how a thing can be done. We do not want to know how a thing cannot be done. Take the case of our finance department (the rushed hub of our administrative machinery): it has no positive attitude in practical administration. It lives in an ivory tower of definitions, clauses, appendix, clarifications, etc. It never gives decisions and is always busy taking precautions. One clear cut decision is worth more than a million wise precautions. If not, auditing and accounting problems increase. The result is accumulations.

The book on state employees' pay scales contains 180 pages of Mysore Acts, Ordinances, Orders, etc., under the Constitution by the Governor of Mysore. The Government of Mysore have spent lakhs of rupees for the preparation of his impossible document. The defects of the present scales are briefly stated as follows. They are not uniform for all classes of appointments. Percentage of increment varies from cadre to cadre. The difference between minimum to maximum is not proportionate. Stagnation of pay at maximum point varies from scale to scale. There is difference between D.A. and H.R.A. Is there a limit to these defects? We can write a big book on this subject. Is it possible to change this system? Table 2 shows the way of tackling the problem on a reasonable basis.

Details showing the type of present scales of pay of Mysore Government Employees:

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Sl. No.	The present scales of pay	No. of years to reach maximum pay	No. of years stagnated at max. pay	Difference between max. and minimum
1	Rs. 50-1-60	10	20	Rs. 10
2	55-1-65-2-75	15	15	20
3	55-1-65	10	20	10
4	60-1-70-2-90	20	10	30
5	65-1-70-2-90	15	15	25
6	70-2-80-3-110	15	15	40
7	70-1-80-2-100	20	10	30
8	80-3-110-4-130-5-180	25	5	100
9	80-3-110-4-130-5-150	19	11	70
10	80-3-110-4-130-5-140	17	13	60
12	85-2-150	9	21	45
12	85-2-105	10	20	20
13	80-3-110	10	20	20
14	100-5-150-6-180	15	15	80
15	110-5-150-6-180-10-220	19	11	110
16	110-5-150-8-190-10-260-15-320 ..	24	6	210
17	120-5-150-8-190-10-240	16	14	120
18	100-5-150-6-180-10-200	17	13	100
19	130-5-150-8-190-10-250	15	15	120
20	130-5-150-8-190-10-270	17	13	140
21	140-5-150-8-190-10-320	10	20	180
22	140-5-150-8-190-10-250	19	11	110
23	150-8-190-10-270	13	17	120
24	150-8-190-10-270	11	19	100
25	180-10-320	14	16	140
26	140-5-150-6-180-10-220	11	19	120
27	110-3-140	10	20	30
28	150-8-190-10-320-15-350 ..	10	20	200
29	120-3-150-5-175	15	15	50
30	175-10-225-15-300-20-400 ..	15	15	225
31	65-1-70-2-80-3-110	20	10	45
32	220-10-320	10	20	100
33	250-10-320-15-440	15	15	190
34	225-10-285-15-375	12	18	150
35	250-15-310-20-450	11	19	200
36	275-20-375-25-600	14	16	325
37	350-25-650-30-800	17	13	450
38	55-1-65-2-85	20	10	30
39	250-10-290-15-350	8	22	100
40	250-20-350-25-500	11	19	250
41	250-25-500-30-650	15	15	400
42	450-30-660-40-900	13	17	450
43	800-40-1000-50-1100	7	23	300
44	1300-50-1800	10	20	500
45	600-40-1000	10	20	400
46	900-40-1100-50-1300	9	21	400
47	800-40-1000-50-1200	8	22	400
48	300-20-400-25-600	13	17	300
49	250-10-320-15-440	15	15	190
50	190-10-260-15-440	19	11	250

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Table :—No. "2"—Proposed New scales of pay for the Government employees in India from 1-1-62 or 1-1-63.

(1) IV class Employees :—(1) Rs. 50-1-80 (2) 60-1-90 (3) Rs. 70-1-100.

(2) Non-Gazetted staff :—(1) Rs. 50-2.5-125 (2) 60-3-150 (3) 70-3.5-175 (4) 80-4-200 (5) 90-4.5-225 (6) 100-5-250 (7) 110-5.5-275 (8) 120-6-300 (9) 130-6.5-325 (10) 140-7-350 (11) 150-7.5-375 (12) 160-8-400 (13) 170-8.5-425 (14) 180-9-450 (15) 190-9.5-475 (16) 200-10-500 (17) 210-10.5-525 (18) 220-11-550 (19) 230-11.5-575 (20) 240-12-600.

3) (1) Taluq level Officers :—

(2) Sub-Division level Officers Rs. 300-15-750

(3) District level Officers 500-25-1250

(4) Division level Officers 600-30-1500

(5) State level Officers 700-35-1750

(6) Special super posts 800-40-2000

Now, we shall analyse the important actors of the modified scales of pay.

(1) Proposed scales of pay of all civi-an employees in India are uniform, simple d easy to enforce and maintain without ge cost of establishment charges.

(2) We shall take the case of Mysore. e following areas are merged into New ysore. (1) Old Mysore (2) Bombay arnatak (3) Coorg (4) Madras Karnatak) Hyderabad Karnatak. Many of the overnment employees coming from these parts are allowed to continue in their old ales of pay, resulting in a fine financial ss. The new scales should be made mpulsory to all employees in India (Ex-pt all India cadres) in the interest of diting problems and justice of the cause.

(3) IV class employees, Non-Gazetted aff and Gazetted Staff are seperately uped.

(4) The number of pay scales are re-ced to 29 only.

(5) The minimum pay of the post is 50, while the maximum is Rs. 2000. The tio between minimum to maximum 1:40.

(6) The minimum should be gradually raised in proportion to economic prosperity of the state or the country in general. The maximum should be kept constant for another 30 years.

(7) Except for IV class employees, all others are eligible to get only 5% of the basic pay of the post per year. National per capita rise is only 3.5% during the current year. 5% rise suggested is only of starting pay of the post and thus equal to national per capita increase of 3.5% during the current year.

(8) Government servants usually serve about 30 years, joining at the age of 25 and retiring at the age of 55. During 30 years of service there is only gradual and steady rise (5% of the starting pay) for all cadres of appointments.

(9) Whenever a promotion is made from one cadre to another cadre, the next stage in the new cadre+one increment has to be provided.

(10) The revised scales can be given effect to from 1-1-62 or 1-1-63.

(11) There should not be disparity of scales, D.A. etc., from Villages to towns, towns to district Hqs., Districts Hqs. to cities, and cities to corporations. In small villages and towns, etc., Government servants have no facilities of higher education, medical, housing and water supply etc. Therefore, if any consideration has to be shown, Government has to be kind towords officials, who live and serve in villages and towns.

(12) Dearness allowance, compensatory-cum-house rent allowance, special pay, personal and charge allowance, duty allowance, construction allowance, dress and ration allowance, rural allowance, stagnation increments, special pay, etc., have created one million problems and caused accumulation of files. These should be abolished in full and uniformity enforced.

(13) Just to avoid hardship to employees, all these allowances may be treated as personal pay and absorbable in future increments.

(14) When, fitting all these employees in the modified scales, some of them may lose their present range of increments and such of them may be given one additional

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increment in the new scale, so that all of them will be compelled to opt for new scales.

(15) Whenever housing facilities are provided, 10% of the pay drawn should be recovered without fail.

(16) No weightage should be given, as many confusing revisions have already taken place.

(17) These scales can be easily applied in accordance with the financial strength of each provincial and central government. Or we could slide the scales to conform to available financial strength.

(18) These are only guiding factors for decision. We can vary them according to future requirements and needs.

What is the pressure of these pay scales on the State exchequer? Immediate pressure will not exceed Rs. one crore for the current year. Future pressure shall be only gradual and we can take care of that. Measure this cost with accumulated files costing nearly Rs. 2 crores per year. There are files, the range of their life being-one year minimum to maximum of 10 years. I have taken Mysore pay scales as a cross section to reveal the peculiar type of defects in the administration of Government Departments in general. Now, we come to the facts of public administration in India. The figures reveal the position as on March 31st, 1957:

(1) Total Employees of Central Government	5.03 lakhs.
(2) Total Employees of States Governments	14.26 lakhs.
(3) Employees of District boards etc.	2.24 lakhs.
(4) Ralway Employees	10.60 lakhs.
(5) Postal Employees	3.02 lakhs.
(6) Mis. Organisations and recent increases up-to-date. (Approximately)	14.85 lakhs.
Total No. of employees (Approximately)	50.00 lakhs.

A cross section of five million employees' pay scales reveals the same mighty tragedy of errors and omissions. Only a "Master Brain" can achieve such a miserable chaos. I am of opinion, that there are nearly 7 million establishment files pending at all levels of the entire civilian administration in India. How shall we isolate and assail this huge army of accumulated files? In planning the gigantic administrative reforms during 1963, it is not possible to lay aside other duties. Our first and main obligation is to defend India from Chinese and Pakistanee invasion. This task bears a decisive relation to the war of administrative reforms. We should prepare for the event. Out of total receipts of Rs. 1473.97 crores during 1958-59, nearly Rs. 483.38 crores was the cost of civilian administration in India. In my estimate, nearly Rs. 70 crores is spent on solving impossible and out-dated establishment problems. A grand tragedy of bottle-necks on the verge of an economic disaster! (Pension-Provident fund-leave rules will be separately dealt with. Accumulation refers to all establishment problems). Thus, our administration is at sea. At present, they cannot solve their problems, nor allow others to solve them. The tyres of public administration in India, are wearing thin, and they will be soon useless. Whether our administrators know it or not they have had a last chance to save this great and proud country.

The Moral of this article: "Catch hold of the nervous system of disorder and confusion—isolate it and assail it on all sides so that we reach constructive administration in national interest."

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PROBLEM AND PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION IN INDIA

An Appraisal

By Dr. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR,

Head of the Department of Political Science, Khalsa College, Delhi.

The scheme of Democratic Decentralisation or the Panchayati Raj system in India has evolved out of the Community Development programme. It was realised that to achieve success in development activities launched by official agencies, association of people in the formulation and implementation of programme is necessary. A study team on community Development and National Extension Services, headed by Balwant Rai Mehta was appointed by the Planing Commission Committee on plan Project to suggest the organizational structure and methods of work for greater speed in the execution of work. The study team submitted a report in 1957 recommending the setting up of a three-tired structure at the village, block and district level, and entrusting all planing and development work to these bodies. These were Gram Panchyats at the village level, Panchayat Samitis at the block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level. The object of setting up of these non-official democratic bodies organically linked up was not only devolution of economic and political power to village institutions but also the building of democrary from its grass roots which is lacking in this country.[1]

The recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee were accepted by the National Development Council in 1958. The Central Council of Local self-Government in its meeting held at Hyderabad in 1959 suggested that the evolution of the pattern of this transfer of power to the people may be left to the State Governments. Accordingly State Governments in almost all states have launched this scheme keeping in view the basic objectives of Democratic decentralisation. The units of Panchyayati Raj are (1) Gram Sabha which is the general body of the village Panchayats and Gram Panchayat which is elected by the Gram Sabha and is an Executive body, charged with development functions. There are 2,03,049 Panchayats in the country, covering 94 per cent of the villages in India and representing 95 per cent of the rural population. (2) The Panchayat Samiti which constitutes the intermediate tier in the Panchayati Raj system is in the block level in all states except in Gujerat, Maharashtra and Mysore where it is at the taluk level. The Panchayat Samiti consists of the Sarpanches of the panchayat and are directly responsible for the implementation of the Community Development programme. (3) The Zilla Parishad consists of the representatives of Panchayat Samitis. Besides M.P's M.L.A's, Presidents of Panchayati Samitis are also members of the Zilla Parishads. The Zilla Parishad at the district level is the co-ordinating body and exercises general supervision over the work of the Panchayats.

Rajasthan and Andhra are the two pioneering States in introducing this experiment. It is too early to pass judgment on the working of Panchayats in these States. However, two study teams hare recently made a fairly representative sample study of the working of Panchayati Raj in these States. One was organisd by the Congress Party in Parliament with Sri Raghubir Sahai as its leader and other study was made by the Association of voluntry Agencies for Rural Development, New Delhi.[2]

1. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly observed, Democracy in India is only a top dressing on Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic.—C.A.D. Vol. 13, p. 38.

2. Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan and Andra: reports of a study teams by Congress Party in Parliament, New Delhi, October-December 1960. Democratic Decentralisation in Rajasthan, Report of a study team by the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, New Delhi 1961.

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The Congress Party Team was impressed with the great interest taken by people in development programmes in Rajasthan. Many Panchayat Samities had prepared their own five-year plans and almost all Panchayats had taken special pains to improve the lot of Harijans and other weaker sections of society. The team was also impressed with the co-operative attitude of officials at all levels which would make Panchayati Raj a success there. The team also noticed some defects such as party factions between different groups of people in Panchayati Raj bodies. Some conflicts were noticed between the Pradhans and the Vikas Adhikaris. The Pramukhs and members of the Zilla Parishads invariably made a demand for increase of their powers. The Team noticed full measure of co-operation between the Collector who was a non-voting member of the Zilla Parishad and the elected President.

The Committee was equally impressed with the cordial relations subsisting between the elected representatives and the officials and with general awareness of the people's representatives. The team noticed that both in Andhra and Rajasthan 60 per cent economically and socially strong population got 85 per cent representation in the village Panchayats and 40 per cent of weaker sections of the population got little representation in village Panchayats. The team found acute party factions in Panchayats in Andhra which virtually led to complete stoppage of all departmental activities.[3] It suggested the feasibility of the supression of Panchayati Samities in such cases. The Committee expressed surprise at the lack of provision for training of non-official members of Samities and Parishads in Andhra and it also wondered why disciplinary action was not taken against defaulters except by one Panchayati Samiti.

The study team of Association of voluntary Agencies for Rural Development observed that there was a tussle for power between the Pradhan as representing the people and the Vikas Adhikary (B.D.O.) and the staff under him in Rajasthan. The team also noticed party factions and grouping in Panchayati institutions. However the team felt that the introduction of Panchayati Raj had roused local interest and local initiative in the state.

The study groups and individuals and teams in their survey of Panchayati Raj have noted some emerging problems which demand close attention of all interested in the successful functioning of Democratic Decentralisation in India.

The first problem is the presence of acute party factions in Panchayati institutions. In Baoh Panchayat of Meerut district in Uttar Pradesh one of the main causes of large arrears in Panchayat dues was attributed to party factions. In States like Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa party factions and groupings have greatly influenced Panchayat elections, since the system of elections is bound to have adverse effect on the healthy growth of Panchayats, it is necessary to have a non-official agency for bringing about unanimous decisions by the village people, especially in elections. In some States members of legislatures have been allowed effective say in Panchayati Raj administration. This will retard healthy growth of Panchayats. The success of the entire experiment of Democratic Decentralisation depends upon M.L.A's not meddling with Panchayati Raj. These persons utilise the Panchayati Raj institutions for partisan purposes, which have little relation to the real needs of the people. The association of lagislators with Panchayati institutions is therefore not desirable.

Another problem is the friction between officials and non-officials. There exists a gulf in the Panchayati Raj institutions between the paid permanent servants and the non-officials which will impede the smooth working of the system. At the Parishad level, the Chairman and the Secretary have to function harmoniously for development work to be implemented. It is also necessary for all the key officials such as the executive officer, the Block Development officer or the Secretary to maintain good relations with all the members of Panchayat, Samiti and the Parishad. A frequent criticism made by the Presidents of Panchayati Samitis and Chairmen of Zilla Parishads is that some of the officials have been unable to adjust themselves to the new pattern of administration and that they are not sufficiently

3. According to the Report of the Evaluation Organization of the Government of Rajasthan, 1961-62, some Pradhans interferred in the day-to-day work of the Block Development office. B.D.O's wanted to take disciplinary action against the staff, but the Pradhan prevented them from doing so. Pradhans also did not allow B.D.O's to exercise their statutory right of exercise of discretion in certain matters.

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alive to popular aspirations. However, it can also be said against non-officials participating in the Panchayati Raj bodies that they show unabashed partisanship in doling out favours to their groups in the administration. Another complaint is that they unduly interfere with the day-to-day work of the administration. In such cases the position of the Block-Development officer at the Samiti level and of the Secretary at the Zilla Parishad level becomes embarrasing. It is necessary in the harmonious and successful functioning of Panchayati Raj to develop friendly relations between officials and non-officials at all levels. Both sides should make reasonable adjustments, without sacrifice of vital principles.

Another problem is that of proper coordination between Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis. The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development Study Team pointed out that one of the causes of ineffectiveness of the village panchayats was this lack of coordination between the different units. Democratic decentralisation visualises partnership between the village Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis. The relationship between the different levels of the Government, the Panchayat, the Panchayati Samitis and Zilla Parishad should be developed more in terms of collabration and mutual dependence than in terms of control and supervision exercised by the higher over the lower level of Government. The jurisdiction of various electivebodies should, as far as possible, be clearly demarcated so that they do not cut each other's course and cause friction between them.

The problem of training of non-officials and Secretaries is of no less significance. Not only officials but a large number of non-officials require specialised training in order to enable them to fulfil their respective responsibilities in the work of Community Development. The National Institute at Mussorie offers facilities for such training. It is necessary to start such institutions. Joint training courses of officials and non-officials in Panchayati Raj may also be organised. The purpose of such education and training is to change the mental outlook of the persons to enable them to adjust themselves to changing social and economic conditions and to develop in them awareness of new problems which they will have to face.

Another related problem is that of supervision, guidance and influence needed for Panchayati Raj units. There should be independent audit and inspection of Panchayati Raj units. There should also be technical supervision undertaken by the technical officer of Panchayati Raj bodies. Each tier of the Panchayati Raj body should be responsible for guidance, influence, persuasion and offering advice to the lower tier of Panchayati Raj body. The head may visit the lower bodies for appraising their work and for offering guidance in such a way as not to undermine their autonomy and initiative. Inspection should be not for fault-finding only but for offering counsel to ensure that work is done better. The Collector has yet to play an important role. He is to act as a guide, philosopher and friend of the Panchayati Raj institutions. During the transitional period of time the Collector still needs greater powers for immediate action in the district. His work in course of time may be reduced from that of active intervention to that of friendly guidance and cooperation.

The vital problem facing Panchayats is that of finance. The basic principle of Panchayts is not only that genuine power should be transferred to democratic bodies but also that they should be given adequate finances. The Raghubir Sahai Study Team observes that Panchayats are hesitant to impose taxes in Rajasthan for fear of displeasing the electorate. The Panchayats should try to educate the electorate that if they want to attain progress they should be prepared for more taxes. In addition to ordinary sources of taxation such as profession tax, taxes on animals, property tax, surcharge on land revenue or land tax, Panchayats are entitled to get a share from certain taxes levied by the State Government. To review the financial position of Panchayati Raj institutions periodically an independent Finance Commission may be set-up in each State.

Another problem of no less importance is the problem of staff. To ensure success of Panchayati Raj there is need of an administrative machinery which is efficient, impartial and responsive to people. The staff of the Panchayati Raj should not be treated as second-rate. On the other hand they should be of the highst calibre and integrity. An independent and non-political body, such as Panchayati Raj Service Commission should be entrusted to recruit the staff. The staff should enjoy security of tenure and they should render obedience and loyalty to the local authority.

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The above problems have to be tackled with vision, imagination and fore-sight. A sober and realistic assessment of the difficulties and problems facing Panchayati Raj is necessary. The official reports waxing eloquent with the notable achievements of Panchayati Raj are misleading. The success or failure of Panchayati Raj in India depends on four factors., (i) the ability of people in villages to get rid of factionalism, groupism, casteism which is their besetting weakness, (2) the extent to which political parties refrain from participating in Panchayati elections, (3) the degree of financial and administrative decentralisation which the State Government are prepared to carry out and (4) to the nature and control exercised by the Government over the Panchayat. There is no doubt that today the working of the Panchayats in most States is being marred by party feuds and group rivalries. There is, again, a confusion regarding the role which the Panchayat is to play—whether it is a unit of local administration or a real self-governing unit with clearly defined functions mainly related to the local community. Again, no effort is to be made to hasten the process of devolution of powers at break-neck speed, which may be beyond the capacity of the people to manage. The government and the public have to work hard in preparing for the Panchayati Raj, in nursing this new infant and helping it to overcome the obstacles in the path of progress. A great deal depends on local leadership, political consciousness and on good political traditions. There is no reason to be pessimistic but it is desirable to have evaluation of the Panchayati Raj system from year to year so that loopholes may be plugged well in time. The introduction of democratic decentralisation in India has made a real impact on the people and it is a great achievement, but there is need for care and effort.

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AKBAR'S AIN ON EDUCATION

S. N. QANUNGO

Akbar, whose genius was of epic grandeur was a reactionary against his own background. He was the only Mughal Emperor who realised the vital importance of education and its potent influence in moulding the course of the history of a country. In medieval India we find little change in educational ideas and institutions. Neither primary nor adult education was carried on in a systematic way. There were no ideals of education. The teacher in the elementary school (Kuttab), called muallim occupied a low status in society. A favourite adage of Al Jahiz often quoted at that time was—"Seek no advice from teachers, shepherds and those who sit much among women." The higher grade of teachers and the private tutors (Muaddib) of the children of the wealthy were however highly respected. The elementary and higher education was mainly religious, philosophical and literary in content. In theory, Islamic Government was military rule and the Sultans did not recognise the promotion of education among their subjects as any part of their duty or concern. But while this was generally true, it would be incorrect to state that they never patronized education. Akbar alone among the Mughals of India wanted to initiate a new policy in the field of education and "legislate with prophetic insight and mould the life and thought of unborn generations in advance."

The feature of contemporary education which impressed Akbar was waste. As he made a sagacious and penetrating remark in his Ain on Education—"A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books." He wanted to bring the problem of education into organic relation with society. Like Al-Ghazzali he believed that the imparting of knowledge was not the only object of education; it should stimulate the moral consciousness of the student. Unlike his

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predecessors and contemporaries he wanted to follow a policy of laissez faire towards the students. The child should be guided rather than spoonfed. As he says, "care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself but the teacher may assist him a little." However primary education as envisaged by him was rather crude in its conception. It consisted in mastery of alphabets, learning some good prose and poetry by heart, moral sentences or verses in praise of God. Throughout the whole curriculum memory work was especially emphasized. Akbar though far in advance of his times had no clear idea of primary education or the psychology of children. He thought that in two days the boys should be able to learn to write letters of the alphabet. Having acquired the practice of writing simpler alphabets the boys ought to proceed to write joined letters which might be practised for a week Akbar's Ain on Education makes a tall claim as a progressive system of primary education. It says, "If this method of teaching be adopted a boy will learn in a month or even in a day, what it took years to understand so much so the people will get quite astonished."

Akbar attempted to give his subjects the nucleus of a rationalized secondary educational system. His cast of mind was positive, practical and active. He wanted the boys in the secondary stage to take more interest in those subjects which would prove useful in their practical life. The subjects which he prescribed for secondary education were arithmatic, geometry, agriculture, astrology, household economy, logic, physiognomy and public administration. Akbar attached primary importance to the science of morals and social behaviour. Every force which tended to assist social cohesion found in him a champion. It is to be noted in the list of prescribed subjects the absence of theology which was befitting his idea of a secular state and a common nationality. It was also necessary because for the first time the Hindu and Muslim boys were to receive their education in common schools and read the same books.

It was Akbar's task to reconcile the new India with the old. The logical corollary was an intellectual and religious revolt and the birth of Indian Nationalism in politics as well as in Literature and Fine Arts. Though Akbar had made Persian compulsory for the state officials he took keen and magnificence of the Sanskrit literature He had been much impressed by the beauty and magnificence of of Sanskrit literature and was eager to attract the Muslim scholars to the study of Sanskrit. Akbar came into close contact with distinguished Sanskrit scholars like Devi, Purushottam, Bhagirath Bhattacharya and had the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Atharvaveda, Harivamsa, Lilavati and Nal- Damayanti translated into Persian. He prescribed Sanskrit as a subject in his Ain on Education, and particularly emphasised the importance of the study of Sanskrit grammar, logic, philology, Vedanta and Patanjali. Obviously more importance was attached to the development of the critical faculty of the students rather than merely their aesthetic taste.

Abul Fazl remarks, "These regulations shed a new light on schools and cast a lustre over Madrasas." (Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I p. 288). Smith holds that it is a tall claim and Akbar's Ain on Education has no relation to facts. This opinion has recently come under serious criticism. It has been pointed out that had there been no such regulations there could not possibly have been the intellectual revival that marked Akbar's Age. The criticism itself is based on a dubious foundation of facts. The Ain would have been more comprehensive and detailed had it been enforced in a wider area and for a longer period. If the real spirit of the Ain was maintained how do we explain the rise of muslim orthodoxy after the death of Akbar ? It is true that Akbar was the sponsor of a creative age which produced an output of art, music, scholarship and literature such as the world had rarely seen since the glory of Ancient Athens. But it would be incorrect to hold that great literary figures of this period like Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Faizi, Badayuni, Abdur Rahim Khan Kharan and others were products of Akbar's Ain on Education.

The importance of the Ain lies not in its success but in its noble attempt. It

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was far from perfect. In it there is no philosophy of education. Akbar treated the children not as children but as miniature adults. In spite of all the defects, the Ain on Education was important because it dealt with life and it was a plea for a progressive and rationalized educational system. It is indeed an unique piece of legislation in our country. The problem of the educational curriculum ceased to be a matter of purely academic dispute with him. It took on a practical significance. For the first time some uniformity was attempted in the educational curriculum and treat the students not as individuals aspiring for individual distinction but as useful members of society. Akbar made a bold attempt to set a fresh pattern of an educational system which would produce useful citizens and not merely academic philosophers. In medieval India, Akbar's Ain on Education is like a winter sun illuminating a gloomy atmosphere.

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SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY IN INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By DR. R. K. JAIN, M.Com., Ph.D.,
Professor, G. S. College of Commerce and Economics, Nagpur.

The national economy being short of capital and abundant in manpower, special attention has been given to small-scale industry in the programmes of industrialisation.

Meaning

Indian national income statistics define the small-scale industrial sector as comprising undertakings with less than 20 workers. It includes, at the one end, the traditional types of household or cottage industries which are generally primitive and largely inefficient in character and produce articles of daily necessity to satisfy the local demand and are carried on in rural areas in or near their homes mainly by family labour, either as a whole or a part-time occupation; while, at the other end, it includes the urban, modrenised and decentralised small factories which are operated mainly with hired labour usually not exceeding 50 workers per shift in any establishment or unit when using any motive power in any operation, or less than 100 workers per shift in an establishment or unit when not using such power and which are usually engaged in the manufacture of consumer goods either independently or in processes complementary to large-scale manufacture,[1] often for national or world markets. The capital investment in such small factories is usually less than Rs. 5 lakhs per unit. In general, small-scale industry includes all "small" enterprises whether traditional or modern and, whether the word "small" applies to the number of persons employed in each undertaking, the invested capital, the workshop area, the turnover, the size of the firm's market, or a combination of these factors.

Chief Determinant Factors

The real basis of a separate approach to small-scale industries, however, lies in the functional differences which are at the root of these industries. The chief determinant factors of small-scale industry are that: (i) there is lack of specialisation in management and labour; (ii) the owner of the undertaking owns it in person and is responsible for its administrative, economic, technical and financial aspects and takes a direct part in its work. Generally, the head of a small undertaking is its founder, the provider of its capital and its technical manager as well; (iii) there is close personal contact of owner or manager with workers, customers and suppliers; (iv) very

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often small-scale undertakings work to orders received directly from the customers or middlemen or the other large undertakings and sell their products directly to them; (v) generally, these undertakings do not enjoy the facility of access to the organised capital market; (vi) the individual character of the goods, these small undertakings produce is usually the main attraction for the customers; and (vii) the bargaining strength of these undertakings is generally weak in respect of both the purchases as well as sales.

Factors Favouring Small-Scale Industrialisation

Many considerations weigh heavily in favour of the small-scale industries, both in advanced as well as in under-developed economies. A properly guided and adequately assisted development of small undertakings can secure a better distribution of income and purchasing power and the balanced spread of employment. It can stop surplus labour from drifting to the cities and settling in shanty towns thus averting the danger arising from the new wants which industry would be unable to meet in growing urban centres. A decentralised spread of industry over wide areas provides the country people with opportunities of learning how to use modern machinery and thus developing their productivity and employment in their own localities. In addition, there are many factors, such as the shortage of transport facilities, the shortage of power supplies, the inadequacy of the home market mainly due to poverty, the backward state of education, the lack or inefficiency of the administrative machinery and trained supervisory staff and the shortage of capital, which restrict the size of undertakings. Small-scale industries have a number of real economic advantages to offer in such a situation. They provide jobs for larger number of workers in the vicinity of their homes, they require little initial capital outlay, which puts them within reach of developing countries, and they do not create a large demand for supervisory staff, because they can draw on centuries of accumulated experience and handicraft traditions. Moreover, with the steady improvement in the standards of living and rise of incomes in all levels of society small-scale industry provides a pool of new jobs by creating demand for many services and thus proves a valuable asset to combat unemployment. The cost of setting up a plant on small-scale being relatively less, it offers interesting fields of work for persons otherwise economically redundant. It can also start a process of expansion with less risk and more flexibility. Small-scale industrialisation while following traditional methods with suitable technical improvements at small investment provides for industrial decentralisation and diversification and thus facilitates regional economic development plans as a means of relieving congestion in the large towns and bringing new vitality to economically depressed regions. Beside providing large number of jobs for the local labour force and producing a wide range of consumer and capital goods, the small-scale undertakings carry on activities of a nature complementary or subsidiary to that of the large firms and thus ensure economic and social development in a balanced manner. This form of integrated development of the large and small sectors establishes a proper division of work between the two sectors and thus the large-scale sector can concentrate on basic industries and can also avoid the uneconomic operations inherent in the concept of "self-sufficiency." Through the mobilisation of savings from small industrialists and their relatives or friends and through the utilisation of indigenous raw materials in rural and remote areas, the small-scale establishments help the industrialising countries to tap some resources which would otherwise remain idle. The foreign exchange component of investment in cottage and small-scale industries is also usually small. Further, modern small-scale industries can perform an important function of pilot plants and as a training ground for developing entrepreneurship and skilled manpower, a valuable asset in countries where these are still scarce factors of production and take time to train. In short, "from the economic as well as from the social point of view, the establishment of small undertak-

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ings is often more valuable than the over hasty establishment of huge industrial complexes, which no doubt look more impressive but draw off the labour force from the rural areas and give rise to serious imbalance".[2]

Objectives in Indian Setting:

In India, the role of the village and small-scale industries as set out in the Policy and as envisaged during the last decade of planned economy has been to make significant contributions in realising the objectives of :[3]

(a) Creating immediate and permanent employment on a large-scale at relatively small capital cost;
(b) Meeting a subtantial part of the increased demand for consumer goods and simple producer goods;
(c) Facilitating adequate mobilisation and utilisation of dormant resources of capital and skill;
(d) Bringing about integration between rural economy and large-scale industry through various developmental devices.
(e) Ensuring more equitable distribution of the national income and avoiding some of the problems that unplanned urbanisation tends to create, and
(f) Developing these industries into an efficient and progressive decentralised sector of the economy by means of providing assistance in the adoption of improved techniques and more efficient forms of organisation.

Progress Registered by Small-Scale Industry:

In the light of the objectives as set out above, significant contributions have been made by the village and small industries, especially in realising the objectives of expanded employment, larger production and more equitable distribution. The following table reveals the achievements in some of the notable small-scale sector industries:

(See Table on next page)

As is clear, village and small-scale industries have registered an impressive progress during the last two plan periods. The estimated expenditure incurred in the First and Second Plan periods has been recorded as Rs. 43 crores and Rs. 180 crores respectively. In the Third Plan, a total outlay of Rs. 264 crores has been proposed for programmes of village and small industries. Exports of products in the small-scale sector have been valued at an annual average of about Rs. 21 crores.

However, the percentage share of income generated by this sector to the portion of national income contributed by mining, factory enterprises and small enterprises has been constantly decreasing, as has been shown below:

Year	Income %	Year	Income %
1948-49	58.8	1954-55	53.3
1949-50	60.0	1955-56	52.4
1950-51	59.5	1956-57	49.2
1951-52	56.5	1957-58	47.3
1952-53	57.1	1958-59	47.5
1953-54	55.4	1959-60	45.2

It is clear that, until 1955-56, cottage and small industries accounted for more than a half of the total industrial output. However, their share has declined almost without interruption since 1949-50 and in 1956-57 it fell below 50 per cent. In the aggregate national income of the country, the share of small-scale sector enterprises declined from 10.1 per cent in 1948-49 to 8.1 per cent in 1959-60. The value of output of small undertakings remained almost stable during this period. Under the First Five Year Plan, 17 percent of the total development outlay on industry and mining was allocated to small-scale enterprises. This ratio was increased to 22 per cent under the Second Five-Year Plan; but it has fallen down to 15 per cent for the Third Five-Year Plan. In terms of the percentages of total expenditure under the three plans the ratio has been reckoned as 1:3 and 1:4 respectively.

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	Unit	1950-51	1955-56	1960 61 (Estimated)	1965 66 (Targets)	Percentage increase in 1960-61 over 1955	Percentage increse in 1965-66 over 1960-61	Employment in 1960-61 Part Time	Full Time
Khadi :	Million								
(a) Traditional	Yards	7.3	28.9	48.0		558		11 Lakh	1.4 Lakh
(b) Ambar	M. Yards	—	1.9	26.0	3500	—		3 Lakh	51.000
Hand loom	M. Yards	742	1471.	1900		156	49	—	3 Million Weavers
Power Loom	M. Yards	148	273	1900		153			
Serviculture	M. Tons	2.5	3.2	3.6	5.0	44	43		
Raw Silk	M. Lbs	2.5	—	3.6	—	—	—	27 Lakh	35,000
Coir Industry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8 Lakh	
Co-operative Looms	Number	7 Lakh	—	13 Lakh					
Industrial Co-operative Societies	Number	7105	15,3000	29,000					
Small Industries :									
Number of Units in the production of bicycles			44	150		341			
Number of units in production of Sewing Machines			35	75		214.3			
Number of units in the production of Machine tools			344	Over 500		145.4			
Number of units in production of electric motors			6	74		1233.3			
Number of units in production of electric fans			22	47		213.7			
Production of Bicycles			22500	228,000		1013.3			
Production of Sewing machines			23600	52,000		220.3			
The value of ungraded machine tools			Rs. 1.3 Crores	Rs. 4.0 Crores		308			
The value of purchases made by the Central Govt.			Rs. 74 Lakhs (1953-54)	Rs. 6.0 Crores		810.8			
Industrial estates.				60	300	500			

Source—Third Five Year Plan—see pp. 426-451

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The Role of the Government in the Development of the Small Sector

In formulating a programme for the development of village and small industries, the Government directed its line of action mainly in three directions in the first two plan periods. The first step was to strengthen the administrative and organisational machinery by the establishment of All India Boards to advise and assist in the formulation of programmes of development for various small industries. A three-tier organisation was developed for the purpose—the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the Centre, the All India Boards and the State Departments of Industries and State Boards. In addition, industries' officers were appointed at the district and block levels. Steps were also taken for the co-ordination committees, both at the Centre as well as the State level.

Secondly, an essential feature of the Government's approach, in the last two plan periods, to the development programmes was to make provision of assistance in different forms such as credit, training facilities, technical advice, supply of improved tools and equipment on easy terms and establishment of sales depots. About sixty industrial estates were set up for the promotion of small-scale industries.

Thirdly, apart from various programmes of assistance, measures were taken to provide a more assured market for the products of some of the small-scale industries. For instance, production of certain varieties of cloth was reserved for the handloom industry and of certain types of agricultural implements for small-scale industry. Likewise, further expansion of under-utilised capacity of some of the large-scale industries (such as vegetable oils, rice milling, leather footwear, match, etc.;) was stopped. Separate targets of production were laid down for the small-scale and the large-scale sectors of certain industries like bicycles and sewing machines.

Obviously, small-scale industries will continue to play an important part in industrialising the national economy. It should be noted, however, that the production in small-scale sector has been growing at a diminishing rate, although its contribution to total industrial output is still fairly large. The share of small-scale industry in the national output declined from 9.6 percent in 1950-51 to 8.1 percent in 1959-60, while share of large-scale factory establishments in national output rose from 5.8 percent to 8.7 percent during the same period. It appears that the centre of gravity in the process of development is tending to swing over towards large-scale production. This raises the fundamental question as to what should be the future policy in regard to small industries so that they are not condemned to stagnation and, at the same time, the central objective of fostering small industries is justified on sound considerations and significant contributions.

Basic Considerations Directing the Development of Small Industries in the Present Condition

As has already been said, in a country like India, where unemployment and underemployment are widespread and can not readily be eliminated by other means and where volume of available capital is insufficient to support industrialisation on large-scale, the importance of a public policy of developing and promoting cottage and small-scale industries cannot be overemphasised. Small-scale undertakings, however, can win a permanent place in the industrial structure only if they improve their efficiency—technical, financial and commercial—enough to withstand the competition from large-scale enterprises. This requires a clear statement of those complex considerations that dictate the development of small industries in conditions as prevailing in India.

In the first place, the choice of public investment as between large-scale and small-scale production has been predominantly guided so far by the public policy tending to achieve social and political objectives rather than purely economic considerations. According to the Second Five-Year Plan, "within the limits set by the needs to avoid shortage of goods on the one hand, and the extent to which production in small units can be organised effectively to

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take advantage of a larger market, in any individual case, on the other, the balance of public advantage will determine whether and at what level the capacity of a large-scale industry should be limited."[4] Evidently, the policy in relation to small industries is subject to the likely trends of future demand and the alteration in the light of changing circumstances.

Secondly, in industrialising the country, the cottage and small-scale enterprises do not possess the advantage of yielding a relatively high rate of output growth in the long-run. ".....the long-term rate of output growth is largely determined by the future increase in net investment made possible by present investment, and this is highest in large-scale industries. Investment in cottage and small-scale enterprises does not generate enough surplus or savings for re-investment to permit of an increase in the rate of growth of output in future. The share of wages in total costs is high in those industries; nearly all the wages are immediately spent on daily necessities, and thus low levels of technology and efficiency tend to be self-perpetuating, especially in the case of cottage industries."[5]

Thirdly, as a result of technical and economic progress, some of the old crafts such as clockmaking, handweaving, etc., are bound to die out or to struggle hard to survive so as to reward those for whom they provide a livelihood. With the progressive mechanisation of agriculture and development of industrial giganticism it is not always possible for the small-scale industries to replace persons after retirement or leave, because there is a universal tendency of the young generation, once they have reached a certain standard of living, to try "to break away from the past and turn towards more modern and better-paid activities which carry with them all the prestige of the latest techniques. This is a universal and irreversible trend."[6]

Scope for Future Development

Obviously, from a purely economic point of view, it must be conceded that any further encouragement of small-scale industries depends, in the last analysis, on two considerations; first, the choosing of specific fields which often more scope for the small-scale industry than for the large-scale industry and, second, the exploitation of technical possibilities and scale-economies of large-scale production." On the whole, however, unless the market for the product is limited and localised, or unless imperfections of competition are irremovable, small-scale enterprises cannot survive in the struggle with large-scale business".[7]

There are two specific fields which offer more scope for the small-scale industry than for the large-scale industry: First, when the satisfaction is related to local and highly specific demands and individual wants corresponding to personal tastes and preferences, small-scale industries tend to enjoy a favourable position with all the adaptability and attention desired, even when competing directly with a large-scale industry. Secondly, where mass production is generally impossible and the workmanship requires not only the individual care and attention but also the maintainance of high artistic quality and finish in manufacturing process, the small-scale industry, with the experience of centuries behind it, is likely to predominate in production.

There are also two more fields in which production is shared by large-scale and small-scale industry on a supplementary-complementary basis. Firstly, there are certain specific services, such as installation, maintenance and repair work, which are left to small firms by large firms because investment requirements are very modest on small-scale rather than on large-scale. Secondly, there are certain specialised jobs which are performed more efficiently by small undertakings rather than lagre-scale industry such as manufacture of parts subsidiary to agriculture or complementary to large-scale manufacture, or assembly and fitting of machinery, or the goods that are important foreign exchange earners, etc.

The Question of Dynamism in Small Industry

The village and small-scale industries, however, can realise the full potential of decentralised sector of the economy only if

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they are dynamic and efficient, adapting, renewing and developing themselves to changed circumstances and needs. This can be done in three ways: first, there should be gradual increase in the average size of industrial undertaking—of course, giving due consideration to the provision of the specific services which consumers require because, in future, the activities of small-scale industrial undertakings are bound to be such that would require larger numbers of workers with higher skills; second, small-scale industries must be able to mass-produce on a scale commensurate with the need to maintain a very flixible optimum output within a specified time and at the same time maintain sufficiently high standards of production. This can be accomplished if the small-scale industries become, to an increasing extent, complementary to and dependent on large-scale industries on an equal partnership basis and thus concentrate on the production of a small number of carefully designed items of a high standard providing certain specialised services to large-scale undertakings. An I.L.O. study has recently rightly remarked that "if small-scale industry appears, broadly speaking, to maintain its relative importance in national economies as economic growth proceeds, it does so not through sheer inertia but rather through a process of adaptation of evolution and natural selection..... To a large extent the process of adaptation that is required would seem to be a process of shifting the centre of gravity of small-scale industry from activities that compete with large-scale industry to activities that are complementary to it."[8] Finally, small-scale industries must develop proper marketing services and their managers must have the necessary knowledge of the basic rules of industrial and commercial accounting. Today, the commercial frontiers are expanding and markets are growing, competition is becoming fiercer and, therefore, sound commercial management is absolutely essential. This involves the investigation of home and foreign markets, regular calls on customers, the collection of precise and accurate information on output, the accurate calculation of various costs, prices and profit margins, etc.

Difficulties Facing Small-Scale Industrial Sector

In any scheme of the development of small-scale industries the problem is not merely one of creating new activities for the surplus labour; above all production and sales methods must be improved and designs adapted to the requirements of the market. Viewed from this angle, it would be clear that, in the process of economic growth, the potential contribution of small industries, more specically the traditional crafts, has been very much limited to industrial advancement mainly because of the following reasons:

1. These industries are a relatively inefficient method of production because they do not have advantage of making sufficient use of modern machinery and equipment and general advance in science and technology. With rudimentary technique high-quality and low-cost production in adequate volume is practically impossible. "Where individual small industries, including village industries, have failed to adopt improved techniques or to achieve economies of scale and organisation through co-operation, production costs have remained relatively high and problems of unsold stocks and of decline in production and employment have arisen."[9]

2. These are subject to abuses in the form of extremely low earnings, long hours of work and sometimes child labour and their demand being gradually replaced by the products of domestic large and medium-scale industries.

3. Credit facilities were not organised on a large-scale and were not made available on reasonable terms. The channelling of credit to the artisans was obstructed by procedural delays. While the provision for loans in the Plans was limited in relation to the minimum requirements, the availability of credit facilities from normal banking and financial institutions and other institutional agencies has been small to meet the various kinds of capital requirements.

4. Progress has been somewhat retarded by the shortage of technical personnel, skilled and able, to operate machinery and

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equipment and to manage the undertakings properly.

5. These industries have experienced difficulties in obtaining supplies of certain basic raw materals and where these have been obtained, often they have proved to be of poor quality.

6. Progress has been generally slow owing to organisational deficiencies of co-operatives and other occupational organisations.

7. Competition from substitutes in foreign countries and fiscal restrictions imposed in certain traditional export markets have rendered the task of production programme very difficult.

8. These industries have experienced marketing difficulties arising mainly from an almost complete ignorance among producers of the possibilities and state of markets.

9. A major limiting factor in the development of efficient small-scale industries has, so far, been the lack of certain basic facilities such as supply of electric power and improvement in means of transport and communications. By the end of the Second Plan the total number of towns and villages electrified in the country is reckoned at 23,000 as against 7,400 at the end of the First Plan. By the end of the Third Plan this number is likely to increase by about 20,000 to about 43,000 and all towns and villages with a population exceeding 5000 may be expected to be electrified. As regards villages with a population range of 2000 to 5000, it is envisaged that nearly 50 percent that is 10,000 villages will receive the benefits of electricity. By the end of the Second Plan, the percentage of all towns and villages electrified was about 4.1 which is expected to increase to about 8 percent by the end of the Third Plan.

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2. *Small-Scale Industry in Modern Economy,* International Labour Review; page 253. Vol. LXXXIV; No. 4, Geneva; October, 1961.

3. *Third Five Year Plan;* p. 426, Planning Commission, Government of India 1961.

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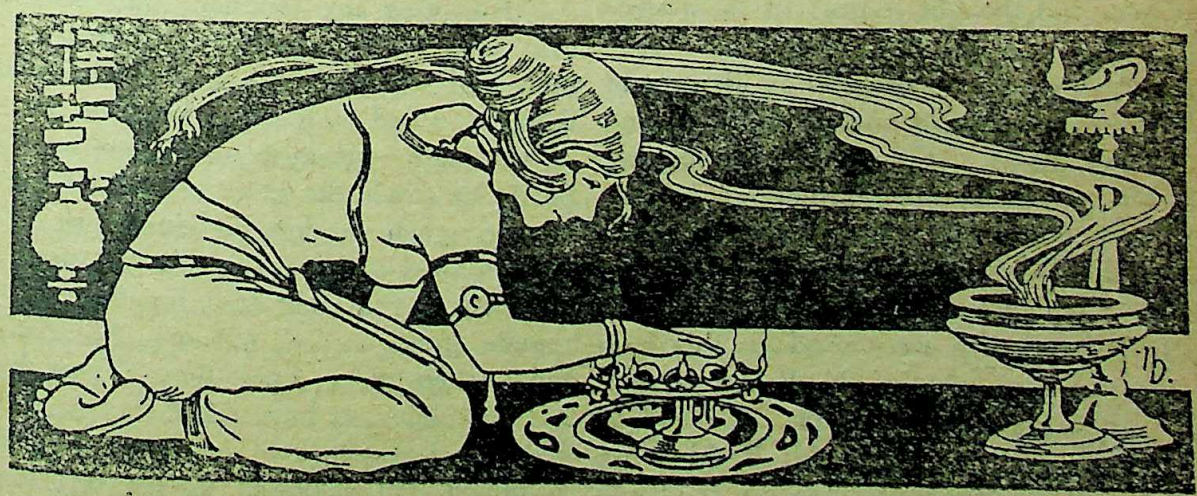

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LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

V

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land,
Whose heart never within him burned
As home his footsteps he hath turned.

The truth of these lines which I read in my school days was never revealed to me in its fullest sense till I came a thousand miles away from the land of my birth. My husband, Sri Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury, having been appointed to the post of the Principal of the Government School of Arts, Madras, we had to leave our old home for the new. Novelty has a charm no doubt but upto a certain extent and so long as it does not mean severing all connection with the dear old past. In our case we knew it was to be a long separation and therefore could not help feeling the pangs of parting.

For the first few years Bengal seemed to draw us towards her like a magnet before every vacation. The longest one was of course in summer, full two months and a shorter one during Christmas. Such throbbing of the heart we felt each time before the closing of the school, such bustle to get things packed and be ready to start. Preparation itself had a joy of its own. And then when the actual day arrived, my husband was as excited as a child! We were at the station much before the scheduled time for the departure of the train. If I pointed that out to him, I was curtly told it was much better to be early than late. I sensed the tense feeling of a child in the grown up man and thought it prudent to observe silence.

In those days there were no airways to curtail the hours of journey and to make a long distance appear short. Consequently when we entrained for our homeward journey we had to settle down in our small compartment with the idea of making it our temporary home for two full nights and a day and a half.

The first time when we started on this long trip our son was nine months old. It was December, the winter season in Calcuta. We had to protect ourselves well against cold. Besides, we had to make all arrangements for the food and comfort of the baby. Our luggage therefore was much more than it would have been. It was left under the care of the servants who had instructions from my husband to arrange it in our compartment. I was full of anxiety for its safety but dared not express it for fear of getting another curt reply. You can imagine my relief when I found it all intact.

The journey on the whole was uneventful. I therefore did not learn much from my first experience of travelling with an artist. My husband knew the secret of making the waiters stand on attention whenever he needed their service; consequently there was not much room for complaint. The cigarette stumps and the match sticks scattered all over the compartment caused me some discomfort.

What heart-beat we felt when we reached the border of Bangal! The paddy fields, the small pond where the village wife fills her pitcher, the bony and fagged out farmer plodding his way home after the day's toil, the dwarfed barns made specially for betel leaves, all seemed to cry out "This is Bengal." It is not the beauty but the familiarity which was so appealing to us. At a certain station we heard the members of the station staff talk in our own language. My husband was all excitement. He told me, "Look, they are Bengalis, we have reached Bengal." My excitement was no less but to keep it under control I just nodded my head while the heart within me whispered incessantly, "this is my own, my native land."

Excepting my mother and my little sister who were present during the arrival of the baby none had seen the little fellow. The platform was therefore filled with eager faces of our dear ones as the train steamed in. There was a regular bustle to reach the new man while the one who was so much in demand clung fast to his ayah and rebuffed each person with the same reply "no go." The joy of that first home-coming will ever remain green in my memory. So many changes have taken place since then. Years have rolled by. New interests have taken the place of the old. We have learnt to love our foster mother who has sustained and sheltered us for this long period. No feeling of strangeness is there now. By a slow

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but steady process she has entirely made us a part and parcel of her soil. While in our own land the ball which brooks no question has tossed many of our loved ones from the field. The urge to visit our home has become less imperious to us today. Yet do we not respond to her call? We do but not with the same enthusiasm and seldom unless necessity gives us the impetus.

I shall narrate here a few instances of my plight while travelling with the artist on some such occasions.

Let me state at the outset that Sri Deviprosad is very independent in spirit and equally dependent in the field of action, excepting where art is concerned. During a return journey from Calcutta he wanted a four-berth compartment to be reserved for us from Howrah. A friend offered to do the bit for him. Immediately a broad smile brightened up his face as if he had been rescued from an insuperable difficulty. All went well till we arrived at the station. At Howrah we were searching for our compartment in vain when to our great relief the friend cropped up from somewhere and led us to our place. It was a spacious compartment consisting of eight berths where four berths had been reserved for us.

The artist's face fell. I could see from his expression that he was very much annoyed, He paid for extra tickets specially because he wanted the compartment to be left entirely to ourselves. Evidently the friend did not see his point. Instead of reserving a four-berth compartment he had asked to reserve four berths, hence this mess. Deviprosad was determined to have what he wanted, whether by bullying or flattering did not matter. He went on nagging the railway authorities in such a way that just to pacify him they gave an assurance that none would enter our compartment upto to Waltair. This did not satisfy our artist. What about the distance from Waltair to Madras? He went on bullying the railway staff at every big stop for giving us a coupe if they were unable to provide a full compartment.

To the great relief of my husband at Waltair we were informed the first class coupe next to us was vacant and we could occupy it if we liked. I was in a fix. Things were scattered all over the place. They had to be collected and taken to the coupe. There was no time for packing. A number of porters were engaged. One of them caused some delay by unnecessary jabber. He felt the weight of the wrestler's strong palm at his neck and corrected his manners. The reward that they received compensated for all that they had to go through. I, with the help of the ayah, was dumping the things as they arrived witout the slightest knowledge of how many were left behind. I thanked my stars when I found all were safe and my husband was free from his worries.

The next memorable train journey with the artist was when I want to Calcutta for my sister's wedding. This time also a friend intervened and volunteered to reserve a compartment through Thomas Cook & Sons. My husband expressed his grateful thanks but he had learnt the lesson from his previous experience not to depend on others in these matters. He therefore took extra caution and made his own arrangements for reservation in spite of the friend's assurance to take up the responsibility. Now this friend happened to be a young air pilot. While flying low over the city, he got involved in an accident just a day or two before our departure. The news was published in all the papers. My husband enquired and found that though the aircraft was burnt, the friend was safe in bed with minor injuries.

It never occurred to us for a moment that this could affect our journey in any way. On the day we were to leave, the artist was as usual at the station long before the scheduled time, and for once atleast this was to our advantage. I and my son did not accompany him but followed a little later. On my arrival I found a great commotion at the station and my husband was the pivot on which the wheels turned. What happened was this. Since our compartment was reserved by two persons in the name of one and one of them was disabled by accident, the management took it for granted that the other person would not travel and cancelled our reservation. As matters stood, it was not possible for them to give us a full compartment but they could provide us with berths in different bogies. The artist was completely upset. There was one first class coupe attached to the train next to which there was a compartment with four berths one of which was vacant. My husband demanded that coupe for his son, his wife and the ayah whereas he said he would occupy the berth in the next compartment. But the coupe had already been taken possession of by an English military officer of high rank. He refused to budge from there though he was shown a berth in a bigger carriage. His idea was to have the benefit of travelling alone. He was

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quite sure that if he occupied one of the berths the entire coupe would automatically be under his disposal. That was the time when every white man was next in importance to the King, more so if he happened to be a military official. The station staff did all it could to persuade him to go to the bigger compartment but it was of no avail. When they failed in their efforts my husband tried to appeal to the chivalry of a gentleman by asking for a favour explaining our difficulties. Evidently that white officer failed to understand why an Indian should be so particular about the comfort of his wife and child and turned a deaf ear. Moreover, he was vulgar enough to make an impolite remark which was meant to be an insult to the womanhood of India.

Deviprosad's patience was tried to the limit. He realised that his civility was not appreciated. It was taken as a weakness. In pursuance of which he had to change his method of approach. He grasped the officer's wrist with his strong hand. The pressure of the wrestler's grip produced the desired effect. Probably it made the official realise that self-respect was not the monopoly of any particular race and he left the coupe without any more fuss. We then settled down in the little compartment with all sorts of instructions from my husband as to how to travel when the country was in a state of war. I am talking about the time when Britain was at war with Germany (World War II) and India was still an integral part of the British Empire.

Nothing untoward happened till the next evening when we arrived at the station where we were to have dinner. No restaurant car was attached to the train during those days. One had to go to the station refreshment room for meals. Owing to the black-out system the station was very dimly lighted. I do not know the reason why our train did not touch the platform. We were expected to cross the line and go over to the platform if we desired to have our dinner at the station. My husband could not approve of this idea. He got down from the compartment, stood on the railway line with his arms akimbo in a "my will be done" sort of attitude and ordered one of the passing waiters to bring dinner to our carriage. The waiter replied that he had no instructions to serve meals in the compartments and went his way. A fellow passenger a military officer from Bengal, was going to the refreshment room. He very kindly offered to help us. A little while later however he came back unsuccessful and confirmed what the waiter had said. Two European gentlemen were travelling with the artist. He requested them to look after his luggage and then marched off aggressively towards the refreshment room. I apprehended trouble. A few minutes later the artist was with us with two waiters carrying dinner trays. Having performed what seemed an impossible task, he sat down to his repast with a significant 'hum.'

On our way back from Calcutta we had to encounter the same problem, whether to go to the refreshment room or have the lunch brought to us. Since it was broad daylight and the train was standing next to the platform, I suggested that we leave our luggage in charge of the ayah and walk up to the refreshment room. But that was not to be. Once more the martial spirit of the artist was roused. He was in his travelling dress which consisted of a khaki pyjama and a sleeveless upper garment of the same texture and a wooden sandal. Without the least hesitation he got down as he was, making the platform resound with the noise of his sandals which worked as a drum to announce his approach.

I noticed from the window of my carriage a gentleman from the first class compartment next to us gallivanting on the platform in fruitless attempt to get his food brought to his place. I therefore had no hope of my husband succeeding. But he did, and when I asked him how he managed where others failed, this is the description he gave me of his conquest : he went straight inside and asked the manager of the meals department in a most imperative tone to send food for two persons to his compartment immediately. The place was then crowded with European military men who were sitting at their lunch. They were taken aback by the sudden apprence of this strange figure and remained staring at him. The manager must have been deceived by the artist's Khaki dress and commanding attitude, for he was all eagerness to oblige him. Before any of the inmates could come back to their senses our friend had accomplished his job and returned to us.

You must be wondering by now how I could survive the shocks of such idiosyncrasies. All I can say is that though I am frail in body, no match for my strong husband, my nerves are undoubtedly gifted with abnormal strength.

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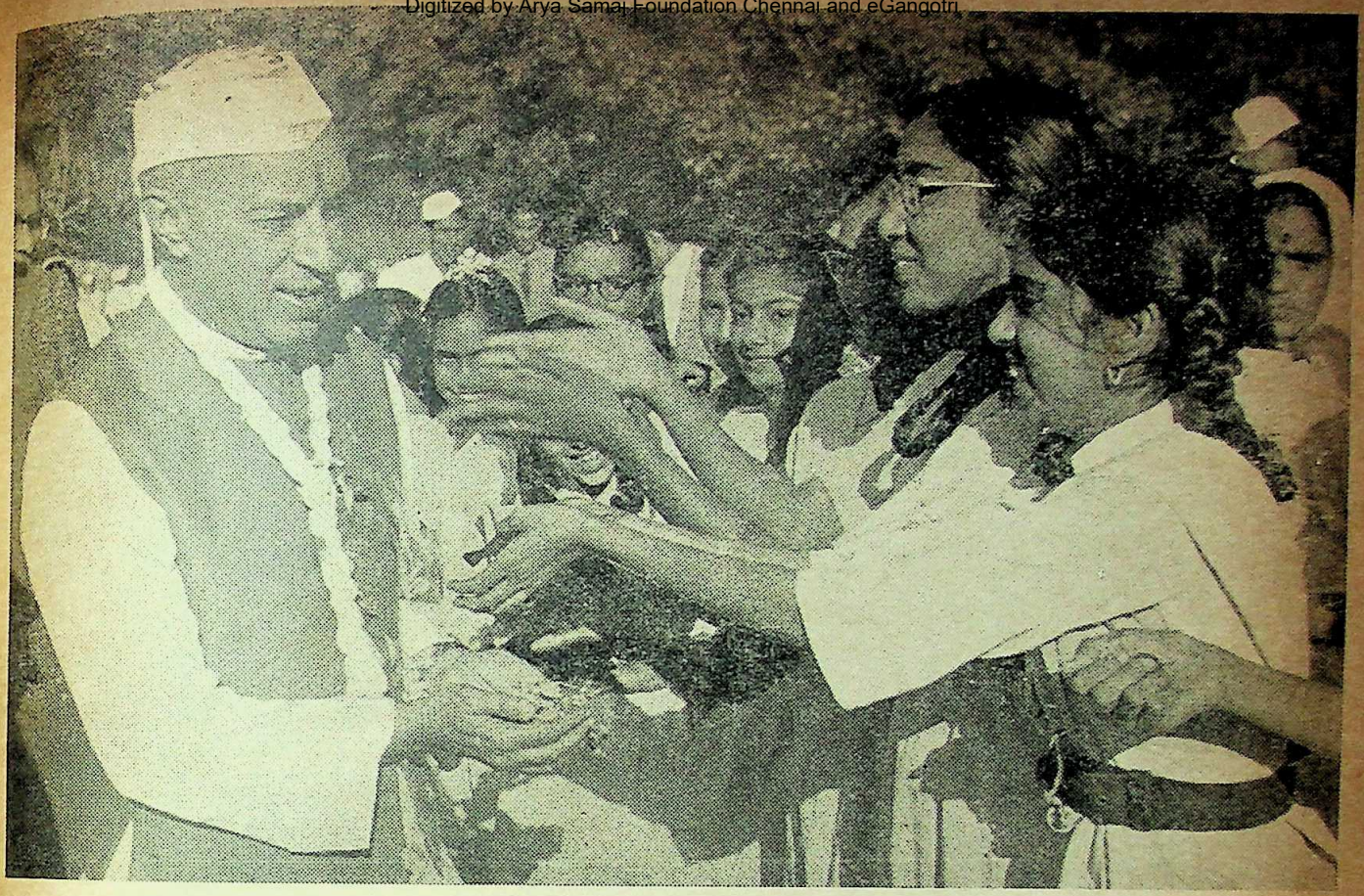

Happy Birthday to Chacha Nehru

Tribal women seen working on Lace

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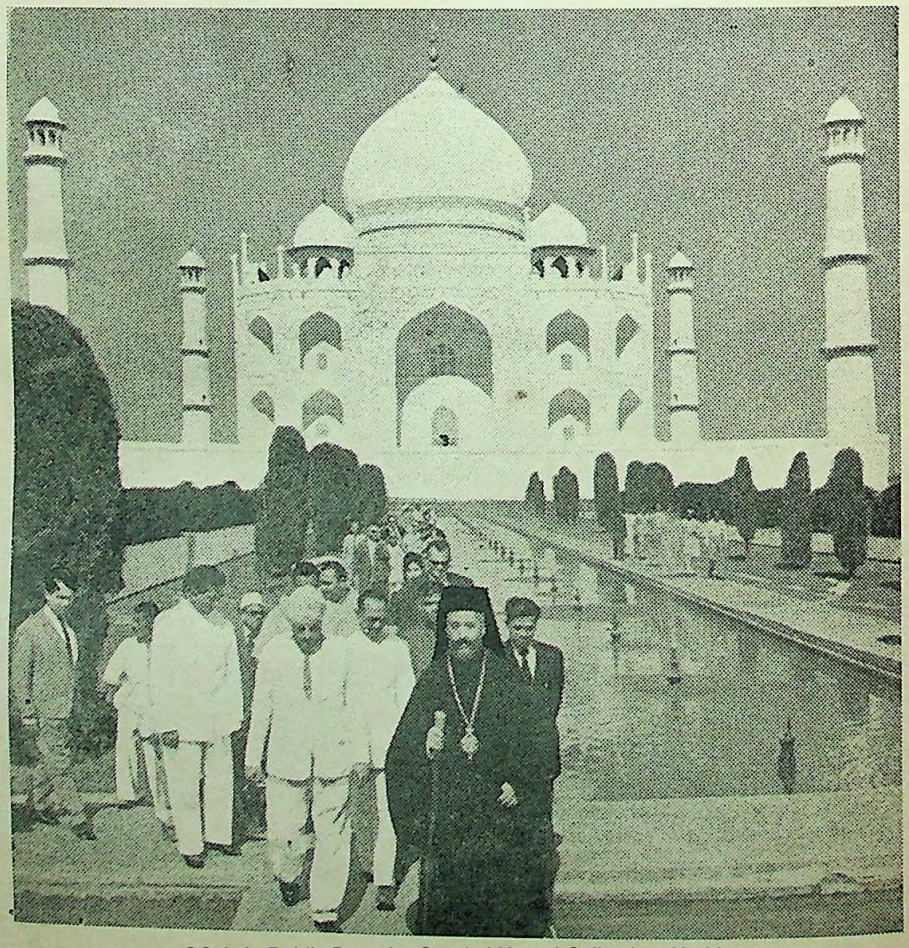
His Excellency Tanku Abdul Rehman of Malaya with Nawab Ahmed Said Khan at a special Convocation of Aligarh Muslim University



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His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus and party seen at Taj Mahal

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NATIONAL DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

By KARUNA K. NANDI

We have already, in a recent issue of this Journal, discussed at some considerable length, the achievements and failings of the first two Plans, their impact on national income incidences, and the progress so far made in this connection, towards a self-generating and self-sustaining national economy. The Third Plan was claimed to have been formulated with an obviously overwhelming industrial bias with this end in view, that is with the objective of taking the country as rapidly as possible on to a stage of offtake at which it would be possible to induce the desired self-generating dynamics in the national economy. But the actual and potential environment in which this current Plan was expected to be implemented has, in the meanwhile, very materially altered in view of the grave national crisis posed by the present open and unprovoked armed invasion of the country by Chinese expansionists. The Plan, therefore, has to be not merely reoriented, as suggested by the National Development Council, to meet the present emergency, but it would also, it is obvious, have to be substantially recast both with regard to its objectives as well as its priorities, in the present altered circumstances of the country. Planning, it is obvious, will now have to cover a far more comprehensive field and its implementation inspired by an urgency and the need for far greater measures of effectiveness, efforts in this connection being directed towards meeting the overwhelming priority that the defence of the country has now made essential. Development and defence are, it is clearly understood, neither contradictory to each other nor contradictory as regards their objectives. It is obvious that no country which has not the strength to defend effectively its integrity against enemy invasion can either be expected to have the strength to develop effectively its economic potentials towards greater and developing national prosperity. Nor can the need for sustained defence efforts be considered to create a climate which would be regarded as being uncongenial for development planning. What is really needed is to so dovetail the two into each other in such a manner that the one may sustain the other, so that Planning may effectively cover the essential and immediate requirements of defence needs and, in the process, continue to sustain the dynamics of development at the same time.

Third Plan Industrial Targets

With a view to arrive at a correct assessment of the actualities of the present situation and immediate defence needs, it should be helpful to study the targets and priorities that have been allocated to industry under the Third Plan. The Third Plan envisages fresh investments of the order of Rs. 2,993 crores towards the achievement of the physical targets set in the Plan programme for industries and minerals. The estimated foreign exchange component of this investment is calculated to comprise approximately Rs. 1,338 crores. The estimate of investment thus formulated envisages the ultimate objectives of the Plan in this behalf, but the actual allocations in the public and private sectors respectively representing resources expected to be immediately available, aggregate Rs. 2,570 crores,—Rs. 1,470 crores (excluding Rs. 50 crores to be transferred to the private sector) for the public sector and Rs. 1,100 crores for the private sector. The breakdown of the estimates are detailed in the following table :—

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Table I

Estimate of Investment in Industries and Minerals in the Third Plan.

(In Rs. Crores)

Item.	Public Sector		Private Sector		Total: Public and Private Sectors	
	Total	Foreign Ex.	Total	Foreign Ex.	Total	Foreign Ex.
A. New Investments—						
(i) Mineral Development	478	200	60	28	538	228
(ii) Industries' Development	1,330	660	1,125	450	2,455	1,110
Total	1,808	860	1,185	478	2,993	1,338
B. Replacements	...	...	150	50	150	50

The sources of supply of investable funds for financing fixed assets development in the private sector to provide the resources as estimated above and the proportion of contribution expected to be available from difference sources are detailed as under:

Table II

Sources of Funds for Industrial and Mineral Development

(In Rs. Crores)

Sources.	Estimated Funds
1. Institutional agencies ..	130
2. Direct Loan participation by Central & State Governments and other assistance ..	20
3. News Issues	200
4. Internal Resources (net, after accounting for repayment liabilities)	600
5. Direct Foreign Credit participation in Capital ..	300
Total	1,250

The above table discloses a gap of Rs. 100 crores between the estimate of investments and resources expected to be available in the private sector programme comprising a total investment of Rs. 1,350 during the Plan.

Metallurgical Industries

Especial emphasis has, very pertinently, been laid upon the development of metallurgical industries and very high priorities allocated thereto. In the steel industry, for instance, the targets proposed have been placed at a gross 10.2 million tons ingot steel capacity and 1.5 million tons additional pig iron capacity. The gross steel capacity in the country already developed comprises 6.2 million tons, 3 millions in the private sector and 3.2 millions in the public sector. The Third Plan programme, therefore, envisages raising of this capacity by a further 4 million tons. One of the important requirements of the Third Plan programme in this behalf was, naturally, the assumption that rapid achievement of production potentials to conform to laid down capacity would be effected as a basic take-off towards the further expansion of capacity envisaged in the Third Plan. This would be considered essential not merely for fulfilling the basic objectives of the Second Plan, but for the further expansion

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of capacity based upon the already established public sector projects, but also those new plants projected to be erected at Bokaro in Bihar and, possibly, also a lignite-based one in Neyvelli in Madras.

As already stated above, the capacity already laid down aggregates 6.2 million tons,—3 millions in the private and 3.2 million tons in the public sector. The estimate of requirements of steel during the Third Plan to implement the targets envisaged in industrial and mineral development, it has been estimated, would call for a minimum supply of 28.9 million tons in terms of ingot production. Having regard to the already existing capacity in the country, it should have been possible for the indigenous producers to cover this demand in full, but cautiously estimating prospects, the Planning Commission had laid down total availability of steel in the country from indigenous sources at a gross 24.1 million tons over the entire Plan period. Later reassessments have, however, led the Planning Commission to revise these estimates, and the current expectations are represented in the following table:

Table III.

Estimates of Requirements and Production of Steel during the Third Plan

(In million ingot tons)

Year	Requirements	Production	Gap
1961-62	4.3	2.9n	1.4
1962-63	5.4	4.0	1.4
1963-64	5.8	4.4	1.4
1964-65	6.6	5.0	1.6
1965-66	7.2	5.8	1.4
Total	28.9	22.1	6.8

It would, thus be seen that as a result of the current reassessment of prospects of steel production in the country as arrived at by the Planning Commission experts, leaves a gap of something like 30 per cent between existing officially laid down capacity and actual production expectations. The load of short falls in steel carry almost disastrous implications. Some measure of the burden of this short-fall would be evident from the fact that for less than a million tons of steel imports in 1961-62, foreign exchange bills to cover them aggregated very nearly Rs. 80 crores. To cover the gap between actual requirements of steel for implementing the targets of the Third Plan and estimated actual indigenous production during the period by imports alone would call for a foreign exchange outlay of more or less Rs. 550 crores. There was some talk, earlier, in the context of these later assessments, that the Third Plan programmes would have to be re-drawn to correspond with the actual indigenous supplies of the requisite quantum of steel, especially having regard to the mounting foreign exchange difficulties during the period corresponding with the commencement of the Third Plan.

The national emergency since occasioned by large-scale Chinese invasion of the country has made it necessary to do a certain measure of rethinking in this connection. The need for gearing development programmes to immediate and overwhelming defence needs would seem to make the need for supply of steel even more urgent than before. The obvious remedy would seem to be to sufficiently energize our existing steel plants to reach capacity production as early as possible. The various steel plants in the country, in both the private and the public sectors have, no doubt, pledged their all-out endeavour to achieve this, but results woud seem to be still doubtful as to the extent to which this may be depended upon to be fulfilled. The ability, however, to reach capacity production level in conformity with the potentials already developed in this behalf, would seem to be of the most vital moment, especially at this juncture when steel has to be provided in requisite quantities to meet the immediate and inescapable needs of defence production for which it is a basic producer-material, and to otherwise procure which it would call for a heavy outlay in foreign exchange which the country, simply, is not able to afford at the present moment. Already, our resources in this behalf are being

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necessarily burdened by the need for procurement of arms and other modern fighting equipments from abroad and, although, the U.S.A. and Britain are generously providing all the aid and assistance we could reasonably hope for without prior settlement of the terms of payment, the eventual need to cover this obligation would be bound to place heavy additional strains upon our national resources. The need to conserve our foreign exchange resources and, as an essential element in the process to eliminate further avoidable foreign exchange commitments by all-out development of production potentials in respect of already laid-down national potentials would, in the circumstances, seem to be of extremely urgent moment. Steel and other vital producer-resources which enter so urgently into defence-production needs are, obviously, pivotal in this connection. The capacity which has already been laid down at such heavy expense of resources and effort must, therefore, be utilized to the fullest extent of its poentials for the purpose.

Further Expansion of Steel Capacity

One of the necessary conditions justifying construction of further steel plants as projected in the Third Plan and in addition to the 6.2 million tons already laid down, as observed earlier in this context, was considered by an important school of economists in the country, to be the development of actual production potentials to conform with the laid down capacity and, in this view of the question, a great deal of doubt seemed to prevail in certain quarters, as to the wisdom of further expansion of capacity in the Third Plan until this condition had been fully met. In the altered conditions of the national climate, and the reassessments of the country's needs for defence reinforcement, etc., although doubts as regards the wisdom of expanding steel capacity by the projected further 4 million tons per year would seem to have been removed, that it can and should be done only upon the basis of immediate exploitation of production dynamics to the level of the already available capacity, has become all the more urgent to fully ensure. Not merely to effectively fight and liquidate the currently mounted armed offensive against the country by an enemy aggressor, which is no doubt immediate and urgent, but also, at the same time to take timely measures against apprehensions of future such eventualities from potential enemies, we must have the resources to produce more steel than the already available capacity would enable us to provide. This would be needed not merely for what is loosely termed as "defence production." The varied needs of modern defensive preparation calls for a corresponding variety of supply needs not merely on the actual lines of armed defence-reinforcements, but also of civilian use in large measures, all of which will need large quantities of steel to provide.

This need is not merely urgent and calls for large quantities of what is known as ordinary steels, but also for a variety of alloy and special steels which enter vitally into the production of armaments and other defence needs. Their use in modern industrial construction and equipment building is also extensive and of a varied nature. It was estimated in the Third Plan, that for the programmes of industrial and mineral development in the Plan, the country would need, by the end of the Plan period steels of these categories of an aggregate quantum of some 200,000 tons per annum, comprising tool steels, construction sheets, stainless steels and die and other alloy steels, which would progressively increase to some 389,000 tons by about the end of 1970. The Third Plan put down development of capacity in the public sector for these kinds of steels at the Durgapur Alloy Steel Project, which envisages a gross 48,000 capacity at the present moment and which would be capable of being doubled at the very next stage. Some capacity in this behalf is also being developed in the private sector, notably by the Tatas at their Jamshedpur Steel Works, which is expected to have an initial capacity of some 50,000 tons. As already observed, the estimate of needs for special and alloy steels at 200,000 tons by 1965 and 389,000 tons by 1970, did not obvi-

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ously take into account the urgent needs of defence production which have obtruded in the meanwhile upon these estimates and it is understood that investigations are already under way for meeting this suddenly developed additional but vital need as far as possible by corresponding expansion of originally projected capacity in this behalf in the Third Plan. While the Tatas are expected to provide their own resources and procure the necessary foreign collaboration for covering the foreign exchange element in the investment which they have, of course, already successfully done, the Durgapure Alloy Steel Plant (already the capacity is said to have been decided to be raised from the initially projected 48,000 tons to 57,000 tons) will call for an outlay of Rs. 50 crores with a Rs. 20 crores foreign exchange component. This will be further supplemented, it has been projected, by the Ordnance Factories, mainly in the category of construction sheets and spring steels, by another 50,000 tons by the end of the Plan period. The projects for Alloy and Special steels thus included in the Third Plan programmes are represented in the following table:

Table IV

Eestimated Demand and Indigenous Output of Alloy and Special Steels

Category	Estimated Demand		Output Capacity in Public & Private Sectors		
	1965 tons	1970 tons	Durgapur tons	Ordance tons	Private Sector tons
Tool Steels	42,000	70,000	13,000	..	..
Construction Sheets	100,000	241,000	17,500	..	..
Stainless Steels	50,000	60,000	17,500	..	..
Die & Other Alloy Steels	8,000	10,000	500	..	..
Total	200,000	389,000	48,000	50,000	50,000

Gross Total Estimated Cacacity : All Categories : 148,000 by 1965

Non-ferrous Metals

Non-ferrous metals also constitute an important arm of development in the mineral industries with a high ptoential of defence requirements. An important place has been assigned to Aluminum, with a projected expansion of capacity to 87,500 tons at the end of the Plan period, and Electrolytic Copper production is to be undertaken for the first time and account for a total annual capacity of 11,500 tons. Zinc capacity has been projected at a level of 15,000 tons.

Coal

In the vital industry of coal mining Third Plan projects have been formulated and revised several times, until now they have been geared to a target of 107 million tons annually by the end of the Third Plan period. The coal industry has been suffering from a measure of indifference which would seem to have been amazingly complacent in terms of the measure of development planning envisaged in the First two Plans. It was not really until the second year of the Second Plan that some attention was accorded to this vital sector of the country's basic producer industry and development measures for expansion projected, mainly in the newly organized public sector under the aegis of the National Coal Development Corporation, with a certain measure of additional responsibility

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assigned to the already operating private sector. By 1961-62, although the private sector has almost fully met its obligations in this behalf, the public sector was unable to reach within a reasonable measure of its targets. In the Third Plan the private sector's assignments in the almost doubled targets of the Plan although very substantial in terms of its resources and, especially, in the negligible measure of assistance expected to be provided to it, the role of the public sector remains overwhelmingly more important in terms of new developments, although its ability, having regard to performances during the first year of the Third Plan, to fulfil its obligations would seem to be in grave doubt. The responsibilities, respectively, of the private and public sectors, for coal output during the Third Plan, have been placed at approximately 38.8 and 68.2 million tons. In the Second Plan programmes it was placed at 16.15 million tons which included 2.6 million tons, for the Government's Singareni group but actual production in 1960-61 aggregated only 10.16 million tons, while it fell further to just over 8.50 million tons in the following year. In comparison, the private sector performance was commendably adequate; against a target of 45 million tons it turned over 44.49 million tons in 1960-61 and 45.62 million tons in the following year. The performance in the first 4 months of the year 1962-63, which are now available, pose an even more dismal picture against the overwhelmingly increased assignments of the public sector of 38 million tons, and appeared to be 3.34 million tons, against the private sector output of 16.34 million tons during the same period, which compares immensely more favourably to its assignment for developing outpuot to the level of 68 million tons by the end of the Third Plan.

The vital role of the coal industry in the especial context of the country's defence requirements would be obvious from the fact that even apart from the additional burdens that would be bound to be placed upon the industry in the context of our present national emergency, the ordinary burdens laid upon it by the Third Plan programmes would, in themselves, be fairly heavy. The railways, for instance, somewhat inadequate in terms of projected Third Plan developments as their capacity would be bound to prove, would be expected to consume approximately 21 million tons of coal by the end of the Plan period. The expanded steel industry would consume another 25 million tons annually, and the demands of the Power industry are estimated to rise to 12 million tons annually. The demands of other industries in both the producer and the consumer sectors, as well as for domestic consumption, are also expected to rise correspondingly, and the total burdens on the coal industry would cover every ounce of the 107 million tons of annual production projected in the Plan to cover their basic minimum needs.

Especial consideration needs to be accorded to immediately develop our transport potentials in this connection, not merely to cover the developing burdens of economic and indusrial development, but in the urgent context of the overwhelming needs of defence which have now so suddenly obtruded upon our means of survival and which, it appears, we are not at all fully prepared to meet. The importance of development of coal output becomes all the more urgently important in the far wider contexts of defence production, transport of arms, equipments, supplies and personnel etc. The increased tempo of the dynamics as well increased capacity of transport is a vital requirement of national defence and cannot be neglected under any circumstances. The need, therefore, would seem to be overwhelming for increasing the tempo of expansion in coal output and, if necessary, to meet urgent and immediate needs of the emergency that has now arisen, the Government's present dependence on the obviously less dynamic public sector eliminated by correspondingly increased assignments to the more vigorous private sector. The private sector, it has been estimated, will already have needed new investments of the order of some Rs. 88 to 90 crores to cover its original assignments in the Third Plan, which may have to be further raised at that immediate defence needs may place additionally upon it. Obviously, it would need a measure of assistance from

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Government which must be placed at its disposal.

Engineering Industries

In the engineering industries' sector, the Third Plan programmes envisage concentration of public sector resources upon the manufacture of heavy machinery, mining machinery and equipments manufacture, heavy machine building, etc. while to the private sector is left the responsibility for developing an extensive range of manufactures including tractors, diesel engines, constructional equipments, power distribution and measurement equipmments (transformers upto a capacity of 33 kV), cables and wires, locomotives, freight wagons, passenger coaches, commercial vehicles, new plants for setting up new units of sugar, cement, paper, textile and other industries, boilers and small machine tools, consumable stores, durable consumer goods etc. The respective roles of the private and public sectors in this field of industrial development are estimated to be complementary to each other and an extensive range of basic industries developed to cover developing needs of industry.

An important project is the diversification of the capacity of the public sector Chittaranjan Locomotive Works to enable it to go into Electric Locomotives manufacture to conform with the developing needs of electrification of rail traction. The traction motors for the purpse would be manufactured and supplied by the public sector Bhopal Heavy Electricals and the capacity for manufacturing diesel-electric and diesel-hydraulic locomotives is expected to be developed at the Chittaranjan Works. The capacity of the diesel-electric locomotive project estimated at 140 units per annum would be expected to provide an annual turn-over of Rs. 10 crores.

Ship Building

Significant developments have also been envisaged in the country's ship building capacity, and the Hindusthan Shipyard at Vishakapattanam has been under expansion to enable it to produce ships in the range of 50,000 to 60,000 d.w.t., per annum. A dry dock at Vishakapattanam and an additional shipyard at Coachin, and capacity for manufacturing marine diesel engines are among the additional projects in the Plan in this field of development.

The extension of the country's shipbuiding capacity and ancillory facilities and equipments to conform would, especially at this time of national emergency, seem to be of the greatest moment, and would seem to call for immediate and urgent concentration of effort.

Further developments projected in the Plan include expansion of capacity for structural fabrication, manufacture of pressure vessels and heat exchangers for the chemical industries, precision instruments, compressors and pumps, ball and roller bearings and a variety of other items.

Adjustment of Industrial Plan to Defence Needs

The projects in the field of engineering industries, almost as much as in the basic producer industries like steel, coal and power, have an immediate and vital bearing upon present emergency national defence needs. These can and must be adjusted to conform to urgent defence needs and it is important to press the services of the constitutionally more vigorous and faster-moving private sector to these requirements in, perhaps, even larger measure than the reliance placed upon the public sector alone. Thus, the immediate and urgent need for the manufacture of tanks and armoured cars, of which our present resources are ridiculously inadequate, could be very largely and rapidly met by adjusting the resources and experience of the builders of railway wagons and coaches to this field of manufacture. Very little additional equipments and practically no important measure of reorganization should be needed to enable the factories used to manufacturing wagons and coaches to successfully divert their manufacturing pro-

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gramme to meet this immediate defence need. In the field of manufacture of other defence equipments also as, for instance, jeeps and other motorized military road transport etc., the services of the engineering industries in both the private and the public sectors could be of immense assistance, especially in the speeding up of the tempo of production for vitally needed equipments and supplies.

The necessary adjustments needed to speed this up, should not call for any very large measure of reorganization of equipments, flow sheets or assembly lines, or for a great deal of additional capital investment. Even if this were needed, the urgency of action in this behalf would still seem to be inescapable. What is really needed immediately and urgently is the appropriate reorientation of both purpose and outlook in official and non-official quarters alike, and the necessary determination to bring this about without the least avoidable delay. Any further comment should be entirely superfluous to emphasize the needs of the hour.

Consumer Industries

The strategy of modern defence preparedness is such that it becomes as vitally essential that the lines of civil supplies, especially in the primary consumer sectors, are left unbroken and their flow unhampered, as it is to keep the front lines of fighting formations kept adequately supplied with armaments, equipments and the host of other items of requirements that have to be provided to keep the army, able, alert and capable of instant mobility as may be demanded by circumstances. The needs of active armed defence in the face of enemy invasion would, naturally, place the severest strains upon these lines and the unbroken flow of goods and services, especially in the matter of co-ordnating various branches of industry and commerce and the appropriate allocation of products to active defence and essential civil supply needs.

The creation of the recent new Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination at the Centre is, perhaps, designed to fulfil this vital need. The responsibilities and, necessarily also the powers of the new Ministry of Co-ordination, would have inevitably to cut across several ministries in the Union Government like, for instance, the Ministry of Heavy Industries, Commerce and Industry, Ministry of food and Agriculture, the Ministry of Commuications and Transport and several other ministries of the Government. There seems to be a school of opinion even among members of Parliament who appear to have been viewing this new creation with a certain measure of disfavour and apprehend possibilities of conflict and cleavage when the decisions of the new Ministry of Co-ordination may impinge upon the prerogatives of these various other ministries of the Government. They seem to favour more the age-worn method of Co-ordination of essential economic functions and production and supplies through sub-committees and consultative committees etc. They have, however, proved always to be rather slow-moving and presumably unsuited to the needs of snap decision and fast action in times of a fighting war like the one the country has been compelled to face now from our Chinese invadors. Besides, it is expected that the constitutional responsibilities of individual ministries which may, in normal times, produce occasional controversies would, in present circumstances, produce larger measures of aggrement instead. It is not clear yet as to the specific allocation of subjects to the new Ministry which, it may be presumed, would gradually emerge with the developing exigencies of the present situation. Experience under the British Parliamentary system might provide a valuable guide as to the range of responsibilities that this Ministry might be called upon to undertake.

The experiment of co-ordinating the functions of different. ministries can be said to have commenced in Britain as far back as 1936, when a new Ministry of Defence Co-ordination was appointed. It functioned for a comparatively short while, as did the later Secretary of State for Co-ordination of Transport, Fuel and Power,

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and the effort to co-ordinate the Food and Agricultural Policy of the Government under the Lord President of the Council. All these efforts at Co-ordination which functioned between the years 1936 and 1940 proved controversial and comparatively short-lived. But the later exigencies of the Second World War which made it necessary to co-ordinate the functions of several ministries in the War Cabinet through a Minister of Production and which functioned between the years 1942 and 1945, proved an outstanding success especially when Mr. Oliver Lyttelton assumer charge of the office after Lord Beaverbrook's resignation. Mr. Lyttelton's responsibilities were never very precisely defined, presumably to provide scope for a measure of flexibility to meet varying and developing exigencies of the War as circumstances would portend. There is no substantial reason why the new portfolio assigned to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari cannot function as successfully in a like manner, although necessarily the British analogy may not wholly apply in this case. In any case, the new Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination would presumably function under the direct authority of the Prime Minister and should, therefore, prove adequately effective. There is undoubtedly scope for a large measure of Co-ordination between the functions of the different ministries of the Government for meeting immediate and urgent defence needs and to adjust and harmonize development projects, potentials and processes to this overriding emergency of the hour.

Food And Agriculture

In any consideration of our immediate defence needs, the importance of reinforcing the food and agricultural sectors of the national economy is obviously of vital urgency. The Third Plan targets of food production have been placed at the level of 100 million tons of cereals and pulses which, according to the estimates of the Planning Commission, would provide a daily per capita ration of 17 ounces. The Second Plan targets in this behalf were 80 million tons, but actual achievements were in the region of a little less than 70 million tons. Considerable doubts have been entertained, having especial regard to the shortfalls of the Second Plan in supply of irrigation water and production of fertilizers, that the Third Plan targets in this behalf could at all be reached. In fact, even achievement of the target of 100 million tons would leave a considerable gap between demand and supply and a reassessment of Plan targets in this behalf already undertaken has been endeavouring to place this target at an even higher level by a further 15 per cent. The need to step up employment of resources and effort to this vital sector of the economy is both urgent and inescapable. Equally urgent would seem to be to step up production of those ranges of agricultural raw materials as would be calculated to enter into immediate defefnce production and supply needs. The new Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination in its Department of Supply could play a vital and urgently needed effective role in this field.

Of especial importance would seem to be the need of co-ordinating and reinforcing supply not merely to meet requisite active defence needs to an adequate extent, but also to maintain essential civil supplies at a level of at least basic minimum need and, what would seem to be equally urgent and vital, to keep these latter supplies beyond the scope of operations of profiteers and black-marketeers. Here the new Ministry of Co-ordination as a most vital and effective role to play and the country's active defence potentials would be bound to be very largely conditioned by the measure of success that it may achieve in this behalf.

Plan and National Defence

A picture has been sought to be drawn, inadequate in details as it necessarily must be, of the scope and processes of our current development planning in its relations to the immediate national defence needs of the country. It shsould be obvious

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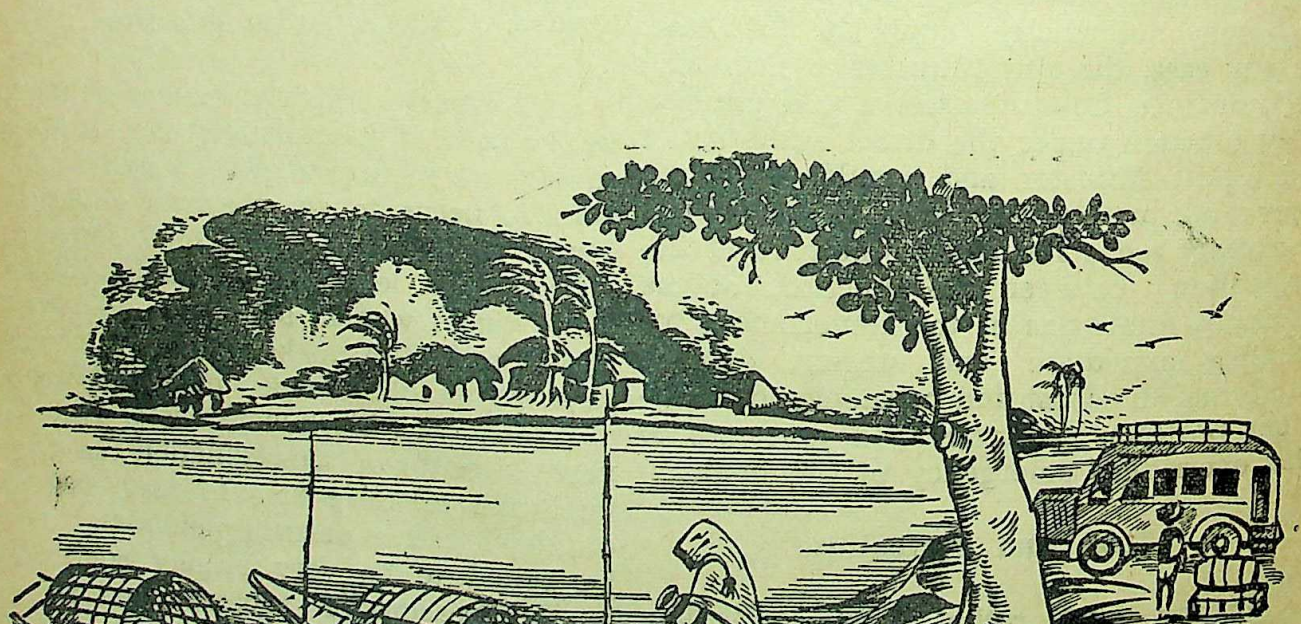
from the little that could be presented here, that it would be suicidal to drop the Third Plan at this stage. As this article has already been prefaced, the Plan cannot be dropped without vitally affecting our national defence potentials, but it is equally urgent that the programmes and targets of the Plan will have to be reoriented and, possibly also recast, in respect of its objectives and priorities to cover a more comprehensive field of endeavour and effort and must be inspired by far greater measures of urgency towards increasingly larger measures of effectiveness. Plan priorities and targets will necessarily have to be adjusted and diverted to immediate defence production and supply needs. But it has also to be realised with an equal sense of urgency that civil supply needs have to be as urgently met for reinforcing the national defence potentials.

The Plan, therefore, has to be proceeded with, although it may be necessary to reorient it to cover the more extensive grounds mentioned above. What is most urgently needed is the awareness that the first two Plans in the processes of their implementation have led to a great deal of avoidable wastage of resources and material and to an undue concentration of wealth, income, power and prerogative. This must be obviated and necessary precautions adopted to prevent further concentration. The emergencies of war in the modern times call for long and sustained engagement over almost indefinite periods of time and adequate safeguards have to be provided to enable the country to meet its exigencies without demoralization and attenuation of strength not merely at the fighting front lines, but behind the lines as well among the civilian population of the country. The process of development towards developing economic strength and industrial progress, is an essential condition of national survival.



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THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF INDIA LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

By SUDHIR BRAHMO

There is no hard and fast lines of demarcation between any two Indian languages specially those of Northern India. Each one often intrudes imperceptibly upon the other. It is often impossible to say exactly where the one ends and the other begins. It is complicated by immigration and emigration,—casual, periodic, temporary and permanent,—as also by the shifting dates of census and the change-over from the **de facto** to the **de jure** region. Immigration of speakers of one of the two competing languages and emigration of the other from a particular region complicates the problem. The problem is not absent in South India. Andhra lost the city of Madras because the percentage of Telugu Speakers had been decreasing, while that of Tamil speakers increasing during the last 70 years.

No area in India can be said to be purely uni-lingual. The highest that can be said is that in some districts the percentage of speakers of a particular language is over 90 or 95. In other areas it is much less. The dominant language is often confined to a minority of the population. Within the same district one language is spoken in the eastern part and another in the western part. Sometimes the minority speaks and writes two or three languages or more local and tribal dialects, each different from the other. The matter is further complicated by varying densities of population. There are other difficulties too.

The difficulties are there. But to think of them in terms of simple linguistic majority on minority even when the two neighbouring languages do not imperceptibly merge into each other, would be an over-simplification of the matter and a wrong approach to the problem. The ideal solution would have been to leave no linguistic monorities in either A or B state and to try to make these areas as nearly equal to each other as far as possible, i.e., to make the number of speakers and writers of A left in state B equal to the number of speakers of B left in State A. For there is no reason why one language should lose more than the other. This would ordinarily be the principale applicable to all languages. In a conflict between Tamil and Telugu, between Malayalam and Kanarese, between Marathi and Gujarati, the above principle would help to establish justice and equity. In a conflict between Hindi and other languages, speakers and writers of other languages have got to learn Hindi which is now regarded as the national language of India. Hindi to be the national language, will have to continue to be written in Devanagari. The fact stated above relates only to the diversity of languages spoken and written in India. There should be unity or symbiosis in the thought contents of the literature of all languages in India.

The biggest task in effecting a symbiosis in modern Indian literatures is to proclaim the great truth of the basic unity of thought and ideals embodied in them and to make it a part of our lives and of our national consciousness. Time was when Sanskrit was the dominant language and it effected a cultural unity among the diverse communities and entities in India. Then, for the last century and a half, English has served the educated classes as the unifying cultural force. English did more. It gave us the impulse of modern thought which flowered into the renaissance of all our literatures irrespective of different languages that prevail in many parts of India. It is all the more incumbent upon us to strengthen the basic cultural unity of our country. The great art is that which while it portrays in all its variety and splendour the beauty, also unveils the form and pattern, the infinite suggestiveness of the multiform. Becoming, does also break through

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to the fundamental unity and oneness of Being. In art as well as in life and in our every day living we have to keep alive unity admidst diversity.

The different religious entities based on the Vedas, and Indian classics like the Puranas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and so on, form but one common factor of the essential unity in Indian literature. The different linguistic and relgious entities of India have produced separate literatures which, however, reflect the fundamental unity underlying all the religions of India. It has, of course, gone a long way to modulate the manners and customs of society preaching duties of parents towards son, of sons to members of the family for years to come. Although the languages may differ, the fundamental idea expressed in Indian literatures is peculiarly grounded in Indian philosophy, religion and aesthetics and has, therefore, a unity not found in the literature of the west. It has, of course, a beneficial effect on moral, cultural and ethical aspects of Indian life. Our hearts are, therefore, refined with the feelings expressed in literature through various languages of India. A catharsis of our emotions is effected and we become essentially Indian in spirit and culture breathing the moral and cultural atmosphere emanating from the different literatures of India.

The question is "What is the common source ?"

The answer was given more than 150 years ago by Monier Williams and here it is:

"India, though it has more than five hundred spoken dialects, has only one sacred language, and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed. That language is Sanskrit and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or 'Knowledge' in its widest sense ; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy law, and mythology ; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected ; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the forms and style of vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."

Six generations have gone by since Monier Williams made that observation. The material and mental environments have however, been changing from generation to generation.

Does that Unity last ?

'Yes'

Is Sanskrit the common source today for the different languages and literatures ?

'No'

How then is the Unity maintained ?

Because the place of Sanskrit is occupied by English. English is the common source for all Indians whatever their difference be in region, race, religion, creed or language.

The similarity in the literatures of Modern India is all the more striking. The main features of the development of Modern Indian literatures, common to all the languages of our country may be noted as :—

(i) Contacts and conflicts with Western culture through the efforts of Christian missions and European trading companies and the consequent dawn of a Renaissance.

(ii) Growth of national and moral consciousness in literature as a result of the Indian Renaissance and the national movements since the time of Raja Rammohun Roy.

(iii) Reaction against moral austerities of the reformist movement in life and literature and birth of romanticism.

(iv) Impact of Marxian ideology.

(v) Experiments to find new forms of expression for the complex experiences of modern intellectual life under the influence of literatures like those of T. S. Eliot and philosophers like Jean Paul Sartre ; and, lastly,

(vi) Expansion of the national-cultural trends with clearer ideals of Universal Brotherhood after Independence.

So far we have investigated the common elements in the theme and the content of Indian Literature, but the similarity of style is no less striking. To all

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the literatures of India, the poetic forms of Sanskrit, namely, the Mahakavya, the Khanda-kavya, the Muktka, the Katha and the Akhyayika, etc., the various forms of Apabhramsha poetry such as the Charita-Kavya, the Prema-gatha (romance), the Rasa and the Pada, and so also some of the patterns of Persian poetry have come down as a common heritage. Beside the varnika metres of Sanskrit, many a popular metre like the Doha and the Chaupai are the favourite vehicles of Indian Poetry. In the modern times, the literary forms of the West, such as the lyric with all its sub-divisions namely the ode, the elegy, the sonnet blank verse have infiltrated into all our languages alike.

Each literature has a sharp individuality stamped with the characteristics of its own region. The regions of Panjabi and Sindhi and of Hindi and Urdu are so mixed up, yet their individual characters cannot be mixed up. The social and cultural life of the Maharashtrians and the Gujratis is so common, yet can these two literatures be confused ? Similarly, the four South Indian languages come from the same stock, they are all Dravidian languages, yet can there be any mistake between Tamil and Kannada or between Telugu and Malayalam ? The same is the case with the languages of Eastern India : Oriya and Assamese are deep-laden with Bengali, yet they have fully absorbed it in their textures and who can for a moment question their independent status ?

All these literatures have their own unmistakable distinctive merits : the Sangam Literature of Tamil, the Avadhana and Udahanana literature of Telugu, the Sandesha-Kavya (Message-Poetry) and the Kilippatu (Parrot-Songs) as also the Manipravalam style (mixed style interwoven with Sanskrit and Malayalam) of Malayalam, the Pawaras (a form of the heroic ballad) of Marathi, the Akhyana and Phagu of Gujrati, the Bargeet and Buranji Literature of Assamese, the ballads and poetical romances of Panjabi, the Ghazal of Urdu and the Riti (a kind of rhetoricalerotic poetry) and Chhayavad Schools of Hindi poetry are some of the special features of the various Modern Indian literatures which are remarkable in themselves.

Yet, possibly, this distinction is not of the essence. Just as Indian culture is one in spite of a vast multiplicity of religious, ideologies and modes of living, in the same way it is not difficult to discover the essential unity of Indian literature in the variety of languages and media of expression. In a way, this fundamental unity of Indian literature is in no way less impressive than its enormous variety and vastness. Unfortunately, till we regained our independence, greater emphasis had been laid on the elements of diversity. Its essential unity is yet to be revealed in its fullness.

This requires, in the first instance, an objective and systematic investigation into the elements of uniy in variety and for that a basic change in our methods of study and research will be necessary. An enquiry into any trend of Indian literature cannot be confined to one language only, for such an enquiry will always be very incomplete. For example, if a researcher in Madhura Bhakti confines his studies to Hindi or Bengali alone, he will not discover the whole reality : he will have to explore the literatures of Gujrati, Oriya, Aassamese, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam as well wherein this current flows with almost the same force. There will be obviously many gaps in our study, if it is limited to one language only.

A comparative study of the poems based in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in different languages solves so many problems easily. There are countless designs in the plot-structures of our medieval romances which cannot be properly understood without a close comparative study of these forms in various Indian literatures. To appreciate the essential meaning of Sufi poetry, we shall have to traverse the realms of North-western literatures such as Kashmiri, Sindi, Panjabi and Urdu, besides Persian, of course.

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ENGLISH IN INDIA

By N. NANJUNDA SASTRY

It was E. M. Forster who observed with real concern a quarter of century ago, "you cannot understand the modern Indians unless you realise that Politics occupy them passionately and constantly." He was pained to see that "artistic problems and even social problems—yes, and even economic problems—are subsidiary." He was present at a meeting where the importance of English was discussed and he found that "the debate, if I may say so, continues, and into it, as into every thing, come politics." This was before India attained independence. Since then much water has flowed under the bridge. The importance of English for our all-round progress has been realised, though the place it should have in India remains a moot question. The issue needs to be viewed from an academic angle, instead of from a purely political point of view.

English has been in use in India for nearly two centuries. It became all important when the East India Company gained control over the whole country. The rulers naturally "imposed"* the language on us since it would be of advantage to them. Looked at from another angle it was not an imposition at all. It was a natural growth, something which grew out of the prevailing conditions of the time. Political, economic and commercial connections with the West necessitated and encouraged the use of English. It should be remembered that there was no "popular" all-India language of the day which could satisfy external needs and internal requirements. There was, besides, a spread of education. The impact of the West on India was a mighty and fruitful impact.

The impact brought two very different races together and this produced results of great import. "English literature and English political thought influenced a tiny fringe of those who had learned English."[1] But the masses were also affected and even shaken because "the impact of Western Culture on India was the impact of a dynamic society, of a 'modern' consciousness, on a static society wedded to mediaeval habits of thought."[2] This impact served in the long run to shake us out of our torpor, to widen our horizon, to broaden our mind and to deepen our understanding. This impact, be it remembered, was made possible by English. As British rule came to be firmly established, the East India Company turned their thoughts to the most important question of deciding the educational pattern of the country.

All educational work in India had come to a stand still owing to an irreconcilable difference of opinion in the committee of Public Instruction. Five members were for maintaining and extending the old scheme of Oriental learning; the other five were for imparting instruction in the higher branches in English. Macaulay's view on the subject in his memorable note of 2nd February, 1835 is eminently apposite to the India of today where the contentions of over-zealous linguistic loyalists are more acrimonious than ever. "(English) stand pre-emiment among the languages of the West.....Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in ninety generations.....In India.....the English tongue is that which would be most useful.....There are in modern times memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society, of prejudice overthrown, of knowledge diffused, of taste purified, of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.....I refer to the great Revival of Letters among the Western nations .....Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted, had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus, had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our island, had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the Universities but Chronicles in Anglo-Sexon.....would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India."[3]

In addition to increasing our awareness, English enabled us to have a wider reach. The

*This is not historically correct. The introduction of English education in India had to be intensively fought for by Indians against British opinion to the contrary. This fact has been fully authenticated by Major B. D. Basu in his book, *Education Under The East India Company*—Editor.

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rich treasures of Sanskrit Literature were made available to the scholars of the West. This Indo-British intellectual co-operation wrought a revolution in Indian thought and letters. "The introduction of English education into India has led to greater changes in Indian social, economic and political life and the Indian way of thought than any other single factor in India's long history."[4] English thus not only deepened our understanding, but widened our horizon as well. The three-phase Indo-British co-operation helped India attain the benefit of the three dimensions of lofty height, great breadth, and impressive depth.

In the crucial years of our heroic struggle for independence it was English that forged the bonds of unity. The Indian National Congress which was the real *Vox populii*, consisted of well-read, eminent, English-educated men. The deliberations of the national Organisation were in English, and this not only made better understanding possible, but helped to rally all Indians under one banner. The organisation grew from strength to strength and secured the support and sympathy of a large number of English-speaking peoples all over the world.

Meanwhile rapid progress and significant and original research were made in physical, natural and social sciences, in technology and other fields of intellectual endeavour. We owe this progress to English. The Voice of resurgent India was heard in international councils and conferences. "The Cyclonic Hindoo", Swami Vivekananda, took the countries he visited by storm. This truly international language, English, helped India drink deep at the stream of knowledge and feel refreshed and re-invigorated. English has been the language of our modern cultural renaissance and nationalism, scientific endeavour and academic scholarship, administration and diplomacy, courts and assemblies, the Commonwealth and a possible new World Order based on liberty and democracy."[5]

The attainment of independence in 1947, is a turning point in the eventful history of English in India. There was a natural, inevitable and understandable reaction to the use and continuance of this language in India. "Under the leadership of the Great triumvirate, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabbhai Patel, the initial task, on which the survival of the new State depended, was successfully accomplished in the first two years.

"India then turned to build a nation."[6] Any nation worth the name must have her proud flag, her inspiring anthem and her own language. Hindi was chosen as the national language of India. We should know it, use it and be proud of it. The Central Government has been doing all in its power to make the language rich, popular, effective and useful. In the changed context the question naturally arises—what is the position to be accorded to English ?

The merit or competence of a language depends upon its effectiveness and its usefulness. "The English language is spoken or read by the largest number of people in the world for historical, economic and political reasons ; but it may also be true that it owes something of its wide appeal to qualities and characteristics inherent in itself".[7] A few of these characteristics are its extraordinary receptive and adaptable heterogeneousness, simplicity of inflexion and relatively fixed word-order.

We can regard a language in one of two ways—either as a tool or as a spontaneous natural growth. If regarded as the former it should be sharp, handy and useful. If regarded as the latter it derives its strength and power from its environment and mode of cultivation. One cannot force its growth, nor make it yield its fruits before its time. The plant is the promise of the bud, and the bud that of the fruit. English in India has already borne fruit. It would be wrong, grievously wrong indeed, to hack it or to dry it up before the new graft is strong enough to stand high and straight, is able enough to bear rich and succulent fruit.

The problem at present is whether English should be continued as the official language of the land and as the medium of instruction in the institutes of higher learning. "The continuation of English as the medium of instruction at the University stage is a much simpler problem than the question of its continuation as the official language".[8] If English were discarded as the official language, so runs the argument of a section of the public, it would mean the greatest handicap to a vast number. Hindi, these people say, has yet to become fit and strong and rich before it can replace the all-useful language, English. But replace it will. Instead of hastening the pace, it would be wiser to allow the language to grow, to create a congenial atmosphere, to encourage

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creative activity, to stimulate translation work, and to rationalise or simplify as far as possible the rules of grammar. The official language should, however, be the same all over India and should be introduced, when it is done, at the same time in all parts of the country.

The continuation of English as the medium of instruction at the College and University levels is a vital necessity at the present moment. The medium of instruction naturally means medium of examinations well. The change to any other language is not quite so simple as some imagine. The retention of English is imperative. "English has been taught in this country for the last 150 years and any attempt to push it out now would affect educational standards. The importance of English was much greater today than at any time before".[9] There is perfect concurrence of opinion on this. In the words of Prime Minister Nehru, "It is absolutely clear to me, and it is not an arguable matter, that scientific and technological training has to be given in English". In his powerful plea for the retention of English as the medium of instruction H. H. Jayachamaraja Wodeyar said in Madras, "We should carry on with English which has not only been our language of education in the last century and a quarter, but has also become an outstanding language of modern learning and world communication". The University Grants Commission has pointed out after a careful scrutiny of the issue "that the change-over from English to an Indian language should be carefully prepared for . . . . We should like to emphasize that the medium of instruction is an academic and not a political question".

The argument that it is humiliation to use a foreign language as the language of education at any stage does not hold water. In the Temple of learning there is no individious distinction between language and language, between subject and subject. In India, we have been using English for such a long time that we have made it ours, have adapted it and have cherished it. Countries whose language is not English have adopted it as the medium of instruction (Eire, French Canada, Scotland, Wales). In Japan, English is accorded a place of importance.

The foregoing analysis leads us to conclude that English should be allowed to continue as at present. "If Indians had not spoken English, my own life would have been poorer".[10] The change-over to Hindi when it does come, should come over the whole of India at the same time. A national language when fully and completely developed fosters unity, furthers progress, builds strength and makes for emotional integration and patriotic pride. But one must wait till it is fully and completely developed, till it has built a great tradition of its own, till it becomes the natural and spontaneous utterance of the people of the land.

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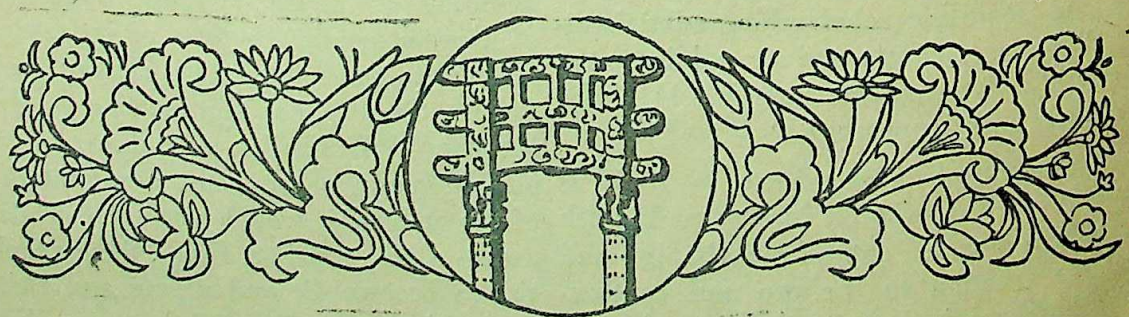
1. Jawaharlal Nehru.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Macaulay.
4. Prof. Humayun Kabir.
5. Sri A. Ranganathan.
6. Sri J. R. D. Tata.
7. C. L. Wrenn.
8. Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar.
9. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
10. E. M. Forster.



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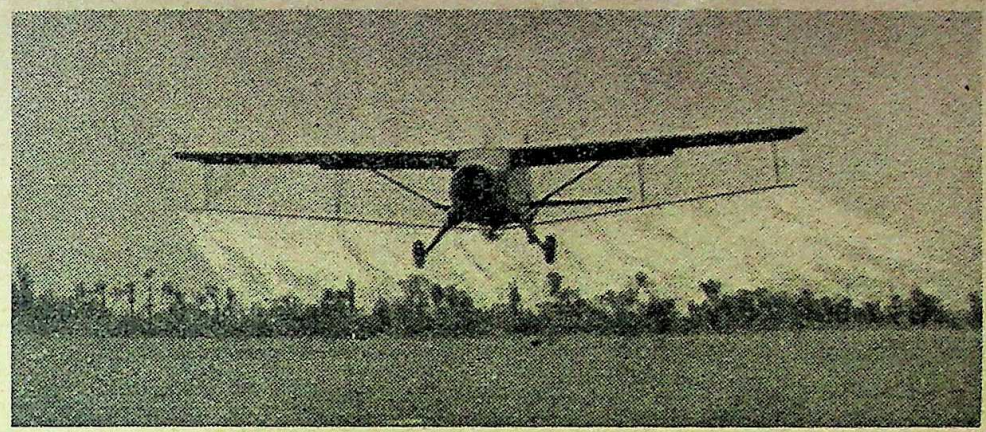

An aircraft spraying a heavily infested field

WAR AGAINST THE WINGED MENACE : ANTI-LOCUST OPERATIONS IN DESERT AREAS

A silent but successful war is being waged in the interior of what is known as India's "dry belt" comprising Gujerat and the Thar desert of Rajasthan and the Punjab. The foe is the arch enemy of the farmer—the desert locust, which is an international pest.

Busy in the field round the clock are 500 men with 160 jeeps and technical equipment. Their ammunition—over 5,000 tons of insecticides. These are the men who, working in close cooperation with farmers, prevent the "winged menace" from ravaging precious crops in the country.

Unprecedented Menace

The menace this year, as we know, is unprecedented, infesting, as it did over 17,000 villages. But thanks to the Anti-locust Organisation working in the field, locust infestation has been kept under effective check by use of scientific methods like dusting BHC, and spraying aldrin and mechanical methods like trenching and burning. Wherever ground operations are difficult, aerial spraying is resorted to.

Occupying a key role in these operations in the vast desert tract is a network of outposts set up by the Plant Protection Directorate of the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture. These outposts—55 at present—collect information about swarms and breeding activities and then the personnel move in with control equipment and insecticides to fight the pest.

Role of Panchayats

Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis play an important part in this battle. The Locust Control Officers, through the Sarpanches, organise villagers for operations ; hand-dusters and exhaust nozzle sprayers are generally used. In emergencies, Collectors also place at their disposal additional revenue staff. As soon as an anti-locust jeep enters an infested area, word quickly goes round the village and the farmers enthusiastically join hands with control personnel to destroy swarms.

At the zonal or district level, the control activities are supervised by Locust Warning Officers—ten in the scheduled desert areas presently, —who coordinate the work of the outposts and divert additional staff wherever there is heavy infestation and egg laying. There are also five "circles" at Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Palanpur and Sikar, which draw up various short and long-range anti-locust schemes and give direction for their implementation.

For quick transmission of information about locust swarms, there are 39 wireless stations

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Burning is one of the methods employed to destroy Locusts

Locust Control Jeeps facilitate speedy ground operations against the pest

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which are situated in remote areas. Spread over from Bhuj in the south-west to Narnol in the north-east, this network is an asset to the anti-locust organisation.

The aerial unit consists of four aeroplanes—three Beaver aircraft and one Auster Auto-car. Aerial operations are carried out either in areas of contiguous infestation or at places which are inaccessible such as high hills, thick forests, sand dunes and river beds.

International Collaboration

Since locust swarms continue multiplying in various countries from year to year depending on rainfall and moisture left in sandy soils, a round-the-year watch becomes necessary. At the international level, therefore, the Plant Protection Dierctorate holds periodical meetings with representatives of Pakistan to exchange information on subjects of mutual interest. This year, three such meetings have been held, at Lahore (Pakistan), Gadra Road (India) and Khokropar (Pakistan) in July, August and September respectively. Study teams also visit Saudi Arabia periodically.

According to official figures, 108 locust swarms entered India from the west from the middle of May till the end of September this year. Of these, all but 20 were destroyed. The swarms are now confined to three States only; 14 of them are in Rajasthan, five in Gujarat and one in Uttar Pradesh.

The number of villages in which locusts laid eggs is unusually large this year. As against about 4,400 villages infested during 1961, the number this year is over 17,000, so far. Of these, more than 14,000 villages have already been cleared of hoppers. Control operations are in progress in the remaining villages and will continue as long as the breeding season lasts.

As a result of successful destruction of hoppers, no new swarms have been allowed to form on Indian soil. Thus colossal losses to crops have been averted.

———:O:———

TWO TRIBAL CO-OPERATIVES

The mellow light that bathes the uplands of Ranchi poured in through the window and etched in lines of white the rods of cane which the craftsman was fashioning into a basket chair. It fell on his deft hands, along the length of his arm and a part of his profile. But the eyes were left in shade—like the world for ever left in darkness as far as this craftsman was concerned. For he is blind.

He is a member of a small co-operative in Ranchi. There are about twenty members and all of them are blind. One of them is a Muslim, another a Scheduled Caste and all the others belong to the Scheduled Tribes, mostly Oraons.

The co-operative was started a few years ago. It is engaged in the production of chairs, baskets and similar items out of cane and bamboo. The members have a small, but tidy, two-roomed house with a fairly spacious verandah. Every year since the inception of the co-operative, a few more members have been joining—all of them blind and initially helpless, but inspired by the example of their colleagues to earn their livelihood by work, and not by begging.

The Verrier Elwin Committee on Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks has pointed out that most of the tribes of India have a very strong social sense and that it would not be too much to claim that every tribal village is in its own way a co-operative society. In their traditional milieu they all go to work at the same time and usually in the same general area. Should a house be burnt down or a widow be unable to cultivate her field, the community comes together to give relief.

Though the members of the Blindmen's Co-operative hail from different regions, in their new milieu they have been able to prolong the traditional social cohesion. They live on the premises and have a common mess. With their small earnings they have been able to buy several musical instruments and have regular concerts in the

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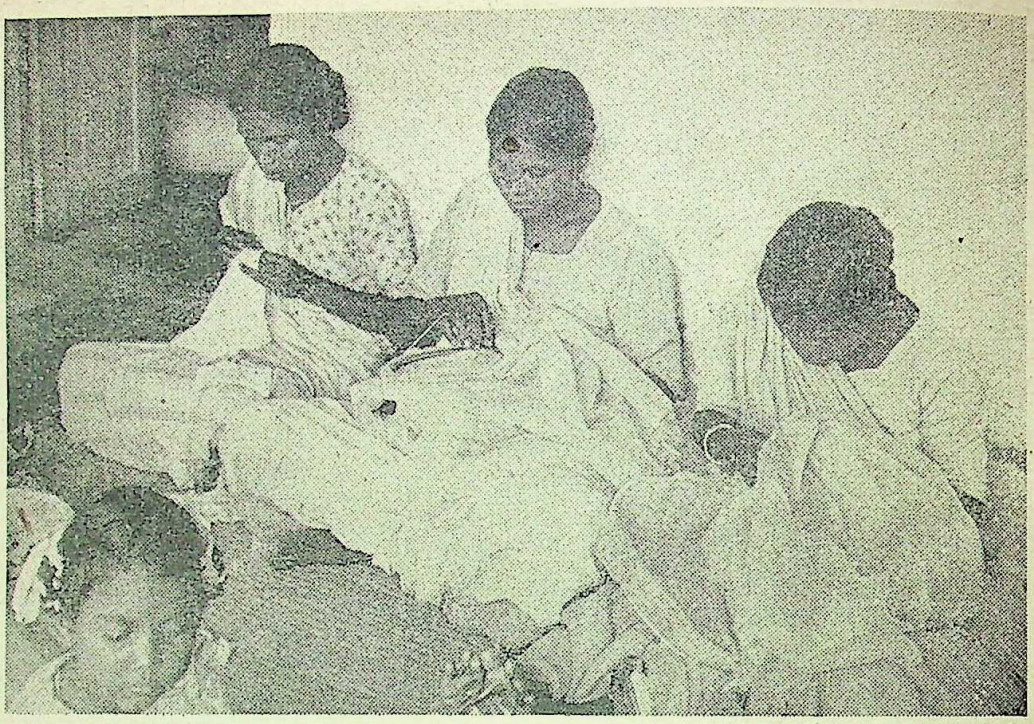

Tribal women seen working on embroidery

evenings. Sometimes young blind boys drift this way and they are accepted into the community and given food and shelter and training which will enable them ultimately to be members of the co-operative, the share of which is low-priced, Rs. 10

The Elwin Committee pointed out that formal programmes for developing the co-operative movement in tribal blocks should be simplified in procedure and closely related to the corporate practices which the tribes have inherited through a long tradition. The Blindmen's Co-operative is a modest but significant example of what can be done in this field. Another example is the Kala Kendra Adivasi Women's Industrial Co-operative in Ranchi.

This co-operative began in a modest way in 1958. Tribal women have a gift for embroidery and they quickly pick up lace work. The Co-operative offered full or part time employment to Adivasi women so that they could enhance their family income. Though about three hundred women turned up, only seventy five could be employed at first. The work was chiefly embroidery. As soon as sufficient work had been finished, an exhibition was organised in New Delhi, the success of which encouraged the co-operative to expand and hold similar exhibitions in New Delhi and Calcutta in subsequent years also.

Today, over 150 women are working here, the great majority of them are members of the Co-operative, the shares of which are also priced at Rs. 10 each. The Co-operative has received a fair amount of assistance from the State Government. The old social cohesion of tribale communities, which makes the co-operative organisation particularly effective, is yielding results in the case of this society also. As the women cannot leave their children at home they bring them to the Centre and for the benefit of these children the Co-operative has managed to start a small school. In addition, the Co-operative has opened a dispensary which gives free treatment and medicines to the women and their children.

Slowly but steadily, the co-operative is expanding. It has obtained the services of a trained worker from the Government of India's pilot centre for doll-making in Bombay. The All India Handicrefts Board has lent a trained worker for *chikan*, the fine lace-work of Lucknow. An artist trained in Santiniketan has recently joined the Centre to look after the designs.

In addition to being a modest but moving experiment for the economic rehabilitation of a backward community, the co-operative is emerging also as a centre where many traditions are beginning to blend. The tribal tradition is itself rich

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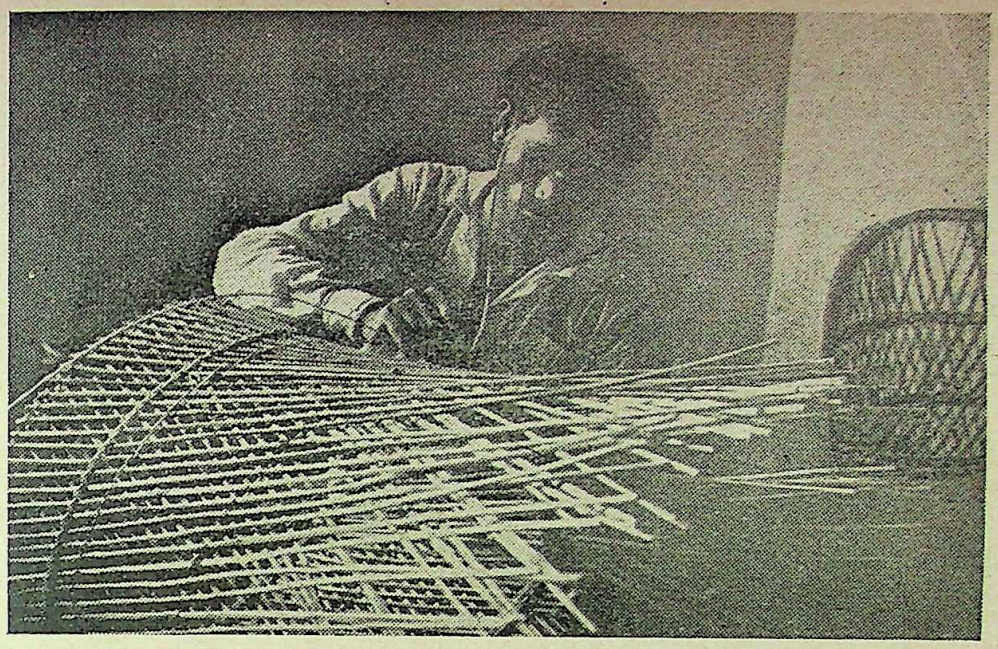

One blind man is seen engaged in bamboo work

in folk designs and decorative motifs. That tradition is now being cross-fertilized by the very elegant motifs of chikan work which go back to the aristocratic culture of the Muslim nobility of Oudh and also by the experimental styles evolved by Santiniketan which have absorbed both traditional and modernist impulses. This is a small but significant instance of integrative forces quiety at work, as they have always been in the Indian tradition, forming the backdrop, in this case, for a co-operative way of earning the livelihood which, again, is but the reflection of that larger spirit of harmony in the field of economic activity.

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GANGA NARAIN AND THE BHUMIJ REVOLT OF 1832-33

By Dr. J. C. JHA, M.A., PH.D. (London),
Lecturer, Department of History, Patna University.

In 1832-33 the British had to face an unprecedented revolt of the Bhumijes in Manbhum and Dalbhum. This rising commenced with the cold-blooded murder of Madhava Singh, the half-brother and diwan of the zamindar of the Barabhum pargana, at the hands of Ganga Narain Singh, a disgruntled cousin of the zamindar and the diwan, on 26th April, 1832.

Ganga Narain provided a unique type of leadership to the tribesmen. Long years of destitution had made him a man of iron will. Ever since his father was deprived of his ancestral property he had been planning to take revenge upon all those who were instrumental in bringing about his ruin.

In fact, the father of Ganga Narain had been the legal heir to the throne because he was the son of the chief queen. But the British had ignored his claim because he was not the first born child. This had led to a long series of dispute between British notions of primogeniture and the tribal custom which had held that it was the son of the chief queen, and not necessarily the first born, who succeeded to the zamindari. But in spite of the support of the people, the fight of Ganga Narain's father and uncle had proved in vain towards the end of the 18th century in the face of the military help that their adversary had got from the British.[1]

So Ganga Narain, when he came of age,

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took recourse to trickery and brutality. When the same sort of succession struggle began in the Barabhum Zamindar's family after 1798, he supported Raja Ganga Govind Singh against his rival, Madhava Singh. Naturally enough, when the contenders reached a compromise and Madhava became the diwan, he deprived Ganga Narain, his personal foe, of the revenue of tariff Punj-sardari which he "had been permitted to hold after father's death."[2] He even persuaded the Raja not to provide Ganga Narain even with the means of daily subsistence. Consequently the latter had been reduced to such distress that he had embraced orthodoxy and become a vaishnava (a follower of God Vishnu) and had gone on a pilgrimage as an ascetic.[3] According to his own statement, he had once been accused by the mukhtar (Agent) of the Raja of Barabhum of introducing illicit salt (by which probably he had begun to gain his subsistence) for which he had been apprehended by the British troops, though he had later been acquitted.[4] Ganga Narain was seized and sent up to the Magistrate of the Jungle Mahals on several pretexts by Madhava Singh. He was vexed in several other ways. To quote his own words, "I was destitute of food and if I asked any person in Barabhum for anything the zamindar and Madhava Singh fined him 1 rupee 4 annas, and forbade his giving me anything in future. Madhava Singh Baboo has all along oppressed me, and I represented the circumstance to the Zamindar who said as long as Madhava Singh remained he could do nothing for me."[5] Therefore Ganga Narain developed life long bitterness against the diwan.. Moreover, he had a double grievance against the British who had overridden the local succession customs and ignored his repeated representations, leading to the imprisonment of his father and uncle and his own destitution. He had a grievance against the Raja of Barabhum as well. He still vividly remembered that his father had been seized and ill-treated with the connivance of the father of the Raja and that he himself had been ill-treated by the British troops several times at the request of the raja or his diwan.[6] No wonder, therefore, that he made several allegations against the Raja and his family[7] and once even tried to seize the person of the Raja's son.

All through the early years of the 19th January, Ganga Narain was always planning his revenge. First he extended his family connections with the neighbouring Rajas. One of his wives came from the Bishnupur Raja's family and the other from Manbhum. One of his daughters was married to one Kanu Babu[8] of Ambikanagar, the second to Hari Babu of the same paragana, the third to Amru Babu of Manbhum and the fourth (by a concubine) to an illegitimate Babu of the Panchet Raja's family.[9] These matrimonial alliances stood him in good stead, and he was "generally countenanced by them" during the revolt. Even during those sorry days he won over the zamindar of Ambikanagar with the offer of marrying his son to the latter's daughter.[10]

Then he developed the closest contact with the tribal sardars and the Bhumij masses. In course of time he came to possess "great influence among the Bhumijes, and was latter indebted to their kindness, ... for almost all the necessaries of life."[11] They could not, therefore, ignore the call of "their favourite, their abused Ganga," specially when they themselves were very much looking forward to having such an able, cool and stern leader."[12]

A word on the character of Ganga Narain is, perhaps, necessary here. Both Ganga Narain and his foe, the diwan were cunning, but while the latter, because of his money lending business and several oppressive acts, became extremely unpopular among the tribal people, the former, making play with his destitution and showing great organizing capacity, won over the whole tribal masses to his side. Moreover, Ganga Narain was able to combine a campaign to relieve the people of Madhava's oppressions with his own personal plans for revenge. As a result, long after his death, people remembered him with esteem for his gallantry, exploits and organizing capacity.[13] Indeed, Ganga Narain was popularly held to be "a Victim of curcumstances"—his "nearest relations dishonouring (sic) and oppressing him—debarred from his rank from seeking employment either in trade or in the profession of the army . . . . . , what course could he adopt ?"[14] Through years of suffering he had become cruel at heart and at the same time cunning, making him peculiary capable of leading a ferocious band of tribesmen (According to an eye witness account of the murder of Madhava Sing) "after striking the first blow he caused each Sirdar present to fire an arrow into the body of Madhava Singh. . . . . ."[15]

Ganga Narain's influence over the Bhumijes

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and especially over the Ghatwals (guards of the passes) was unlimited. They believed that he was an *awatar* of *Kal* (an incarnation of the God of Death) and under the all-powerful protection of the goddess Kali.[16] Thousands of tribesmen were always moving with him to do or die and he would lead them on his horse back, traversing the whole of the Jungle Mahals district and a part of Midnapur from one corner to the other, and thus he remained defying the British strength for about a year.

It was only by accident that he was killed on 7th February, 1833, not by several battalions of troops as some writers boasted,[17] not by any traitor among his followers, but by the forces of Thakur Chetan Singh in Kharsawan' (Singhbhum) where he had come over to seek help against the British. The news was so unexpected, so much a bolt from the blue, that the Kharsawan chief was at pains to have as many people as possible to identify the body before he sent the news to the British authorities.[18] The Thakur had the pleasure of sending his head to Captain Wilkinson, with a letter quite in the style of Falstaff when after the battle near Shrewsbury, he said, "here is Percy. If your father will do me any honor so ; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself. I look to be either Earl or Duke".[19] His message was followed by the severed head of the rebel which was identified in camp by Ganga Narain's son-in-law, several other relatives and at least a hundred other individuals. Even so, the Thakur had not done this fearlessly or without any loss. Three of his men had been killed and thirty men and horses wounded, and when he wrote to the Commissioner for the promised reward, he also requested for adequate protection of his person and property.[20]

Captain Wilkinson, the Supreme Commander of the military operations, expressing his sense of relief thought the Thakur entitled to the reward of Rs. 5,000, though he admitted that the intense operations since 19th January, had been indirectly responsible for the consummation of this object.[21] The announcement of Ganga Narain's death had a demoralising effect upon other rebel leaders, but there was great rejoicing in the military camps at this news.

The very fact that the tribal rising of 1832-33 (Ganga Narain's *Hangama*) is linked in the popular legend with the name of Ganga Narain serves as a reminder of the particular part played by the personality of this great hero of the revolt. But for this gifted leader the tribal discontent might have continued to simmer without boiling over into violence.

It is true that Ganga Narain was "of violent temper"[22] and during the unrest he was directly responsible for the murder of several people. His pass words for putting anybody to death, according to an anecdote, was *"Ghaut par kur"* (show him across the pass).[23] Thus "whenever a prisoner was brought before his tribunal on the Dulma (hill) and when he had heard all he had to say and urge, he either dismissed him with that or some other significant phrase. No man who heard Gunga order him to be shewn across the Ghaut, ever heard mortal voice an hour afterwards. He was led down the hill and killed at the bottom". However, had Ganga Narain not possessed several qualities of a leader he could not have led his people successfully against a mighty power for several months. He may not have been a patriot,[24] but he undoubtedly "saw his friends groaning under the oppression of Madhava Singh and perhaps wished to aid them and at the same time revenge himself."[25] He undoubtedly showed considerable organising ability . . . . . in his brief career."[26] He struggled upto his last breath, even though deserted by his friends and relations. According to Thompson, he was long remembered for his exploits : "Good looking women were sure of his esteem, and when I was in India he was still reverenced for his gallantry."[27]

Such was Ganga Narain who was able to secure the support of the tribal chiefs against his personal foes and against the British might. His diplomatic skill was fine. He once wrote to the chief of Kharsawan that he had taken up arms because the Jungle Mahals Magistrate (Russell) had insulted the Rajput (Hinduised tribal chief) Zamindar of Patkum by searching his private apartments (during the Kol Insurrection in January-February, 1932).[28]

His sole motive was to arouse the feelings of the neighbouring chiefs against the British. He had also convinced the Laka Kols of Singhbhum to fight the British and had he not been killed by accident the Bhumij revolt would have probably continued for long.

The story of his end shows that he fought till his last breath.[29] According to an officer who fought here, "Ganga Narain, deserted by almost all his followers of whom some were killed and many had submitted or been taken prisoner, fled to Singhbhum and endeavoured to rouse the

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Kols to join him. To this they would not agree unless they had a specimen of his talents as a leader, and they proposed an attack upon Thakoor Chetan Singh's estate.....One of his Namhatas or personal servants, subsequently taken, mentioned the particulars as follow: That on the attack being made . . . . , the Thakoor's forces repulsed them and that Ganga Narain who was already hit with two arrows, endeavoured to run away across a gramfield. That he was pursued and overtaken by Chetan Singh's barber who sprung on him and held him to the ground while some of his friends cut his head off."[30]

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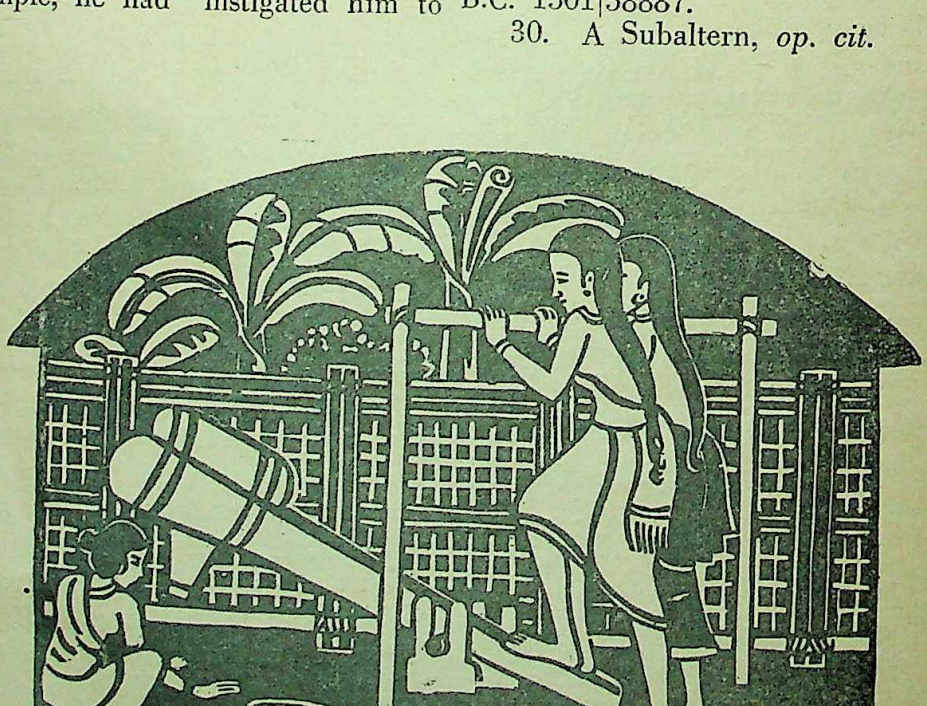
1. Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultation, 2 of I August, 1794, (128|13) ; 26 of 11th March, 1796, (128|27).
2. Dent to Government, 4th Sept., 1833, Para, 11 B.C. 1501|58886.
3. Martin to Braddon, 5th June, 1832, Para 7, B.C. 1501|58887.
4. Petition, Pubeen Singh and others, Enclosure, Braddon to Government, 12th June, 1832, B.C. 1501|58887.
5. Petition No. 3, Ganga Narain, *Jeth*, 1239 *Fasli*, Enclosure, Braddon to Government, 12th June, 1832, B.C. 1501|58887.
6. Pubeen Singh and others, Appendix 4, Dent to Government, 4th September, 1833, B.C. 1501|58886.
7. For example, he had instigated him to kill the diwan.
8. Dent to Government, 4th September, 1833, B.C. 1501|58886.
9. *Ibid.*
10. A private letter, Aug., *Calcutta Courier*, 15th September, 1832.
11. A Subaltern, *East Indian Journal*, V, Part 1, 475.
12. *Ibid.*, 479.
13. *Ibid.*, 475.
14. Dent to Government, 4th September, 1833, para 12, B.C. 1501|58886.
15. Thompson, *Life of Metcalfe*, 306.
16. Anonymous letter from Dhaka-Kend, 8th June, 1832, *India Gazette*, 14th June, 1832.
17. Bengal and Agra, Annual Guide and Register, 1841, 1136.
18. Chetan Singh to Wilkinson, 7th Feb., 1833, B.C. 1502|58889.
19. Dalton, *Ethnology*, 175.
20. Chetan Singh to Wilkinson, 7th Feb., 1833, B.C. 1502|58889.
21. Wilkinson to Government, 10th Feb., 1833, B.C. 1502|58889.
22. Martin to Braddon, 5th June, 1832, Para 7, B.C. 1501|58887.
23. A Subaltern, *op. cit.*, 480.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Thompson, *Life of Metcalfe*, 306.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Braddon to Government, 4th June 1832, B.C. 1501|58887.
30. A Subaltern, *op. cit.*



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KUNJALI THE GREAT ADMIRAL AND THE PORTUGUESE

By SHRIKRISHNA VANJARI

Whether you believe in Oswald Spengler's theory of 'historical recurrence' or just in poetic justice, it must strike you as significant that the Indian general who administered the **coup de grace** to the four-and-a-half century Portuguese occupation of the Indian soil in Goa should be a lineal discendant of the Malabar Nairs who fought the Portuguese, against heavy odds, and succeeded finally in containing the Portuguese in the narrow coastal strip of one-and--half thousand square miles.

The Portuguese first touched the Malabar coast, where they were guided by a couple of Gujarati Muslim seamen including a man called Davane and described as a 'Moorish broker' of Bombay in the beginning of the 16th century. The behaviour-pattern they exibited in Calicut where the Zamorin treated them with typical hospitality and consideration which they were not long to abuse and their methods of warfare of barbaric cruelty were also repeated in Goa.

The effective resistance put up against the foreign invaders who possessed great superiority in naval warfare with their long-range guns and accuracy of gunnery generally was spearheaded by four generations of Kunjali Marrakars, traditional admirals of the Samurin or Zamorin of Calicut. The lion-hearted seamen of Malabar, Moplahs, and the warrior Nair soldiers dealt hammer-blows against the **firangi**. The Kunjalis (Kunjali means 'beloved one') combined great courage with naval genius that could improvise appropriate tactics including employment of commando **paros** or light craft. The strategy and tactics employed by the Marrakars bear family likeness to those of what Liddell Hart describes as typical of 'indirect approach' of the Marathas. The land horse of the Maratha soldier and the Marrakkar **paro** represented speed while the long lance represented the principle of fire-power for the horseman.

The Portuguese adventurers headed by Vasco da Gama were guided to the Malabar shore by a Gujarati Muslim broker of Bombay of the name of Davane. This man later acted as Portuguese agent who introduced the **firangis** to the Zamorin. According to accounts of Portuguese chroniclers, the Zamorin followed rules of Mahabharatic warfare and civilized humanity while the Portuguese proved themselves as sadistic barbarians. They thus looted ships including Haj ships, butchered even women and children and set fire to them. They invariably cut off hands, noses and ears of innocent travellers. Vasco da Gama, Cabral and others came to Indian shores to destroy the Arab monopoly of overseas trade and to establish their own. The Arabs or **muirs** or moors were naturally hostile to the European interlopers. When the menace of the Portuguese pirates incrased and affected the international trade, the Sultan of Egypt sent naval expeditions and the Calicut forces joined hands with the Egyptian naval units. The Nairs and Moplahs of Calicut also fought the Portuguese in Ceylon during the time the Portuguese tried to build a fort in Colombo.

The Portuguese exploited the local power-politics and rivalries throughout. They joined the Raja of Cochin, a traditional rival and enemy of the Raja of Calicut; and the system of alliances and hostilities was based on power-politics of the moment. When Calicut attacked Cochin at the beginning of the 16th century with a land army supported by a naval flottila, Albuquerque's squadron fought on the side of Cochin. Albuquerque himself visited Calicut in 1504 to negotiate a treaty..

One of the terms of the treaty was that the Arabs in Calicut should not be allowed to carry on trade with Arabia and Egypt; and the Zamorin accepted it as he realized that the Muslim countries had not acted upto their promise of supply of ships

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and men for fighting the **firangi.** But the treaty was soon breached by the Portuguese who seized and looted a Calicut ship. After Albuquerque left Goa in 1504, Calicut attacked Cochin defended by Durate Pacheco. Owing to the Portuguese superiority in gunnery, Zamorin's naval forces suffered a great deal. But the battle brought into relief the defensive tactics such as covering the sides of Calicut ships with bags filled with cotton as protection against Portuguese cannon, chaining of paros at the mouth of the river as obstruction for entry of enemy reinforcements and use of floating craft on fire to start fire among Portuguese ships.

The founder of the Marakkar family was Muhammad Marakkar who was originally a Moplah sea-merchant living in Cochin. He left Cochin because of Portuguese harassment and settled down in Ponnani in Calicut territory. He and his brother Ibrahim approached the Zamorin and placed their services and ships at the disposal of the Zamorin in the war against the Portuguese whom they found to be perfidious. The Zamorin appointed Muhammad admiral of the fleet. The Portuguese were scared of the alliance and Menezes and Sampayo attacked Ponnani to destroy Marakkar's fleet. Kunjali now set out to pursue his relentless war against the **firangis**. He and his brother, Pachi Marakkar, engaged the Portuguese wherever they met the hateful pirates. As the Portuguese had blockaded all inland and foreign trade by sea, the naval engegements safeguarded such foreign trade as Calicut could retain. Later, both the brothers were killed in the naval battle in Ceylon. Kunjali's captain, Kutti Ali, now employed tactics that could outflank the Portuguese.

He had hundreds of war-**paros** constructed and stationed them in river-mouth and creek. This was a light craft rowed by 30 or 40 men. He had had men posted on hill-tops to watch movements of the Portuguese ships and transmit intelligence to the **paros**. which would then converge on the Portuguese ships. As the Portuguese naval ships were heavy and therefore slow in movement and depended also on the whims of the wind, the **paros** which, owing to their diminutive size, could not form a target for cannon fire would attack the Portuguese ships. The men could land or set the ship on fire and engage the Portuguese in hand-to-hand lighting in which the Indians were superior.

Kutti Ali now provided naval escort to Arab and other ships carrying spices and other merchandise to foreign countries. The war-**paros** would also attack Portuguese ships which had to be conveyed and Albuquerque himself admitted to the King of Portugal that Portuguese ships in Cannanore, a port on the Malabar coast, could not proceed to Cochin for fear of the Calicut **paros** which would at once pounce on them. It is recorded that Kutti Ali brought to Calicut a fleet of 200 ships. He filled 8 ships with pepper and sent them to to Red Sea with an escort of 40 vessels under the very nose of the Portuguese. Kutti Ali had had a brother known to the Portuguese as younger Kutti Ali and he commanded another squadron and cruised about Goa in the north while his brother was based near Cochin.

Two other naval leaders, namely Pattu Marakkar and Balia Hassan of Cannanore and a relative of the Raja of Arakkal near that city, had specialialized in this type of naval guerrilla tactics. Vasco da Gama was therefore compelled to attack Cannanore and demand surrender of Balia Hassan. Da Gama imprisoned him, but he was executed by Gama's successor, Menezes. The Raja of Arrakkal had offered a ransom for him and the Raja of Koathiri also had intervened in behalf of Balia Hasan unsuccessfully. Despite the undoubted supriority of Portuguese naval power, Kunjali for a period of two years, made it impossible for Portuguese ships in Goa to visit Cochin and the Portuguese pepper trade received a formidable blow.

Once when, in 1564, a corpse of a Moplah sailor was washed ashore, Hindus and Muslims led by Raja Ali besieged the Portuguese fort, overwhelmed the coastal defences and destroyed 30 ships. The Zamorin ordered Kunjali II to proceed with his fleet to Bhatkal and cut off reinforcements from Goa. Paulo da Lima was

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sent from Goa with a well-armed fleet for the relief of Cannanore. Kunjali met him with 8 **paros**. After the initial exchange of cannon fire, Kunjali attacked Lima's ship with three ships and boarded it. Kunjali, in studied contrast, was a gallant man and, unlike the Portuguese, merely ordered the Portuguese captain to return to Goa. Two fleets were then despatched from Goa and Kunjali beat them both times. In 1566 the Portuguese were forced to sue for peace.

During the time of Kunjali II, Pattu Marakkar, the Portuguese taking advantage of the weakness of then ruling Zamorin and alarmed at the widespread anti-Portuguese sentiment along the coast which the Konkan seamen and others shared, and afraid also of the fate of Goa, obtained a concession for building a fort at Ponnani near Calicut. The admiral of the Zamorin was opposed to the grant of the concession and realized its danger. He therefore secured the Zamorin's permission to build a fort in Kotta. After two years, Pattu Marakkar died and was succeeded by his nephew, Muhammad, or Kunjali IV. After the Portuguese built their fort at Ponnani, Kunjali IV sent out his nephew Kutty Moosa, to the Coromondal where the captain captured several Portuguese ships. The Portuguese Viceroy then sent a large naval force under Furtado. The Marakkar gamely attacked it. The Indians fought with their usual bravery but were overwhelmed. Kutty Moosa plunged into the water with his sword between his teeth and escaped. The Malabari seaman were men of great courage and pluck. They used to swim 20 miles at a stretch when forced in battle to escape and save their lives.

Kunjali IV played havoc with Portuguese shipping and ships and the Goa Portuguese hit on the idea of driving a wedge between the Zamorin and his admiral. They sent an envoy to Calicut to negotiate peace. The admiral, for his part, tried to strengthen himself by perfecting the fortifications of Kotta fort. He supported Malik and the Rani of Ullal when they rose against the Portuguese. In 1592, he captured a treasure-ship from China near Goa.

The Portuguese, taking advantage of the power, political position and gullibility of the Zamorin, succeeded including the Raja of Calicut to join forces in punishing Kunjali who was estranged from the Raja and who also was guilty of certain acts of iniquity. Despite this, the Marakkar family enjoyed great prestige and Hindus and Muslims had high regard for it. Even some Nair zamindars shared this sentiment. He had formed bonds of friendship with the coastal Rajas. This position also upset the Zamorin who was finally persuaded to collaborate with the Portuguese in joint operations against the fort and town of Kotta. A Jesuit of the name of Antonio, who was a prisoner in Calicut but who had had interviews with the King and had ingratiated himself into his favour, played an important role in the intrigues culminating in the alliance.

Despite formidable handicaps faced by him, Kunjali gave a good account of himself and inflicted considerable damage on the invading Portuguese forces. Kunjali realized his position and offered to surrender to his master, the Zamorin. The Portuguese had however hatched a plot to grab Kunjali when he and his followers surrendered to the Zamorin. After his initial victory in which he killed many Portuguese leaders, Kunjali had hoped that the Zamorin would pardon him and save his life. Kunjali had told his guards that he had dreamt that the Zamorin was handing him over to the Portuguese and he therefore resisted surrender for a long time, but was persuaded not to believe in the dream. He had placed a black kerchief on his head and he surrendered his sword. But Andre Furtado, the Portuguese leader, treacherously seized him and took him away. The Calicut Nairs resented this breach of their code of honour and fell on the Portuguese in an effort to recue Kunjali. But the prisoner was removed under a big escort.

When Furtado reached Goa with the prisoners, Kunjali had to be secretly smuggled into the notorious Tronco prison as the mob stoned to death four or five Moplahs who were landed earlier. The mob got out of control and destroyed the decorations put up for the victory ceremony. In the prison, several Moplahs committed

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suicide to end the tortures to which they were subjected. The Viceroy staged a mock-trial by judges who were the ancestors of the judges of the military tribunal who used, in recent years, to sentence Goan nationalists to savage terms of imprisonment and exile. The Viceroy ordered them to cut short the proceedings and finish off the terror to the Portuguese which they did. He was executed and the execution of other prisoners was carried out for several days. Kunjali's body was quartered and exibited on the beach of Bardez across the river and in Panjim. His head was salted and conveyed to Cannanore there to be stuck on a standard for striking terror to the moors'.

When Kunjali had had his last meeting with his mother, she had embraced her brave son, taken away from his neck his silk **rumal** (handkerchief) and said, 'Son, if they do any harm to you, send me a sign. Be brave, Allah preserve you'. When the axe fell and severed that valiant head of the Zamorin's great admiral, the **rumal** was splashed wih blood and the sign came. It was buried in the memorial tomb beside the tomb of the mother.

There is a little sequel to the tragic execution narrated by Nambir. Between June and October 1608, a Frenchman of the name of Pyard de Laval, a traveller, met a young handsome man of 30 years in Goa. He was a cousin of Kunjali and brother of captain Kutty Ahmed of Badagara whose hospitality the Frenchman had enjoyed during his sojourn in Malabar. The youth, when he was 15 years, had gone with Kunjali's fleet and was captured by Furtado. He had married a Portuguese orphan and was treated better because of his noble birth but was all the same in chains. This youth had taken the name of Pedro Rodrigues and was in the city when Kunjali was executed. He spent 17 years in captivity but managed to effect his escape at last with his family.

This scion of the Kunjali family collected a few devoted followers, armed some **paros** and cruised the coast. He paid particular attention to the priests in the Portuguese settlements and plundered them. The old sailors of Kotta, hearing of his exploits, joined him. In 1618, he possessed five war **paros** well-armed and manned by sailors from Malabar and the Konkan. The Portuguese described this man's attacks on Portuguese shipping and settlements as piracy and launched punitive measures. The Portuguese were however on the run so far as their mastery of the sea was concerned. The Dutch in 1616 were in correspondence with the **Zamorin. The** Dutch, English and French were jealous of the Portuguese and all along the coast from Cambay to Konkan and Kerala, Indian seamen attacked Portuguese vessels with impunity. The Rajas of the coast assisted these seamen in return for a share of the booty. The European rivals of the Portuguese supplied cannon and other armaments to the Indian princes. The Portuguse, during this time, found themselves in such a pitiable position that they could not venture out into the sea without having **kaflas** or convoys of 300 and 400 ships despite their boast of great and epic Portuguese courage, fighting prowess and seamanship. It marked the historical phase of decline of their military and naval power.

The tomb of Kunjali IV, which is, of course, a memorial tomb, lies in his hometown of Kotta. It deserves to be treated as a national shrine since Kunjali remains a great Indian admiral who was inspired by patriotism and engaged himself, like his illustrious ancestors, in a series of naval battles with an enemy overwhelming in strength. The Kunjalis have made their valuable contribution to the task of weakening an enemy on the sea whose military power was based on naval superiority and superiority in weapons. But for this heroic action, the Portuguese could easily have occupied the entire western coast and eventually the whole country. The country, therefore, owes a great debt of gratitude to the naval heroes of Malabar coast led in battle by the great Kunjalis.

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THE URGE FOR MEANING

By IAN TRAVERS-BALL

RIGHT across the face of our modern world lies a heavy paradox. Its roots go deep—deep into the heart of man. On the one hand, we are making tremendous advances with our nuclear power, our deep thrusts into space, our miracles in medecine, our technology, our revolution in agriculture. We are at war with hunger, disease and ignorance. We are fighting our way to independence and democratic forms of government where men are free and responsible. We are making huge efforts towards greater understanding and respect among different nations, races, colours and religions.

And yet, on the other hand, to make the paradox complete—and tragic—we have a very different picture. Something goes wrong somewhere, for the poor world of the 'sixties finds itself torn by terrible tensions. It is like a great arsenal that is threatened on all sides by sparks that could work havoc everywhere at any minute. There are two mighty power blocs glaring across at each other, while every corner of the world has its own smaller, but no less intense, conflicts. Is there a nation anywhere that does not have its own particular enemy ?

We can go further; within the borders of each country we find groups of men violently working against other groups. We find high and noble aspirations towards development and the uplift of the depressed, the hungry, the wretched; we find tireless efforts to raise the people—and yet we see at the very hub of these efforts corruption, favouritism and selfishness that drain off the life-flow of great schemes into unscrupulous pockets.

But our paradox doesn't even stop here, for it reaches right into the heart of each individual. It is not just the poor who suffer and taste the bitterness and anguish of our times. The prosperous and privileged, enjoying a bountiful leisure and having everything that money can buy, find thick gloomy clouds in their lives weighing heavily on them, bringing uneasiness, anxiety and an awareness of emptiness and futility. Intellectuals, businessmen, diplomats appear to many as the favoured sons of fate, but they too acknowledge that this strange paradox presses on all.

All this is a gloomy picture, but we are forced to admit that it is realistic if nothing else.

A contemporary school of Psychiatry in Vienna, led by Professor V. Frankl, heavily stresses man's will-to-meaning. A man must find a meaning to his life or else his personality slowly disintegrates. The goals of providing for a family, of striving for success and advancement in a profession are certainly real and gripping, but sooner or later the need of a deeper and more fundamental meaning is somehow sensed—an existential meaning for one's whole being and for one's family too. Anything less doesn't fully satisfy a man.

INADEQUATE SUBSTITUTES

Many substitutes for this deeper meaning offer themselves; they may satisfy for a while, but they do not last. One of these is the struggle for wealth. Anyone not living the life of a recluse has seen men whose god is money, their whole life becomes a dedication to this captivating master. Some of them are paid well in return. They have everything they want. And yet how often their god leaves them empty and hollow. A few years ago the writer came into regular contact with a man who had inherited a small business from his father. He married a girl who was the only daughter of wealthy parents. He expanded his plant, merged with another firm and forged ahead. His children attended the right schools and colleges, went overseas, had their own cars. Nothing was lacking. And yet to have a meal in that house was an ordeal. No one was happy, all were quarrelling. You got a feeling of hollowness and emptiness in their lives. Somehow meaning was lacking.

Another substitute for meaning is the pursuit of sensual pleasure. No rare case is the young girl in a recent English play who, on

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leaving high school, throws herself into a life of licence, laughing: "Hockey's all very well in its way, but it isn't really living is it ?" And even on the stage her harvest is a string of broken lives and frustration ending in tragedy.

A man can sell himself too, to one of the current ideologies in his pressing quest for meaning. Communism has won many an idealistic and generous recruit in this way. In his autobiography, 'I Believed,' Douglas Hyde, for years editor of the British Communist paper, 'The Daily Worker,' who grew disillusioned with Communism and became a Catholic, describes a Communist girl he knew. She had gone from the university through journalism into the Party. She had lost her Communist faith, but kept on working in the Party, "You see," she said, "I'm terrified of the vacuum that would be left in my life if I went." And Hyde adds, "one has to be potentially good or intelligent even to be aware that it is not enough simply to drift along without sense of purpose or direction with neither faith nor ideal." That, he asserts, is why Communism so often claims the most generous, and why it has spread in our day and no other, for we live in an age that has lost its belief.

But Communism, too, proves itself a pseudo-meaning. So many upright men have left it disillusioned. In Russia, after forty years, the regime still has to urge its teachers to eradicate the desire for religion from the youth of the country. The Soviet press features frequent exhortations to parents and Party members to remember their duty in this matter. Its artists and writers, like Pasternak, can still put meaningful questions on the lips of a Dr. Zhivago : "What will happen to YOUR consciousness (after death)? YOUR consciousness, yours not anyone else's. Well, what are YOU ? That's the crux of the matter." Always, that search for meaning.

At the other extreme are the ultra-conservative ideologies that are springing up all over the world today by way of reaction to a fast changing world. America has its current John Birch Society, while in India we have the continuance and even the resurgence of reactionary conservative movements, which easily tend towards fanaticism. Much of this can be explained by the need many feel for meaning in a society that is changing with alarming speed.

Many other phenomena throughout the world could also be explained by this drifting without an anchor, by this lack of a satisfying maning; there are existentialists who see life as absurd; there are beatniks and angry young men who just have to take a plunge into something, be it violent criticism of the *status-quo* or just eccentricity for its own sake; there is the problem of student indiscipline which can be the result of a youth that is adrift and disillusioned, ready to throw itself into any cause or riot that offers some escape from meaninglessness.

Obstacles to Meaning

But on the path towards meaning lies a heavy obstacle. Today's intellectual climate tends to be sceptical and agnostic. We are not happy with the man who takes a firm stand or makes a positive assertion. In fact, to profess an absolute view becomes almost an act of indecent exposure. But the danger is that this may well preclude the possibility of reaching any meaning. The man of conviction stands further condemned if he acts accordig to his conviction ; when he marries a girl just because he loves her, or when he mixes freely with other communities.

Another enemy in the quest for meaning is that we all tend to be such sheep. We have to conform to the crowd, and to step out and 'go it alone' in another direction is asking too much. But this again may be a fatal restriction in this vital search.

Writers in India today feel this weight of convention very heavy upon them. Our country and its society is in a tremendous ferment. A new world is coming to birth. We have only to consider the impact of a more universal education, industrialization, community development, equality, the wooing of the masses by political parties and communal groups. The writer feels strongly the urge to be in the thick of this effervescence and to capture its quickly passing stages with his pen. Reality today is rich and inviting, but convention and conformity are a heavy weight.

In Communist countries the artist, the writer and the student are stirring. They find the halter of the 'party line' heavy and constricting. Its meaning proves inadequate and doesn't touch one's inner depths.

In the West too, an 'avant-garde' feels sated with the glittering but hollow pleasures of a technological culture that thought it could manage

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without the Christian values on which it grew. Some look for relief in a denial of all meaning to existence. There is just the present situation in which I find myself and it is absurd. Others look to a return to religion for their meaning. The renewed interest and examination of religion is witnessed to by the regular place given to it in magazines like 'Time' and by the number of articles on religion in other papers and reviews with world circulations. Many have doubted their faith, but now more and more are coming to doubt their doubts. A reporter of 'The New York Times,' after a wide investigation, declares that college students who "would not be caught dead talking about religion now discuss it as a live campus topic." Today, of course, a man may not be satisfied with the religion of his childhood, but as an adult, he can bring his critical faculties to the task of judging the reasonableness of any expression of religion.

Personal Courage Demanded

For all his progress, modern man is uneasy. The state of his world, of his country, of his community, his own inner tensions do not allow him to feel otherwise.

If the Vienna School of Psychiatry is on the right path, then it is a meaning that man in the 1960's must find, a fundamental meaning for himself and his own existence. The first step for the person who feels this uneasiness would be the readiness to face up to his need for meaning, to ask himself if his present position is adequate or not. Then with this frank awareness, he would require a lot of courage to begin his quest, for it may well draw him along unexpected paths.

And he can preclude no possibility for he is seeking the truth and meaning of his very being —and truth will not compromise.

KOOTHU AND KOODIYATTAM

By G. RAVINDRAN NAIR

Among the classical dance-dramas of Kerala the earliest types of theatrical art known and bequeathed to us are Chakkiar, Koothu and Koodiyattam. Efforts are under way to revive and popularise them even outside Kerala. A number of scolars including the late poet Vallathol Narayana Menon have contended that Koothu and Koodiyattam are older than Kathakali and that, in fact, the roots of the latter must be traced to the former. Kathakali is by all means an indigenous art of the South, but Koodiyattam seems to have been introduced into Kerala by the immigrant Aryans to convert the local people into the Aryan way of life and to propogate the knowledge of Sanskrit.

Koothu and Koodiyattam, the performance of which is monopolised by the professional Chakkiars, prodigiously endowed with a deep knowledge of Sanskrit and Malayalam and armed with weapons of humour and sacrasm, combine religion and art. Koothu is a solo performance in which the Chakkiar recites episodes from the **Puranas** and explains them in moods varying from the dramatic to the quick-witted. In the wide range of **Puranic** themes the usual selections of the artiste are the birth of Rama, his marriage with Sita, Hanuman's visit to Sita soon after her abduction by Ravana, the burning of Lanka (all from the Ramayana), the marriage of Panchali, Subhadra, and Rugmani, Rajasuya Yagnam, Krishna's mission from the Pandavas to Duryodhana for the partition of the kingdom (all from the Mahabharata), as well as **Duthavakyam, Kountheyashtakam** and others composed by illustrious authors like Melpathur Narayana Bhattathiripad.

Koodiyattam (lit: "dancing together") is a variety of Koothu in which two or more Chakkiars appear on the stage, dressed in costumes varying according to the characters in the epics whom they are said to represent. In certain performances

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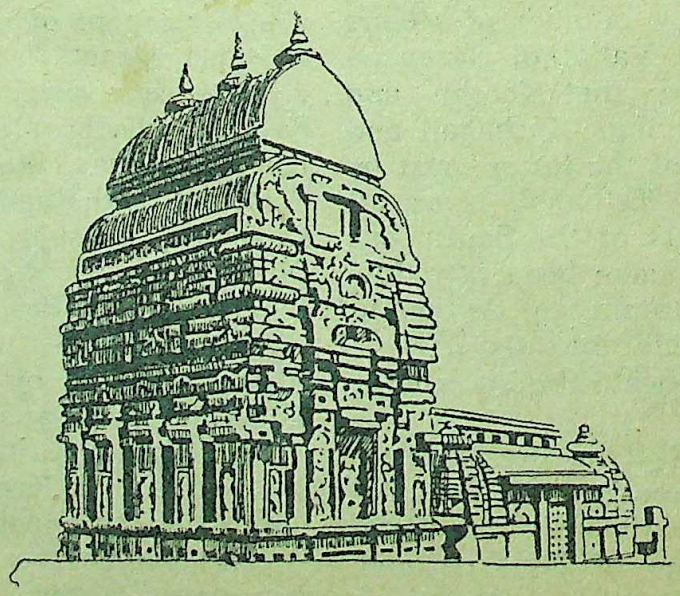
the Chakkiar acts the part of the male characters while the Nangyar (his wife), that of the female characters. In another the Nangyar declaims verses while her husband interprets them. The entertainment starts off with a prologue by the Nambiar who, as the veritable virtuouso on the beating of **mizhavu** (a kind of drum), provides the overall background music. In front of the stage on the left side is lit the bell-metal lamp (Nilavilakku), a feature prominent in the Kathakali ensemble. Like Kathakali these two histrionic arts also attach great significance to choreography and costumes. Koothambalams which form part of some of the Kerala temples are the theatres where, originally, people belonging to the high castes and the intellectual elite alone gathered to witness these entertainments. Apart from this, Koothu and Koodiyattam form an essential item of the temple festivals in some parts of the State even today.

A sidelight on these dance-dramas is that while explaining the stories, the Chakkiar digresses to cite some incident, political or social, from the mosaic of contemporary life in order to make his interpretation clear beyond doubt. In other words, an attempt is made at the complete identification of the **Puranic** world with the existing society. Here the Chakkiar gets ample opportunities to sit in judgement on the follies and the foibles of the age. He is at once an ideal satirist and a public critic. His biting sarcasm spares none, not even his audience. Custom has granted him the privilege of immunity from interruption while performing the Koothu or Koodiyattam.

The first reference to Koothu is found in the classical Tamil work **Silappathikaram** composed by Ilango Adikal in the 2nd century A.D. Koodiyattam had its palmy days under the Perumals who ruled over Kerala until the 8th century A.D. Kulasekhara Perumal, Bhaskara Ravi Varman and Cheraman Perumal were well-known patrons of this art. It is recorded that during the reign of Cheran Chenguttuvan a Koothu was performed for the first time outside Kerala, viz., in the Nilgiris. The famous poet Tolan who was a Nambudiri Brahmin from a village near Trichur and whose name is associated with Koodiyattam was the contemporoary and court poet of one of the Kulasekharas. He composed two monumental works on these histrionic arts solely for the guidance of the artistes.

Koothu and Koodiyattam possess enough potential for future development. Government and voluntary organisations can make co-ordinated efforts to secure for them a pride of place alongside other folk arts of India.



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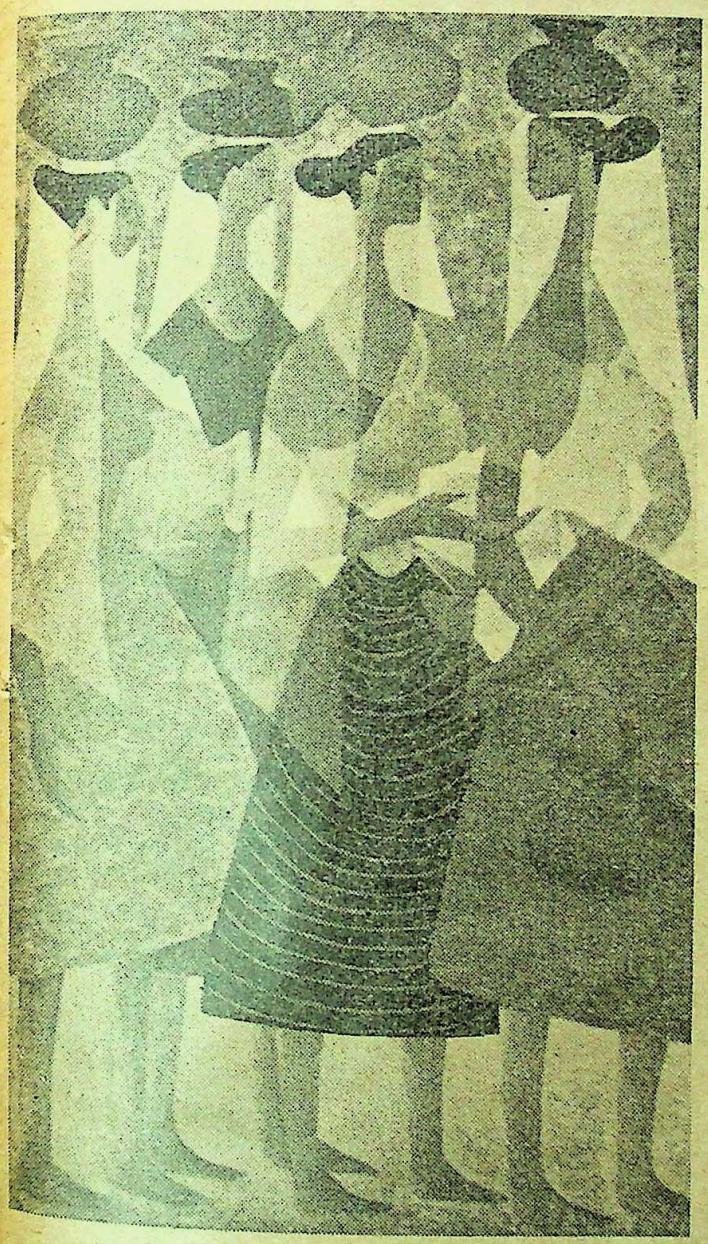
PICTURE POST CARDS AS AIDS TO EDUCATION

(A Review)

Colour Post Cards of Works of Sudhir Chatterjee, an Indian Artist, reproduced by Obpacher, A.G., Munich, printed in Germany. To be had of Messrs. W. Newmans and Thacker Spink, Calcutta. Price not stated.



Women with veil

The use of Picture Post Cards as cheap and convenient instruments and aids to the study of Art, Archaeology, and the History of Art has long been recognized in Europe and America. And the foreign museums have published post cards, in enormous quantities, representing important masterpieces of art—in their collections, which are very popular among art-students and connoisseurs of art. The British Museum Post Cards are, perhaps, the largest issues, covering all departments of art and archaeology. Following this practice, our Indian Archaeological Department has also issued some quantities of post cards (unfortunately very poor in their clumsy half-tones) reproducing Indian sculptures in outstanding specimens. In this respect, the post cards of the Nizam's Archaeological Department, reproduced in fine collotypes and colour facsimiles, printed in England, are perhaps the best in quality. But this series of six post cards in accurate colour reproduction—breaks new grounds—in publicizing and popularizing the works of an individual artist. And the fact that a firm of German printers have covered the works of an Indian artist—Sudhir Chatterjee—is no mean compliment to him and to India. The six pictures reproduced—are all in Post-Impressionist technique, chiefly reminding one of Van Gogh. They are very strong in their composition and colour, though the arbitrary distortion of human anatomy with "giraffe-like" necks may be disconcerting to many of us. As a novel form of publicity of individual artists—this example of publicizing colour post-cards deserves wide emulation.

O. C. G.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

AKBAR THE GREAT, Vol. I : *By A. L. Srivastava. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (P.) Ltd., Agra, 1962. Pp. 581. Price Rs. 20/-.*

Since the publication of the last authoritative work on the subject, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, by the well-known historian Dr. Vincent A. Smith in 1917, some valuable fresh material till then buried in manuscripts in the archives of the library of the quondom Indian princely States and the *bhandars* of the Jaina monasteries, have been discovered by the efforts of scholars. The list consists of such works as *Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi* (written in Persian by a revenue officer of Akbar's administration), the *Dalpat Vilas* (written in Rajasthani for one of the Rajput proteges of Akbar, *viz.*, Maharaja Dalpat Singh of Bikaner), the *Vir Vinod* (in Hindi by Kaviraja Shyamal Das), the *Bhanu Chandra Charitra* and the *Karam Chandra Vansa Prabandha*, (both in Sanskrit, giving contemporary accounts of Akbar's relations with Jaina religious teachers). A careful study of Dr. Smith's work, again, has revealed some of its serious defects such as the author's dependance upon English translations of the Persian sources and his rejection of the testimony of contemporary Indian writings in favour of later European compilations. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to state that our knowledge of the history of Akbar's reign in all its aspects, notwithstanding the richness of its sources, has remained imperfect till our own times. This gap is now being sought to be filled by the author in a series of three volumes of which the first dealing with political history forms the subject matter of the present work, the second and third volumes being intended to be devoted respectively to the administrative system and the state of civilization during the reign. The standard of scholarship reached by the author in the volume under notice is as high as we have been led to expect from his earlier work on the Sultanate of Delhi. The bibliography comprises a list of thirty-one works in Persian, nine works in Sanskrit, four works in Hindi and Rajasthani and two in English under the heading of original sources, along with twenty works in English, five works in Hindi and two works in Urdu, not to speak of a number of British Indian gazetteers and well-known research journals among the secondary sources. The author, while making full use of the ample original material, has discussed the views of recent authors on different points of detail with sound judgment. The description of the military and political incidents of Akbar's reign entitling him to be called the real founder of Mughal rule in India and of his enlightened policy leading for the first time in the history of Muslim rule in India to the loyal co-operation of Hindus (and especially the Rajput princes) in favour of that rule, are unusually full and detailed, and they are always supported by references to original authority. The concluding chapter contains a thoughtful account of the emperor's personal characteristics and of the evolution of his religious beliefs, together with a valuable critical estimate of his capacities as a general, a diplomat and an administrator, of his justice and statesmanship, of his patronage of the fine arts and his place in history. A perusal of this scholarly work suggests the possibility of a number of further improvements in its arrangement and contents. A complete classified list of the original sources with a critical estimate of their historical value should have come at the beginning of the volume. The concluding chapter containing a general account of Akbar's administration and the bibliography of original sources at the end should have contained some account of the emperor's reform of the coinage, the most important coin-types being illustrated at least by drawings. The description of Akbar's build-

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ings with their sculptures and paintings should have been accompanied with some reference to the different styles of art (indigenous and foreign) that entered into their composition and enriched with some illustrations. To the two valuable maps of our country, (one at the beginning and the other at the end of Akbar's reign) which are given in the course of this work, might have been added an economic map indicating the industrially advanced areas with their characteristic types of industries.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AT A GLANCE : *By Swami Tattwananda, Oxford Book Company, Calcutta-16, New Delhi-1. Pp. 237. Price Rs. 10/-.*

'This book is an attempt to give a true picture of the pristine glory and depth of Indian culture in Ancient India, upto the 12th century A.D. . . .' And we are glad to announce that while the attempt has greatly and pleasurably fulfilled the purpose, it bespeaks highly of the 'glance' of the author, erudite and discerning.

In the chapters—1. Civilization of Ancient India, 2. Philosophy, 3. Religion, 4. Education, 5. Literature, 6. Science, 7. Arts, 8. Social and Economic Conditions, 9. Law and Administration, 10. Mahenjodaro and Harappa and 11. Greater India—with a wise marshallling of facts derived from findings of old and modern scholars the author has successfully proved his points in a scientific shorter compass than would otherwise be possible.

The references are copious and speaks highly of the Author's uptodatedness in the matter of Oriental Research.

We are glad to herald this remarkable book, expected to be useful to all the English-reading public throughout the world. It is suggested, however, that an index of names in the book be added in the next edition to make this document more useful to the busy readers of the modern time.

When all the chapters are well written, the the last two excel and we congratulate the Author for the simple style of language and treatment likely to draw even the general readers.

MONORANJAN GUPTA

MAHAYOGI SRI AUROBINDO : *By R. R. Diwakar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, pp. 298. Price Rs. 2/-.*

This is a book on the life, *Sadhana* and teachings of Sri Aurobindo. Sri Aurobindo, third son of Dr. Krishnadhan Ghosh and Sm. Swarnalata Debi, was born in Calcutta on the 15th August, 1872. Dr. Ghosh was a "Pucca Saheb" and wanted his sons to be brought up in English ways and Sri Aurobindo was sent as a hoarder together with his two brothers, to Laretto Convent School at Darjeeling. Barely two years at school, the parents took Sri Aurobindo with his brothers and sister Sarojini to England in 1879. During 1879-84, he was with Mr. and Mrs. Drewitt in Manchester for education and the Drewitts had instructions from Dr. Ghosh that his sons should not be allowed contacts with Indians. Barindra was born in Croydon, London in 1880, Sri Aurobindo had a brilliant academic career and his father wished that he would return to India as an I.C.S. But he deliberately neglected and failed in riding test and was debarred from entering the I.C.S. He returned to India in February 1893, and entered Baroda State Service (1893-1907). His knowledge of Bengali was extremely meagre so Dinendra Kumar Roy, well-known writer who was at Baroda, (1898-99) helped him to develop his knowledge in his mother-tongue. During ten years he wrote articles in *Indu Prakash* of Bombay and published for private circulation his first library publication "Songs to Martella." His maternal grandfather Raj Narayan Bose died in 1899 and Sri Aurobindo wrote a poem in his memory. He married (1901) Mrinalini aged 14, daughter of Bhupal Chandra Bose, Ranchi, according to Brahmo rites. He had contact with revolutionaries both of Maharashtra and Bengal during his stay in Baroda although he began *Pranayam* practices and *Yogas*. He attended Bombay Congress in 1904. He came to Calcutta in 1906 on leave and finally resigned from Baroda State Service on 15-6-1907.

1906-1910 were eventful years as Sri Aurobindo was in the political field although his politics were more spiritual (or entirely political ?) than political. He was fast advancing towards the great soul of *Life Divine*. His literary activities, his trial at Alipore Bomb Case (1908-09) are matters of history. Sri Aurobindo was acquitted and released on 5th May, 1909 : some of his historic announcements and literary productions acme at this time and he went to Chandernagore in February, 1910. As the British Government was always after him and was disturbing him in his *Sadhana*, he left Chandernagore on steamer "Duplex" and reached Pondicherry on 1st April, 1910. Since that arrival he was there till his passing away on 5th December, 1950.

Although, the world outside considered him as a retired sage living is isolation, Sri Auro-

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bindo was in touch with the affairs of the world affecting human destiny. Deeply in *Sadhana* he refused invitations from Bombay and Bengal to return to politics and lead the country in the struggle for India's freedom. He was always working for it, nay for the liberation of humanity from the bondage of ignorance.

In Pondicherry, C. R. Das saw him on 5th June, 1923 and asked for blessings for the Swaraj Party. He was advised not to leave politics. Dilip Roy, Kapali Shastri (1924), Lala Lajpat Rai and P. D. Tandon (1925) also saw him there.

On 15th August, 1924, Sri Aurobindo made a statement regarding his *Yoga* and the main distinction between the old *Yoga* schools of thought and his own. Reference to bringing down of the supermind for transforming mind, life and matter was also made in this statement.

Nov. 24, 1926, was the date of Victory, the coming down of the over-mind leading to the descent of the supermind to the earth-consciousness. Twenty-four persons were present on the occasoin. Since then this day is observed as the day of victory. This was the day of the regular foundation of the Aurobindo Ashram and the Mother (Mira Richard) took entire charge of it. Sri Aurobindo retired entirely and cut-off all connection except through the Mother. When asked later, he said that this seclusion was inevitable. In 1942, Sri Aurobindo supported Cripp's offer which was rejected by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress. On 15th August, 1947, he issued a statement regarding Indian Independence and a general review of objectives and on the 30th December, 1948, he gave a message regarding physical culture. On 26th Nov., 1956, he fell ill and had intense suffering from kidney trouble. But the Darshan ceremony was not abandoned. The great son of India had Mahasamadhi at 1.26 A.M. on 5th Dec., 1950, but there was no decay in the body for 111 hours.

The learned author has made a wonderful presentation of the life, works and philosophy of Sri Aurobindo within a compass of 298 pages divided into 12 chapters. The times, personality, environment and the intricate *Sadhana* and its philosophy have been brought out in great relief and any reader will find the book a great help as an introduction to understand not only one of the greatest personalities of the age but his wonderful philosophy of Supermind, herald of a New Age.

The book first published in 1953, has been much revised and to the author and publishers we offer our best congratulations for offering the work at a cheap price.

A. B. DUTTA

BHARATBARSHEY RASTRABHASA O LIPI EBANG PARIBHASA SAMASAYAR SAMADHAN (in Bengali) : *By Debal Kumar Gupta, published by the author from 19C, Rajendra Lala Street, Calcutta-6. Re. 1.25 only.*

The author has gone to considerable labour to array his arguments against the claims and imposition of Hindi as the national-*cum*-official language of India. It is a known fact that in this democratic country—Hindi was adopted as our national-*cum*-official language in 1947, in the Constituent Assembly presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and by the casting vote of the President—thereby making a farce of democracy. Since then—the Hindiwallas are carrying on a mad, irrational and illogical campaign to impose Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking States. The advocates of Hindi say that for national integration Hindi must be the order of the day. But in actuality the reverse has happened.

In the Language Commission—the minority report was not published. Whatever the public could know was from the brief press reports. most of which were blacked out in the Northern Indian Press !

The author has quoted the opinion of men like Sir Jadunath Sircar, Sri Prakasa, Mr. Subramanium, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Sri Vinoba Bhabe, Dr. A. Lakshman Swami (Vice-Chancellor, Madras University), Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. Sukumar Sen, all of whom consider the imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speaking linguistic groups as not only most undesireable, but harmful to the future generations of India and the country at large.

Sir Jadunath Sircar, the world-famous historian wrote in 1954 : ". . . . . the Hindi fanatics will create an intellectual atrophy in Hindusthan, destroy for the next generation the progress we have so long made and cut off India's connection with the rest of the progressive world by forcibly excluding the English language : . . . What Nehru has aptly called 'imperialism of the Hindi language' can destroy and not create. Literature and philosophy are too delicate products, they cannot be pressed out of the official oil mill."

Mr. Sri Prakasa once, while addressing a meeting said, in giving his reasons for not supporting Hindi—"I must confess I had very often to close my ears when even Gandhiji was speaking Hindi." In addition he also said that Hindi "had the richest vocabulary of abusive terms." This will be enough for the present.

The author pleads for Sanskrit as very fit to

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be the national language of India. This will certainly be better than Hindi in all respects. But just like Latin, Sanskrit cannot be revived and made current again in India. It is and must remain a language for Pundits only. However, the author has established his case against Hindi on solid logical grounds. The book under review should have been written in English for the benefit of the non-Bengali speaking linguistic groups of India. The author can even now act up to this suggestion. It is well worth it.

C. K. H.

SEX TREASURE : *By Prof. S. P. Goel, Lecturer in Economics, D. A. V. College, Muzzaffarnagar, U.P., and published by himself at the above address ; Pp. 312. Price Rs. 6/-.*

This is one of those many books and compendiums published in the country during the last several years on sex and sexology, which is not just a rehash of a collection of pornegraphic literature, Indian and occidental and ancient and modern. I do ot know what especial qualifications the author, a lecturer in the social science of economics, had to carry out a scientific study of the physiology and hygiene of sex, but it is apparent that he has brought a great deal of reading and thought to the treatment of a subject which, unless very carefully handled, would be bound to exude a certain inevitable measure of ugliness. A great deal of ground has been covered in the volume under review from the origin of sex, its physiology, hygiene, psychology and its bearings upon social health and morality. Taboo as sex has publicly been more many centuries in this country and in the West in polite society, deep and paralyzing ignorance on the subject naturally prevails which has not been altogether healthy or desirable since it is not possible to conjure away its existence as a vital factor of life merely by ignoring it. A certain measure of knowledge and healthy information on the subject would, therefore, be considered ordinarily desirable as an essential ingredient of preparation for facing the facts of life. A great deal too much sophistication on sex, however, may not altogether be desirable either, as that would be likely to eliminate the mysticism of romance from life. Romance may be old fashioned but the obvious frustrations of too much sophistictaion may, I feel, be healthily leavened over by an overlay of this old fashioned ingredient and thus help to make life a little more challenging, a great deal more desirable than it seems to be today. Prof. Goel, I am glad to find, has not, in his treatment of the subject, altogether discounted the place of romance, a difficult feat, indeed, in any scientific discussion of sex. It is, therefore, a book which might be of some assistance to the really mature in his dealings with life without tending to make it too obstreperous.

KARUNA K. NANDI

SANSKRIT

JNANASRIMITRANIBANDHAVALI : *Edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga. Tibetan Sanskrit works series, Vol. V. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.*

The volume under-review comprises twelve tracts on different aspects of Buddhist Philosophy, especially logic, by Jnanasrimitra, a great pillar of the University of Vikramashila. The name of the learned author and some of his views were so far known through second-hand sources. Of his works one, the *Karya-karanabhavasiddhi*, alone was known to exist in Tibetan translation. Hopes of getting his original works were almost given up. Searches by Mahapandit Rahula Sankirtayana have brought to light mss. in Tibet containing the texts of a number of his works, on the basis of photographic reproduction of which they have been edited here. The work supplies a wealth of information otherwise unknown and gives us a clear picture of the scholastic rivalry prevailing between Hindu and Buddhist logicians after Dharmakirti. Not only does the author refute the views of the reputed Vachaspati Misra, but we find him quoting from and criticising little-known authors like Sankara, Trilochana, preceptor of Vachaspati, and a host of others. It reflects credit on the learned editor that he has been able to evolve a readable text with the scanty material at his disposal especially taking into consideration the fact that the works deal with rather obscure matters with which the scholarly world lost touch for a long time. The editorial introduction contains an account of the author, a brief description of the contents of the works edited, a discussion on their authorship and chronology, a note on the Buddhist and non-Buddhist authors and works utilised by Jnanasri and a reference to his influence on later philosophical literature. The present volume with a previous one, the *Ratnakirtinibandhavali*, will be of immense help to scholars in understanding the Yogacharya-Vijnanarada views and the mutual relation between Brahmanic and Buddhist logic.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Indian Periodicals

Social Transformation is Essential for National Integration

Writing under the above caption in the October, 1962 issue of the Quarterly *National Integration*, Prof. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, Member, Planning Commission, has something to say which should be of vital interest to the country at the present moment. The following are excerpts from the article in question :

The problem of improving the material and cultural conditions of the poorer countries of the world has been engaging serious attention during the post-war period. . . . It is being increasingly realised that political freedom is necessary, but not enough. In most of the underdeveloped areas attention is being given increasingly to economic development to improve the level of living. It is also being increasingly appreciated that rapid economic growth can be brought about only by an increasing accumulation of capital to supply modern tools and machinery for new and expanding productive activities which would, in time, solve problems of unemployment or under-employment, and would continually improve the level of living . . . . The choice of productive activities (that is of investment) must also be such as to secure the best possible rate of growth over a time horizon of a generation or more.

It is necessary to give opportunities for participation in productive activities to the largest number of people, and as soon as possible, to all such people as are capable of undertaking such work, and also to utilize available resources in the most effective way for the benefit of the nation as a whole. To create fullest opportunities for rapid growth, it is necessary to remove all barriers to the effective utilization of productive forces, by the people, for the benefit of all the people in the country.

The heart of the problem is to make changes in all necessary directions at the same time, in a balanced way, so as to bring about a structural transformation as quickly as possible. A structural transformation of the whole society is, however, indispensable to make conditions fit for rapid economic growth. Without such transformation any amount of help from outside would be ineffective. The experience of many countries during the post-war period corroborates this.

It is also necessary to develop the outlook of science and the experimental attitude of the mind in order to acquire knowledge of natural and social laws and to invent new techniques for initiating material and changes. This is the only way in which decisions can be made increasingly in a rational manner, in accordance with the principles of objective or scientific validity based on relevant data and correct reasoning, instead of on the sanction of authority based on statute and power or custom or conventional or revealed rules and laws.

The scientific and industrial revolution took place in West Europe and North America roughly over a period of three or four hundred years. It is not possible to wait for such a long time for the underdeveloped countries to attain reasonable level of living. The historical process of transformation must proceed five or ten times faster. Such speeding up of the process of transformation has always been a characteristic feature of biological evolution and can be achieved.

There is general agreement about some of the most important contents of or elements or aspects of the social transformation, such as land reform, mass education, technical training, increasing equality of opportunities, the possibility of a labourer or an initiator securing the fruits of his labour, or the need of medical and health services and cultural amenities, etc.

Historically land reform has been a most important factor in economic development of all advanced or rapidly developing countries. Agriculture and industry must advance at the same time. It is, however, important to note that generally *agricultural surplus* (or the surplus from extractives) *is essential for industrial development.*

The aim must be to secure the fruits of his labour to the cultivator so that he has the incentive to improve the land and to introduce more advanced technological methods. The tenancy laws must protect the tenant against eviction so long as he is using the land efficiently, and to secure to him the right of fair compensation upon the termination of the lease for all unexhausted improvements made by him. It is also necessary to eliminate the unproductive consumption of the surplus from land by intermediaries and landlords, who have no productive functions, by abolishing their rights.

The question of economy of scale of production may, admittedly, introduce difficulties. The breaking up of large farms may lead to a reduction of the surplus; however, the beneficial effects of greater equality of income and wealth may compensate for the other loss. Also, in countries where there are too many cultivators,

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often with scattered plots, further breaking up of the holdings may easily have adverse effects on the efficiency of production. In such a situation it may be necessary to promote consolidation of holdings either voluntarily through co-operatives or by legislation, or both. *Redistribution of land has limits and is a complicated question. It is wise to recognize that steps taken at one stage may have to be reversed at a later stage.*

It is indispensable that every one in the working age-group should be fully utilized to increase the national product. It is necessary, therefore, to remove all social, economic, legal and political barriers which prevent individuals or goups or sections of individuals to become fully productive. Conditions are worst in a country stratified by caste, colour, creed, or language and where sections of people are sometimes deprived of opportunities by customs, law, or social and political prssures by ruling groups.

It is essential to help every one to make himself fit for the highest type of productive work of which he is capable. Opportunities for education and training and for productive work must be made as widely available as possible. Sufficiently rapid progress would be difficult or impossible in societies in which there is lack of vertical mobility and where small sections try to preserve their privileges based on heredity, custom or law without any relation to their productive contribution.

A characteristic feature of modern underdevelopment is the segmentation of the country into innumerable regions, castes, tribes, languages, religious communities, occupational and other groups which focus attention on the welfare of small sections of the people without any awareness of the best interests of the country as a whole. *It has to be recognized that rapid progress is impossible without painful adjustments and damage to sections of people whose interests are based on special privileges or old techniques, and that old beliefs, customs, and social institutions have to be discarded and all barriers of caste, customs, creed, colour, language and sectional interests must be ruthlessly eliminated.*

The removal of social and economic barriers is an indispensable condition for the emergence of the sense of national solidarity without which national development is impossible. It is not possible to isolate the scientific, or the social, or the industrial aspects of the transformation from one another. Advances must be made at the same time on all fronts. This creates difficulties but also has its advantages. Progress in one direction stimulates and promotes progress in other direcitions. It is the task of leadership to maintain a proper balance between the different aspects and phases of the process of modernization in its full sense. The aim continually must be to create a society from which social, economic and political privileges have been completely eliminated.

In underdeveloped countries there is sometimes a tendency to adopt *too expensive or too sophisticated schemes* of education, care of health, public buildings and construction, wages or salaries of government employees or labour legislation. The educational system must be viewed as a pyramid ; the lower the stage the wider should be the base and lower the scale of expenditure compared with those of advanced countries, while at the highest stage of advance studies and research the number involved would be extremely small but scales of expenditure may approximate to those of advanced countries. The remedy is to adopt a system which would be in keeping with basic aims and yet within the means of the country.

Government expenditure often tends to become unduly large in underdeveloped countries owing to the adoption of the much higher standards of the advanced countries. This leads to unecessary high scales of wages and salaries for government employees or costly public buildings; which in turn would increase the feeling of separation between government and the people and hamper national integration.

Legislation in imitation of the more advanced countries at too early a stage may lead to increasing ineffciency of performance in countries with surplus labour and may increase cost of production so much as to have serious adverse effects on exports. The most important thing is to establish a definite link between remuneration and output in the case of all types of work of which the volume and quality can be estimated even roughly. It is necessary to recognize that trade union movements can gain real strength only on the basis of increasing productivity.

The transfer of modern technology from the advanced countries also calls for much adaptation to suit the needs and local conditions of underdeveloper regions. To profit by the experience of the advanced countries and yet to introduce modern technology and modern social and political institutions in a way suitable to the particular stage of development of the country is a matter of crucial importance in the process of modernization. Ultimately, success would depend on the growth of a rational outlook and the experimental attitude of the mind first, among the leadership at all levels and then gradually among the general mass of the people.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Is a New Literature Possible ?

Literature is easily one of the most limited of the arts. It is limited because it has as its materials words, which have meaning apart from their use in literature. And this meaning—even if stretched—must be maintained with a literary work. In painting and music, the cards with which the game is played can be replaced by a new pack. In literature, the pack can only be reshuffled.

It follows that literature can never become new in the way the other arts can. For if the literary artist could revolutionize his medium for the purposes of his art as a painter or sculptor can his material, or even a composer the instruments for which he writes, then literature would become not merely divorced from "life," but from language.

There have, of course, been attempts to invent a special literary language of images, symbols, or sounds separated as far as possible within a literary work from outside associations and from prose meanings. In the nineteenth century, for example, there were the Symbolists, led by Mallarme, and more recently, the movement known as the Imagists.

Imagist poets such as H.D. attempted (perhaps without fully realizing they were doing so) to write an unanalyzable kind of poetry, close to painting, by concentrating on the creation of an image rather than a statement. They advocated a kind of poetry which could not be completely paraphrased, the kernel of which was an unanalyzable word-picture. They wanted to release poetry from the burden of past conventions and traditional ways of thinking by reproducing the image which springs naked into the mind from the impact of some aspect of modern life. Yet, ironically, their influence developed critical consciousness far more than it did poetical creativeness. Every poet-critic produced ten critic-poets.

Moreover, the most intelligent of the Imagists soon realized that a poetic medium which was entirely special would cease to have meaning. An art made from such a medium would be calligraphic or onomatopoetic, approaching painting or music. Attempts, like those by the Dadaists and Kurt Schwitters, to produce a poetry of typography or of sounds, totally devoid of prose meanings, point up the fact that such attempts could only succeed if they produced a completely new art, which of course would not be literature.

Thus a "revolution of the world," in the sense of the words changing completely their meaning and becoming something else, is one kind of revolution that is impossible. It may be theoretically possible to discover an entirely new form in which a poem might be written, but from is only one aspect of a poem, and its being unprecedented would only make a superficial break with the unavoidable continuities of grammar and usage.

But the fact that language of its own nature repudiates a complete break between past and present leads to the opposite and, as it were, complementary error to that of those who think a literary work should be new in the way painting, sculpture, and music can be. This is the error of those who think that modern creativity must be tied down to the values of certain established masterpieces. The exponents of the Great Tradition and like theories argue that modern conditions are unprecedented (by which they mean in the line of no continuous tradition); therefore, work of value cannot be created from these conditions. They only hope—the argument runs—is for writers to study the works of the Great Tradition, works which were written in a time when literature was the crystallization of the organic life of the community.

If this attitude is applied not just to modern conditions, but to the language and idiom which arises from them, it follows that writers should confine themselves to writing within the context of the literary languages hallowed by tradition and avoid the language which has been corrupted by unprecedented modern circumstances. Yet, for a writer at any given moment in history, the potential material of his art is the whole of the language surroundinig him in his circumstances.

In effect, both views—that writing can be entirely new and that it must be attached to the values of selected critically interpreted reading matter—limit creativeness within the development of language, the first by separating the modern from the past, the second by separating the past from the modern. Language, the material of literature, is neither completely new nor completely traditional. It is always evolving and cumulative.

What can be done within the literary medium once this fact is recognized is illustrated by the work of James Joyce. He is often confused with "experimentalists" like the Dadaists, the Surrealists, and Gertrude Stein, but his aims were as different as possible from theirs, and the difficulties his work offer are of an entirely different kind. The difference between Joyce, and, for example, Gertrude Stein—with whom he particularly hated to have his work associated—can be summed up by saying that her tendency was to produce a non-language, his to produce a

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true literary language, extremely difficult because packed with meanings the clues to which are almost inaccessible.

Joyce attempted, in "Finnegans Wake," to invent a language in which several themes can be combined in the chords of portmanteau words formed from other words in several tongues with meanings fused on several levels. The ideal reader of "Finnegans Wake" (a figure Joyce had constantly in mind) should be equipped with a knowledge of all the referents—languages, places, history, autobiography—to which the work alludes. Given all this, he would find "Finnegans Wake" by no means impenetrable. It would appear to him a complex, difficult, translucent, but paraphraseable work, as susceptible of extensive elucidation as "The Divine Comedy."

Yet I question whether the absorption into modern poetry of a good deal of the idiom of the street and of scientific and philosophic discussion makes modern poetry, in the completest sense, idiomatic. It seems to me that the idiomatic is a style of language in which it should, ideally, be possible to conduct a dialogue with the people from whom the idiom is borrowed. It should be recognizable by those from whom it is derived as being about them, and not seem to be merely their involuntary contribution to a monologue which does not concern them.

What the moderns did was to invent new literary idioms brought up to date by the intelligent awareness of writers like Joyce, Eliot and Pound of the nuances of contemporary idiomatic speech. They absorbed and selected idioms, parodying them, turning them to ironic effect. They were writing not so much for those who belonged to the modern world as for those who, hating it, knew about it and could think in its terms. In the work of these writers there was an increased sophistication of language reflecting a consciousness of the way in which contemporaries think and feel. This was an immense gain, but it did not have the result of bringing modern literature closer to the people who used the idioms, nor even to those who discussed science or philosophy. In the Thirties, when there was an especially serious attempt to bring poetry close to the ordinary people, writers succeeded in writing about the people—but not in a language the people would understand.

What the idiomatic writing of Eliot and Pound did was to break through the crust of poeticisms which enclosed the Edwardians and Georgians. It enables poets to write about modern ideas in a language open to contemporary sights, sound, phrases, and habits of thought.

Probably the aim of this idiom was that which Eliot described as the achievement of Dryden who, he writes, "for the first time established a *normal* English speech valid for both verse and prose, and imposing its laws which greater poetry than Dryden's might violate, but which no poetry since has overthrown."

But the moderns—as distinct from the Wellses and Bennetts and Shaws, who were contemporary without being modern—were writing for trained readers, poets writing for critic-poets. They transformed the literary medium into one which could discuss the kind of ideas Tennyson had already grappled with in "Locksley Hall" and "In Memoriam" in an idiom which, inside the club of writers and readers, was ironically responsive to the nonliterary language spoken outside. When Auden started to write in the late Twenties, he had at his disposal a language that could discuss current ideas without having to translate them into a poetry where they became as awkward and incomprehensive as the gestures of the deaf conversing with the dumb.

Nevertheless the languages of modern poetry still remains to a great extent that of a literary elite. The mandarins have absorbed into their converse highly intelligent, witty—and sometimes even appreciative—echoes of and references to the world that goes on outside, but fundamentally they are agreed in being opposed to the aims of this world even when they feel a bit humiliated by the unparalleled penetration and flight of its scientific thought and philosophic reasoning. They are secretly intrigued by the idea that they might in their own medium produce works as difficult, inventive, and intellectual as scientific theories.

The invention of the "interior monologue" by Joyce, the time theories of Proust, the "continual present" of Gertrude Stein have all been defended on the ground that they are inventions in literature corresponding to the theories of modern scientists. Yet, in English, "Finnegans Wake" is perhaps the only work which suggests a true parallel to science. Like some theory put forward by a physicist and as incomprehensible to other physicists, it postulates an ideal and a perhaps as yet unborn interpreter who will be able to receive the message. It regards "communication" not as continuous intercourse between a great many similarly attuned minds, but as the potentiality of an extremely abstruse truth which one mind has objectified in statements to be comprehended in ideal circumstances by an advanced specialist.

The Joycean obscurity is the result of the writer's creating his work as specialization. The formula is only communicable to the ideal reader

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who has devoted his whole life to understanding it, and yet it is about the world which concerns all men, and it may, in its results, shake the world. This means that the language, however much it many exploit the current idiom, does so in an esoteric way intelligible only to the most devoted readers. If the "school of Joyce" writers were the only poets and novelists, within 100 years there would be a special literary language for the elite, quite removed from idiomatic speech.

In one respect the machinery of dream and metaphor of "Finnegans Wake" comes close to modern painting. For the central mythology of some of the best modern paintings derives from the concept of metamorphosis. And in "Finnegans Wake" there is constant metamorphosis: the waker changes into the sleeper who in his dreams becomes one with the landscape and with not only his own but all history.

We still look at Surrealist painting. But I doubt whether anyone today reads Surrealist poetry, and the attempt in "Finnegans Wake" to use language as a medium whose nature in itself is perpetually being transformed is that which, even more than the difficulty of the language itself, makes sustained reading of Joyce's book so difficult—perhaps impossible. Painting is the art best adapted to the mythologies of matamorphosis, largely because it is an art whose own nature can undergo the most fundamental transformations in sympathy with, on the one hand, the dreams and the historic condition of modern man and with, on the other, advanced techniques of representation.

Language can describe, define, explain, represent change, but only in words which themselves cannot be matamorphosized. The endeavor to invent a metamorphosizing language, as in some modern poetry, presses at a barrier beyond which words might shed their meanings and become *things*. As I have said, in the present century the imagist poets tried to write a kind of poetry which made a complete break with the past. They had the aim which Herbert Read attributes to modern visual artists: "a unity of intention that completely distinguishes it..... from earlier priods." But it became evident that a completely new poem would consist only of a pattern on the page, unrelated to meaning outside itself.

Thus the development of modern poetry has been for poets to turn away from the invention of poems as visual objects to an interest in the extension of poetic meaning in traditional forms and language. The shift of aim can be show by comparing, say, Eliot's "Preludes" with "Four Quartets." In "Preludes" the tendency is for a situation, though related to modern life, to be isolated within a poem and have a meaning as an impression or image concentrated in the poetry itself. In "Four Quartets," meanings borrowed from theology, philosophy, and literature flow into the poetry from outside, theatening at times to dissolve it in ratiocination. A way of putting the difference might be to say that the tendency of "Preludes" is to produce a concentrated essence of poetry in which the unpoetic elements of prose experience and ideas have been eliminated; the tendency of "Four Quartets" is to attack surrounding ideas and expreriences by using the poetic concentration as a solvent which can purify and test them. But perhaps the second attempt would not be possible unless the elements of pure poetry had first been isolated.

This brings up the matter of traditions as it relates to the arts, especially to literature and painiting. The question most often asked today about a considerable poem or novel is: "Is it in the line of the tradition?" The question that should be asked about a paining is: "Is it, although entirely different, analogous with some past work which we admire?"

Epstein, standing before one of the great African sculptures he had collected, is reported to have said: "We shouldn't in any way wish to imitate this. What we want is to make something which, in relation to our own time, is as strong." It is difficult to think of a poet claiming that he could establish, a relationship traditional by analogy with Negro tribal poetry. The thought would at once suggest to him the lack of any connecting line between African languages and English.

Literary influences are communicated like sap that reaches from the soil up through the trunk and branches of a tree into the leaves. Visual influences flash their messages directly across spaces and centuries dividing different cultures. A contemporary interpretation like that suggested by Epstein's remark can make all visual art of the past available to the living artist. And the values of the visual arts—where these consist of proportions, harmonies, and combinations which the critic discovers in works of all periods and cultures—are universal in a way in which those of literature can scarcely be generalized.

Language barriers have not collapsed between the literatures of different modern countries. We are today no nearer the world literature foreseen by Goethe than he was in his day. In some ways we are further from it. But we live today in the midst of world painting, with the

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advantages and the disadvantages for visual art that the almost uncontrollable intercommunication of artistic influences between contemporary cultures entails.

When modern literature was closest to painting, Joyce, Pound, Eliot, and Wyndham Lewis had an attitude toward tradition which was that of the visual artist. The reaction against the extremes of futurism was concommittant with the splitting up of the international all-the-arts movement into its components. The writers turned back to tradition because they turned back to language which cannot—as can the media and symbols of painting—reinvent its own terms.

It seems to me possible that just as, in the early phase of the modern movement, poetry turned to painting in order, through concentration on the creation of a pure image, to release itself from conventions, so painting may have to turn to literature to rediscover standards.

Towards A New System of the World

In the following article, Professor Dr. Walter Hallstein, President of the European Common Market Commission, points out the world-wide significance of progressive integration in the European Economic Community :

In all discussions about the functional expansion of the European Economic Community (E. E. C.) and the possibilities of a political union it should be stated at the start that the Community's organs have already fully proved that they are working well. In particular, it has become clear that the Council of Ministers of the E. E. C. is in a position to solve even the most difficult problems. It is already a genuine organ of European responsibility. Unfortunately many misunderstandings have been caused by confronting with each other the two phrases of economic community and politiical union. It must be made clear that the true issue is not a transition from the economic dimension into the political one.

Although the European Economic Community has economic effects and an economic significance, it is essentially political. This goes both for its goal and for its structure and functions. It represents the poolings of the governments' economic-political and social-political activities which have been kept separate so far and which are now being led together for the six member countries of the Community. The modern state sets essential conditions for the economic activities of its citizens through legislation as well as by the day-by-day individual actions of its organs which are termed "policy". It is this activity of the six states which is being pooled, but not the "economy". The organs of the Community do not produce goods, nor do they buy or sell. They are neither a supra-national trade union, nor a consumers' co-operative.

Three Deep-reaching Processes

What now are the effects of the E.E.C. on the world outside ? From the day when it came into existence it has always aroused a great deal of interest in the surrounding world. Three processes prove that it marks, in fact, the start of a new situation : The first process is a truly momentous change : Britain reaching out towards Europe. If this move is successful, it would be a historical event of the first order. The second process is the initiative of the Kennedy administration which on the technical level has become known under the name of "Trade Expansion Act", while "Atlatic Partnership" is the catchword in the political sphere. Had the E. E. C. not achieved what has, in fact, already been achieved, the policy of the biggest power on earth would surely not have oriented itself towards Europe, thus giving the old continent a chance, undreamed of only a few years ago. The surrounding world's reactions to the E. E. C. include another one—the reaction of Mr. Khrushchev. The West has already witnessed a whole series of deliberate attacks against the E. E. C. ; this creates the impression that Moscow has launched a large-scale political-psychological attack.

At the root of Moscow's attacks against the E. E. C. is the Soviet Leadership's clear, if late realisation that something is going on here, unexpectedly, rapidly and successfully, something which must not happen at all in the Marxist-Leninist view. After all, capitalist states are not supposed to overcome their differences and to unite. It must not be true that this unification is creating the prerequisites for a large-scale, long-term economic policy which in addition promises stability and insensitivity towards crises. Nor does the Communist camp like to see that the European process of integration is touching off economic impulses which are leading to steady, sometimes stormy economic expansion. In the view of leading communists it must simply not be true that as a further result of these events an economic system is taking shape in Europe which one day might span the entire free world.

Understandably Moscow is opposed to this scheme. This is understandable for theoretical as well as for practical reasons. The economic development within the East Bloc is, after all, in a crisis which is apparently giving growing concern to the Soviet leadership. It is only a crisis of the Soviet economic system, but at the same

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time, a crisis of the integration inside the Communist bloc. Added to this a situation which is not without danger for Moscow and which has been caused by the aid to developing countries. Soviet propaganda would be only too happy if it could make the young countries, especially those in Africa, believe that the Western European groupings were aimed at exploiting the poorer peoples and keeping them in dependence. But in this it has no success. Even if Moscow fails to mention it—the striving young peoples are not ignoring the gradual creation of a new system for world trade and world economy, based on a spirit of genuine solidarity of all peoples which love freedom and which want to co-operate in mutual respect. They recognise that the European Economic Community is making an honest effort towards bringing together all forces capable of peaceful collaboration.

It would be unrealistic to strive for a world state. The development of a new entity is possible only in a regionally limited framework, at least for the time being. But what can be done on the part of the West and what must indeed be done, is to safeguard a system, supported by two strong pillars, the United States of America and —Europe. This partnership needs no new institutions. For Europe, the thing to do is to advance on the road to unification, fast and unswervingly. Apart from that, it should be clear that there is no limit to the partnership between the USA and Europe. There is to be no discrimination against any country in the rest of the world which does not only want to live in freedom but is also prepared to serve this freedom. The Atlantic partnership can indeed accomplish a world-wide function by bringing a free economic system within reach of the entire free world.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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